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BARROW'S WORKS.

THE

WORKS

OF

ISAAC BARROW, D.D.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY
ABRAHAM HILL;

AND

A MEMOIR,
BY
JAMES HAMILTON,

WITH THE

NOTES AND REFERENCES CAREFULLY REVISED;

AND

INDEXES COMPILED EXPRESSLY FOR THIS EDITION.

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NOTICE.

The Publisher of the only American edition of the Works of Isaac Barrow, having now completed the volumes, solicits the attention of Theologians and other scholars to the Sermons and Treatises of one of the most erudite Authors of the seventeenth century.

Two standard editions have been recently issued in Britain—one from the University Press at Oxford; and the other at Edinburgh. Both of them were carefully collated for this republication; and all the articles that either of them contained have been inserted; with a Synopsis of the "*Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy.*"

The Oxford edition is deficient in the biography of the Author; which memorial is much enlarged in the copy published at Edinburgh. All that is novel in the latter narrative has been appended to the other unsatisfactory portraiture; with which, some other circumstances, ascertained by Mr. Hughes, have also been incorporated. The history of Barrow now detailed in the first volume of this edition of his Works forms therefore the most extensive Memoir of that learned Casuist and Mathematician, which yet has been offered, in connection with his writings, to the Student who peruses his masterly disquisitions.

The Opuscula Theologica, Orationes, and Poemata, in the Greek and Latin languages, although usually omitted in other reprints of Barrow's works, are included in the third volume of this edition; and will afford a rich intellectual repast for the Linguist. Thus all the literary productions of the Author, except only his mathematical and scientific dissertations, are now collected.

Theologians will also perceive the additional improvements, by the two copious Indexes which have been compiled expressly for the American edition. The acute criticisms, and the exegetical interpretations by Barrow are of high consideration to a Biblical Reader—therefore a minute Table of the Texts of Scripture has been prepared; from which the opinions of that Annotator can promptly be understood.

The Publisher has also subjoined an accurate Index of the multiplied themes discussed by Barrow in his ingenious Sermons and Expositions. In this respect, the foreign editions are so meagre, that by them the Student would attempt in vain to discover hundreds of interesting and momentous Topics. To supply that defect, a full alphabetic classification of all the subjects has been formed; and the admirers of Barrow's splendid lucubrations will be gratified with the facility thus afforded them, to recur to the casuistical decision, or the critical explanation, or the didactic judgment, or the forceful arguments of an evangelical Philosopher, whose Discourses comprise some of the most profound and eloquent delineations of "Christian Morals" which ever have appeared in the Anglo-Saxon language.

With these numerous advantages, the American reprint of the "THEOLOGICAL WORKS OF ISAAC BARROW" is confidently submitted to public inspection—especially as this copy is sold at LESS THAN ONE THIRD OF THE PRICE of the last inferior edition issued from the University Press at Oxford, in 1830.

New York,
August 7, 1845.

BARROW'S WORKS.

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AN

EXPOSITION ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Among all the duties prescribed to us by our religion, the rendering due worship to God is in nature and for consequence the principal; God thereby being most directly honoured and served, we from it immediately deriving most ample and high benefits; to the performance of which duty we are furnished with excellent direction and assistance from that Prayer which our Lord (at several times and upon several occasions) dictated, and recommended to his disciples, both as a pattern according to which they should regulate their devotions (*Pray thus*, or in this manner, saith he in St. Matthew), and as a form in which they should express them:[a] (*When you pray, say:* that is, say this, or in these words; so he enjoins them in St. Luke:[b]) unto it therefore we should carefully attend, as to our best rule; and we should frequently use it as our best matter of devotion:* to the well performing of both which duties, it is requisite that we should distinctly understand the particulars contained therein; in order to which purpose we shall endeavour to explain them: but first let us premise a few words in general about prayer.

Prayer, in its latitude of acceptation, doth comprehend all devotion, or worship immediately addressed unto Almighty God;* consisting of praise, which we render to God in regard to his most excellent perfections and glorious works; of submissive gratulation, declaring our satisfaction in all the dispensations of his most wise and just providence; of thanksgiving, for the numberless great benefits we have received from him; of acknowledging our total dependence on him, and our subjection to him; of professing faith in him, and vowing service to him; of confessing the sins we have committed against him, with the guilt and aggravation of them; of deprecating the wrath and punishment due to us for our offences; of petition for all things needful and convenient for us; of intercession for others, whose good we according to duty or charity are concerned to desire and promote: prayer, I say (although, according to its most restrained sense, it only doth signify one of these particulars, namely, the petition of what is needful or expedient for us, yet), in its larger acception, as it commonly is used, it doth comprise them all: and so we may well take it here; this form, although so very brief, being with so admirable wisdom contrived, as without straining the words beyond their natural importance, we may, applying a moderate attention, discern them all, as to their main substance, couched therein;† so that we may indeed reasonably regard

* Quamlibet alia verba dicamus, quæ affectus orantis vel præcedendo format ut clareat, vel consequendo attendit ut crescat, nihil aliud dicimus, quam quod in ista Dominica Oratione positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus.—*Aug. Epist.* 121; *vide* illum.

[a] Matt. vi. 9. [b] Luke xi. 2.

* 1 Tim. ii. 1,—δεήσεις, προσευχαί, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίαι.

† Οὐ μόνον εὐχῆς ἐστι διδασκαλία ἐκεῖνα τὰ ῥήματα, ἀλλὰ βίου τελείου παιδαγωγία.—Chrys. tom. v. p. 185.

this prayer as a complete directory, and a full exercise of all our devotion toward God:* of devotion, I say, the which (to engage, excite, and encourage us to the careful and constant practice thereof) we may consider enjoined us as a necessary duty, commended to us as a requisite means of good, and a special instrument of all piety, and as a high privilege granted to us by God.

1. It is a natural duty and debt we owe to God (both in correspondence to the design of our being made and endowed with rational capacities agreeable to our relations; and in requital for our being, and for all the good we have, and do continually receive from him), as most highly to love and reverence him in our hearts, so to declare our esteem of his excellences, and our sense of his bounty toward us, to avow the dependence we have upon his will and providence; the obligations we are under to his mercy and goodness; to yield our due homage of respect, submission, and obedience to him: if we do acknowledge a God, our Maker, our Lord, our continual Benefactor, to be, we must consequently acknowledge these performances in reason, justice, and gratitude due to him; and God accordingly requires, and positively enjoins them: he is *the Lord our God, whom we must worship and serve;* the God *whom praise waiteth for; who heareth prayers*, and *to whom* therefore *all flesh must come.*[c] The scripture is very frequent in commanding the duty.

2. It is a most useful means, or a condition requisite, for the procurement of benefits and blessings upon us. God hath declared that he doth accept, he hath promised that he will reward, all devotions with an honest intention and pure mind offered up unto him; that he *is nigh unto all them that call upon him in truth;* that he will *be found of them who seek him with all their heart;* that *he will fulfil the desire of them that fear him; he will hear their cry, and will save them;* that *they who seek him shall not want any good thing;* that, *whatever we ask in prayer believing, we shall receive;* that *if we ask, it shall be given us; if we seek, we shall find; if we knock, it shall be opened to us.*[d] Prayer is also a means of procuring a blessing upon all our undertakings; it sanctifieth every performance, &c. There is no good thing so great and precious, so high above the reach of common power, so strange to expect, or difficult to compass, which we may not easily and surely by this means obtain; relief in all distresses, both of our outward and inward estate; supplies of all our needs, both corporal and spiritual; comfort in all our sorrows and sadness; satisfaction in all our doubts and darknesses of mind; help and strength against all our temptations, we may be confident to obtain, if we duly seek them from the Almighty Dispenser of all good gifts: sure promises there are, and obvious examples hereof, too many to be now recited: as, on the other hand, they that will neglect this duty, that will not vouchsafe to seek help and remedy of God, may be sure to want it; shall certainly suffer for their proud contempt, profane diffidence, or foolish sloth: *You will not* (saith our Saviour) *come to me, that ye may have life:*[e] no wonder, then, if they do not receive it, if they will not go thither for it where only it is to be had. All good things are in God's hand; and we shall never by any force or policy get them thence without his will, moved by entreaty: all good gifts come from heaven; and thence we shall never fetch them down, without ascending thither in our hearts and affections; spiritual goods especially are so high above us, that we can never reach them otherwise than by God's help by humble supplication obtained.

3. It is not only a means, by impetration acquiring for us, but it is an effectual instrument working in us, all true good; it is the channel by which God conveyeth spiritual light into our minds, and spiritual vigour into our hearts. It is both the seed and the food of spiritual life; by which all holy dispositions of soul and all honest resolutions of practice are bred and nourished, are augmented and strengthened in us.* It exciteth, it

* Totius Evangelii. breviarium.—*Tert. de Orat.* i. 9.

[c] Deut. x. 20; Matt. iv. 10; Psal. lxv. 2.

* Difficillimum est opus orare.—*Luth.*

[d] Εὐχῆς δικαίας οὐκ ἀνήκοος Θεός.—Psal. xxxiv. 10; cxlv. 18, 19; x. 17; Jer. xxix. 13; 1 John iii. 22; Matt. xxi. 22; vii. 7; Luke xi. 9; John xiv. 13; xv. 7; xvi. 23.

[e] John v. 40.

quickeneth, it maintaineth all pious affections; the love of God can no otherwise than by it be kindled, fomented, or kept in life (without it we certainly shall have an estrangement, and an aversion from him;[f]) it alone can maintain a constant reverence and awe of God, keeping him in our thoughts, and making us to live as in his presence; it chiefly enliveneth and exerciseth our faith and our hope in God; it is that which begetteth in our hearts a savoury relish of divine things, which sweeteneth and endeareth to our souls the practice of piety, which only can enable us with delight and alacrity to obey God's commandments; it alone can raise our minds, from the cares and concernments of this world, to a sense and desire of heavenly things. By it God imparteth strength to subdue bad inclinations, to restrain sensual appetites, to compress irregular passions; to evade the allurements to evil, and the discouragements from good, which this world always presenteth; to support also with patience and equanimity the many crosses and troubles we must surely meet with therein. It is, in short, the only strong bulwark against temptation and sin; the only sure guard of piety and a good conscience: no man indeed can be a faithful servant to God, a real friend to goodness, a serious practiser of duty, without a constant tenor of devotion.

4. It is a most high privilege and advantage to us, that we are allowed to pray and address our devotions to God. To have a free access to the presence and audience of an earthly prince (to the effect of receiving from him all that we could desire) would be deemed a matter of great honour and much advantage: how much more is it so to us, that we are admitted to the presence and ear of the great King of all the world; so mighty in power, so large in bounty, so full of goodness and pity, so thoroughly able, so exceedingly willing, to grant and perform our requests! How sweet a thing, of what comfort and benefit is it, to have the liberty of *pouring out our souls and our hearts*,[g] as the Psalmist speaks, before God; of disburdening our minds of all their cares, their desires, their doubts, their griefs, and anxieties, into the breast of so kind a friend, so wise a counsellor, so able a helper; who alone indeed can afford relief, ease, satisfaction, and comfort to us! Considering which things, we shall appear not only very disobedient to God, and highly ingrateful toward him (who so infinitely condescends in vouchsafing to us, *dust and ashes*,[h] (vile and unworthy creatures) leave to speak and converse with him), but very injurious and unfaithful to ourselves, and to our own good, if we neglect this duty commanded, or slight this privilege indulged to us:

In the due performance of which, we are directed and assisted by this form of prayer, composed and dictated for that purpose by him who best knew what we ought to pray for, and how we ought to pray; what matter of desire, what manner of address, what disposition of mind, would be most pleasing and acceptable to his Father, would most become and befit us in our approaches to him.* We might consequently observe many things concerning those particulars discernible in this form: the sublimity, the gravity, the necessity, the singular choiceness of the matter; together with the fit order and just disposition thereof, according to the natural precedence of things in dignity or necessity; the full brevity, the deep plainness, the comely simplicity of expression; the lowly reverence signified therein, accompanied with due faith and confidence: these, and the like virtues directive of our devotion, we might observe running generally through the whole contexture of this venerable form: but we shall rather choose to take notice of them as they shall offer themselves in their particular places; to the consideration of which in order we now do apply ourselves.

Our Father which art in Heaven.

Our Father: upon this title, or manner of compellation, we may first observe, that although our Saviour prescribeth this form as a pattern, and an

[f] Fervour of spirit.—Rom. xii. 11, τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες.

[g] Psal. lxii. 8; xlii. 4.

* Deus solus docere potuit, ut se vellet orari. —*Tert. de Orat.* c. 9.

[h] Gen. xviii. 27.

exercise of private prayer to be performed in the closet (and alone in secret, as is expressed in the gospel), yet he directeth us to make our addresses to God in a style of plurality, saying, not *my* Father, but *our* Father;[i] thereby, it seems, implying, 1. That we should in our prayers consider and acknowledge the universality of God's power and goodness. 2. That we should not in our conceit proudly and vainly appropriate or engross the regard of God unto ourselves; but remember that our brethren have an equal share with us therein. 3. That in all our devotions we should be mindful of those common bands which knit us together as men and as Christians (the band of nature and humanity; the more strict ties of common faith and hope; of manifold relations unto God that made us, and our Saviour that redeemed us, and the Holy Spirit who animateth and quickeneth us, and combineth us in spiritual union.) 4. That we should bear such hearty good-will and charitable affection toward others, as not only to seek and desire our own particular and private good, but that of all men; especially of all good Christians, who in a peculiar manner are God's children and our brethren: *He did not bid us say*, my *Father*, *but* our *Father*, *who art in heaven; that, being taught that we have a common Father, we might show a brotherly good-will one toward another*, saith St. Chrysostom.*

As for the appellation *Father*, it doth mind us of our relation to God, who upon many grounds, and in divers high respects, is our Father (by nature, for that he gave us our being, and made us after his own image; by providence, for that he continually preserveth and maintaineth us; by grace, for that he renewetb us to his image in righteousness and holiness; by adoption, for that he alloweth us the benefit and privilege of his children, assigning an eternal inheritance to us;) of this relation, which as creatures, as men, as Christians, we bear to God, it mindeth us, and consequently how we ought in correspondence thereto to behave ourselves; yielding to him all respect, affection, and observance; demeaning ourselves in all things as becomes such a relation and rank: this indeed of all God's names, titles, and attributes, is chosen as most suitable to the nature of the present duty; as most encouraging to the performance thereof; as most fully implying the dispositions required in us, when we apply ourselves thereto. Our Saviour used to compare prayer to a son's asking nourishment of his father;[j] arguing thence what success and benefit we may expect from it: we come therein to God, not (directly) as to a lord or master, to receive commands; but rather as to a father, to request from him the sustenance of our life, and supply of our needs; to render withal unto him our thankful acknowledgments, for having continuedly done those things for us; and to demonstrate our dutiful respect and affection toward him. It is natural for children in any danger, strait, or want, to fly to their parents for shelter, relief, and succour: and it is so likewise for us to have recourse unto God, in all those cases wherein no visible means of help appear from elsewhere: and to do so, the title of *Father* doth encourage us, signifying not only power and authority over us, but affection and dearness toward us: the name *God*, importing his excellent perfections; the name *Lord*, minding us of his power and empire over us, with the like titles declarative of his supereminent majesty, might deter us, being conscious of our meanness and unworthiness, from approaching to him; but the word *Father* is attractive and emboldening; thinking on *that*, we shall be apt to conceive hope, that how mean, how unworthy soever, yet being his children, he will not reject or refuse us; for, *If men, being evil, do give good gifts unto their children; how much more will our Father, which is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him?*[k]

It also plainly intimates how qualified and disposed in mind we should come to God; namely, with high reverence, with humble affection, with hearty gratitude; as to the Author of our being, to him that hath continually preserved and brought us up; from whose care and providence

* Οὐ γὰρ ἐκέλευε λέγειν, πάτερ μου, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀλλὰ Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ἵνα κοινὸν Πατέρα ἔχειν διδαχθέντες, ἀδελφικὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δεικνύωμεν εὔνοιαν.—Tom. v. p. 186.

[i] Matt. vi. 6, 9.

[j] Matt. vii. 9; Luke xi. 11.

[k] Matt. vii. 11.

we have received all the good we have ever enjoyed; from whose mercy and favour we can only expect any good for the future. By calling God *Father*, we avow ourselves obliged to honour and love him incomparably beyond all things: we also declare our faith and hope in God; that we believe him well affected toward us, and willing to do us good; and that we thence hope to receive the good desirable from him (the which are dispositions necessary to the due performance of this duty.) It also implieth, that we should come thereto with purity of mind and good conscience, which is also requisite to the same intent; for if we are conscious of undutiful and disobedient carriage toward God, how can we call him *Father*?[1] With what heart or face can we assume to ourselves the title of *children*? *If* (saith St. Peter) *ye call upon him as Father, who impartially judges according to every man's work*,[m] (that is, who only esteemeth them for his children who truly behave themselves as becometh children), *pass the time of your pilgrimage in fear* (or in reverence toward God.) We may add, that we also hereby may be supposed to express our charity toward our brethren; who bear unto God, the Father of all men, the same common relation. But I proceed:

Which art in Heaven.

God Almighty is substantially present everywhere; but he doth not every where in effects discover himself alike, nor with equal splendour in all places display the beams of his glorious majesty, the scripture frequently mentioneth a place of his special residence (seated in regions of inaccessible light, above the reach, not only of our sense, but of our fancy and conception), where his royal court, his presence chamber, his imperial throne, are; where he is more immediately attended upon by the glorious angels and blessed saints; which place is called *heaven*, the *highest heavens;* the τὰ ὕψιστα, the *highest places;*[n] by his presence wherein God is described here, as for distinction from all other parents here on earth, so to increase reverence in us toward him (while we reflect upon his supereminent glory and majesty), and to raise our hearts from these inferior things unto desire, and hope, and love of heavenly things; *withdrawing* (saith St. Chrysostom) *him that prays from earth, and fastening him to the places on high, and to the mansions above.** But so much for the title.

The first sentence of our Prayer is,

Hallowed (or sanctified) be thy Name.

Let us first (with St. Chrysostom) observe the direction we hence receive in all our prayers to have a prime and principal regard to the glory of God; not seeking any thing concerning our own good before his praise: that for the order. As to the substance of this particular, we may consider, that sanctity implying a discrimination, a distance, an exaltment in nature or use of the thing, which is denominated thereby; and God's name signifying himself with all that we can know of him; himself, as however discovered or declared, with all that relates to him, and bears his inscription; we do here accordingly express our due acknowledgments and desires; for by a rare complication this sentence doth involve both praise and petition; doth express both our acknowledgment of what is, and our desire of what should be: we do, I say, hereby partly acknowledge and praise the supereminent perfections of God above all things, in all kinds of excellency, joining in that seraphical doxology, (which to utter is the continual employment of the blessed spirits above, who incessantly *day and night* cry out) *Holy, holy, holy;* confessing with the heavenly host in the Apocalypse that *he is worthy of all honour, glory, and power:** we do also partly declare our hearty wishes, that God may be every where had in highest veneration; that all things relating to him may receive their due regard; that all honour and praise, all duty and service, may in a peculiar manner be rendered unto him by all men, by all creatures, by ourselves especially: that

[1] Matt. xxi. 22; James i. 6; 1 Tim. ii. 8.
[m] 1 Pet. i. 17.
[n] Luke ii. 14; xix. 38; Matt. xxi. 9.

* Τῆς γῆς ἀπάγων τὸν εὐχόμενον, καὶ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς προσηλῶν χωρίοις, καὶ ταῖς ἄνω διατριβαῖς.
* Rev. iv. 8, 11 —Τὸ ἁγιασθήτω ἀντὶ τοῦ δοξασθήτω εἴρηται.—Chrys. tom. v. p. 186.

all minds may entertain good and worthy opinions of him; all tongues speak well of him, celebrate and bless him; all creatures yield adoration to his name, and obedience to his will: that he be worshipped in truth and sincerity, with zeal and fervency; this particularly in the prophet Isaiah, and by St. Peter, is called *sanctifying God's name*, in opposition to idolatrous and profane religion: (*Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself, and let him be your fear, let him be your dread*, saith the prophet; and, *Fear not their fear, nor be troubled, but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts*,[o] saith the apostle.) Thus do we here pray and wish in respect to all men, and to all creatures capable of thus sanctifying God's name; but more particularly we pray for ourselves, that God would grant to us, that we, by our religious and righteous conversation, may bring honour to his name: so that *men seeing our good works may glorify our Father which is in heaven.*[p] (*Vouchsafe, saith he, that we may live so purely, that all men by us may glorify thee:*[*] so descants St. Chrysostom.)

Thy Kingdom Come.

This petition, or devout wish, being subordinate to the former, as expressing a main particular of that which is there generally desired (we here, to the glory of God, desiring a successful and speedy propagation of true religion), seems, in its direct and immediate sense, to respect the state of things in that time, more especially befitting our Lord's disciples then, when the kingdom of God (that is, the state of religion under the evangelical dispensation) was coming and approaching; (according to that of our Saviour in St. Luke: *I say unto you of a truth, there be some of you standing here that shall not taste death, till they see the kingdom of God;*[q] whence it did become them, in zeal to God's glory, and charity for men's salvation, to desire that Christianity might soon effectually be propagated over the world, being generally entertained by men with due faith and obedience; that is, that all men willingly might acknowledge God as their Lord and Maker, worshipping and serving him in truth; that they might receive the blessed Son Jesus Christ as their King and Saviour, heartily embracing his doctrine, and humbly submitting to his laws: to which purpose our Lord enjoins his disciples to *pray, that the Lord of the harvest would send labourers into the harvest;*[r] and St. Paul exhorts the Thessalonians to pray, *that the word of the Lord may run and be glorified.*[s] And in parity of reason, upon the same grounds, we are concerned and obliged to desire, that the Christian religion may be settled and confirmed; may grow and be increased; may prosper and flourish in the world; that God's authority may, to the largest extension of place, to the highest intention of degree, universally and perfectly be maintained and promoted, both in external profession and real effect; the minds of all men being subdued to the obedience of faith; and avowing the subjection due to him; and truly yielding obedience to all his most just and holy laws. Thus should we pray that God's kingdom may come; particularly desiring that it may so come into our own hearts; humbly imploring his grace, that he thereby would rule in our hearts, quelling in them all exhorbitant passions and vicious desires, protecting them from all spiritual enemies, disposing them to an entire subjection to his will, and a willing compliance with all his commandments: for this is *the kingdom of God*, which as our Lord telleth us, *is within us;*[*] the which *doth not*, as St. Paul teacheth us, *consist in meat and drink* (in any outward formal performances), *but in righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;*[t] that is, in obedience to God's will, and in the comfortable consequences thereof: this is *the kingdom of God*, which we are enjoined, before any worldly accommodations, *first to seek.*[u]

[*] Καταξίωσον. φησὶν, οὕτως ἡμᾶς βιοῦν καθαρῶς, ὡς δι' ἡμῶν ἁπάντας σε δοξάζειν, &c.—Chrys. in Matt. vi.

[o] Isa. viii. 13; xxix. 23; 1 Pet. iii. 14, 15.

[p] Matt. v. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 12.

[q] Luke ix. 27; Matt. xvi. 28; iii. 2.

[*] Τυραννούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ σώματος παθημάτων, καὶ μυρίας πειρασμῶν δεχόμενοι προσβολὰς τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χρήζομεν βασιλείας, ἵνα μὴ βασιλεύσῃ ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ σώματι ἡμῶν, &c.—Chrys.

[r] Matt. ix. 38.

[s] 2 Thess. iii. 1.

[t] Luke xvii. 21; Rom. xiv. 17.

[u] Matt. vi. 33.

Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven.

This sentence is likewise complicated of praise, good desire, and petition; for we thereby first do acknowledge the wisdom, justice, and goodness of God, in all resolutions of his will and dispensations of his providence.

1. We profess our approbation of all God's counsels, our complacence and satisfaction in all his proceedings, our cheerful submission and consent to all his pleasure; joining our suffrage, and saying, in harmony with that blessed choir in the Revelation, *Great and wonderful are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, O thou King of Saints.*[v] We disclaim our own judgments and conceits, we renounce our own desires and designs, so far as they appear inconsistent with the determinations of God's wisdom, or discordant with his pleasure; saying after our Lord, *Let not my will, but thine be done.*[w]

2. We do also express our desire, that as in heaven all things with a free and undisturbed course do pass according to God's will and good-liking, every intimation of his pleasure finding there a most entire and ready compliance from those perfectly loyal and pious spirits (*those ministers of his that do his pleasure,*[x] as the Psalmist calls them) so that here on earth the gracious designs of God may be accomplished without opposition or rub; that none should presume, as the Pharisees and lawyers are said to do, ἀθετεῖν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, to disappoint or defeat God's counsel;[y] ἀπωθεῖσθαι, to thrust away or repulse *God's word*, as the Jews did in the Acts;[z] to resist, provoke, or defy God by obstinate disobedience, as many are said to do in the scriptures; but that every where a free, humble, hearty, and full obedience be rendered to his commands.

3. We do also pray, that God would grant us the grace willingly to perform whatever he requires of us (*perfecting us*: (as the apostle speaketh) *in every good work to do his will*, and *working in us that which is well pleasing in his sight*,[a]) contentedly to bear whatever he layeth upon us; that God would bestow upon us a perfect resignation of our wills unto his will; a cheerful acquiescence in that state and station wherein he hath placed us;[b] a submiss patience in all adversities whereinto he disposeth us to fall; a constant readiness with satisfaction and thankfulness (without reluctancy or repining) to receive whatever cometh from his will, whether grateful or distasteful to our present sense; acknowledging his wisdom, his goodness, his justice, in all his dealings towards us; heartily saying with good Eli, *It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good*,[c] with Hezekiah, *Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken;* with David, *Behold, here I am; let him do to me as seemeth good to him:*[d] with Job, *Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?* and, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord:*[e] yea, it were well, if we could, after the heathen philosopher, upon all occasions with our hearts say, εἰ ταύτῃ Θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ γενέσθω· *If God will have it so, so let it be;*[f] if we could observe those rules and precepts, which even the philosophers so much inculcate,* to *commit all our affairs to God, to love and embrace* (*hug*) *all events: to follow*, and *to accompany God:* to yield, deliver, and resign ourselves up to him; (*Deo se præbere, dedere, tradere*, &c.) and the like.

Give us this Day our daily Bread.

I shall not stand to criticise upon the hard word here used, translated *daily;* I only say, that of two senses offering themselves, both are probable, and by

[v] Rev. xv. 3.
[w] Luke xxii. 42.
[x] Psal. ciii. 20.
[y] Luke vii. 30.
[z] Acts xiii. 46.
[a] Heb. xiii. 21.
[b] Phil. iv. 11.
[c] 1 Sam. iii. 18.
[d] 2 Kings xx. 19; 2 Sam. xv. 26.
[e] Job ii. 10; i. 21; Psal xxxvii. 5; lv. 22.
[f] Epict. Ench. 38; Plat. Criton.

* Τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τοῦ βίου διέξελθε, ὡς Θεοῖς ἐπιτετροφὼς τὰ σεαυτοῦ πάντα, &c.—Ant. iv. 31.——Ἀσπαζόμενος τὰ συμβαίνοντα.—Ant. iii. 4, 16; ii. 17; x. 11; xii. 1; vii. 31; x. 11; Sen. De Or. Sap. 32.——Ego secundum naturam vivo, si totum me illi dedo. Optimum est Deum, quo auctore cuncta proveniunt sine murmuratione comitari, &c.—hic est magnus animus, qui se Deo tradidit.—*Sen. Ep.* 37, 54, 71, &c.; *De Prov.* 5.

good authority countenanced; both are proper and suitable to the matter or nature of the thing: according to one, we pray for the bread τοῦ ἐπιόντος, *of the time to come*, or of that future life, which it shall please God to allow us; according to the other, we request bread ἐπὶ τὸ εἶναι, which is necessary for our being, and the preservation of our lives; joining both together, (which is more sure and safe), we pray for a competent provision toward the maintenance of our life hereafter, during our appointed time: that for the sense:* upon the petition itself we observe,

1. That after we have rendered our due tribute of praise and respect unto God, we are allowed and directed to request of him good things for ourselves; beginning, as nature prompteth, with the preservation of our beings and lives; whereby we become capable of receiving and enjoying other good things;

2. By doing which, we also do imply the sense we have of our total dependence upon God; avowing ourselves to subsist by his care and bounty; disclaiming, consequently, all confidence in any other means to maintain or support us; in any store we have laid up, or estate we pretend to; in any contrivance or industry we can use; in any succour of friends or relations; for that, notwithstanding all these, we do need our daily bread to be dealt to us by God, and must continually beg it as a gift from his hands.

3. We are by that word, σήμερον, *this day*, taught our duty (signifying withal our performances thereof) of being willing continually to rely upon God; not affecting to be ever so much beforehand, as not to need God's constant assistance: we ask not, that God would give us at once what may serve us for ever, and may put us out of any fear to want hereafter; we ask not for that which may suffice for a long time, for many years, many months, many days; but that God would give us to-day, or rather *day by day:* (τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν, as it is expressed in St. Luke;[g]) that is, that he would continually dispense to us what is needful for us: we should not therefore desire to have an estate settled upon us; to live by ourselves, or on our own incomes; to be set out of God's house, or immediate protection and care; this in itself cannot be (for God cannot alienate his goods from himself, nor can we subsist out of his hand), nor must we desire it should be: it is a part of atheism, or infidelity, of heathenish profaneness and folly, to desire it; (*these things*, saith our Lord, *do the Gentiles seek:*[h] that is, they are covetous of wealth, and careful for provisions, to live without dependence upon God;) but we must esteem God's providence our surest estate, God's bounty our best treasure, God's fatherly care our most certain and most comfortable support; *casting all our care upon him*, as being assured that *he careth for us; will not leave nor forsake us;* will not withhold what is necessary for our comfortable sustenance.[i]

4. It is here intimated, how sober and moderate our appetites should be, in regard both to the quality and quantity of the things we use: we are directed to ask τροφὴν, οὐ τρυφὴν, as St. Chrysostom says, necessary food, not luxurious plenty or delicacy: it is bread (the most simple, homely, and common diet;) that is, such accommodations as are necessary to maintain our lives, and satisfy our natural desires; not *superfluities*, serving to please our wanton appetites, or humour our curious fancies; it is not variety, daintiness, elegancy, or splendour, we should affect to enjoy, but be content to have our necessities supplied with the coarsest diet and the meanest apparel, if our condition requireth it, or God's providence in an honest way allotteth no other to us: we may soberly and thankfully enjoy what God sends; but we should not presume to ask for or desire other than this.

And for the measure, we learn to ask only for so much as shall be fit to maintain us; not for rich, or plentiful store; not for full barns, or for heaps of treasure; not for wherewith to glut, or pamper ourselves; but for daily bread, a moderate provision, then to be dealt to us, when we need it.

* Ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον, τουτέστιν ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ σώματος διαβαίνοντα, καὶ συγκροτῆσαι ταύτην δυνάμενον. —Chrys. tom. v. 187.

[g] Luke xi. 3.

[h] Matt. vi. 32.

[i] Matt. vi. 25; 1 Pet. v. 7; Heb. xiii. 5; Phil. iv. 6.

It follows,

And forgive us our Trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us; *our trespasses;* it is *our debts* (ὀφειλήματα) in St. Matthew; *our sins* (ἁμαρτίας) in St. Luke; and they who *trespass against us* are in both Evangelists called *our debtors:* for he that injures another is obnoxious and in debt to him; owing him satisfaction, either by making reparation, or undergoing punishment.

After the preservation of our beings (the foundation of enjoying other good things), our first care, we see, ought to be concerning the welfare of our better part and state; which chiefly consists in the terms whereon we stand toward God, upon whose favour all our happiness dependeth, and from whose displeasure all our misery must proceed: since therefore we all do stand obnoxious to God's wrath and justice; having omitted many duties which we owe to him, having committed manifold offences against him; it is therefore most expedient, that we first endeavour to get him reconciled to us, by the forgiveness of our debts and offences: concerning which remission, upon what account it is necessary, upon what terms it is granted, by what means it is obtained, in what manner it is dispensed by God, I have otherwhere touched, and it is not seasonable now further to insist thereon; only it may be pertinent here to observe,

1. That this being the first of petitions (formally such, and) purely spiritual; we are hereby admonished to lay the foundation of our devotions in humility; that we are obliged, before we presume to ask any thing of God concerning our chief happiness and well-being, to reflect upon, acknowledge, and confess our unworthiness (not coming to our prayers as the Pharisee did, doting upon our worthy qualities and good deeds; but like the poor Publican, with a sense of our infirmities and miscarriages; so as to be ready to acknowledge ourselves, as indeed we all are, guilty of many and great sins;) this is here implied; for in requesting pardon for our sins, we confess ourselves to be sinners, and to need God's mercy.

2. We may hence learn the necessity and the excellency of that benefit we here beg. When the Psalmist applied himself to praise God for his benefits, this he set in the first place, as most needful and considerable to him; *Bless the Lord, O my soul,* said he, *and forget not all his benefits* (or rather, not any of his benefits), *who forgiveth all thine iniquities, who healeth all thy diseases;*[j] and answerably, it is the first particular benefit we pray for.

3. We must take notice, that we are obliged to go to our devotions with universal charity and good-will toward others; *to lift up,* as St. Paul enjoineth, *holy hands, without wrath and doubting* (or *without wrath and dissension,*[k]) to depose all enmity (as our Lord adviseth) before we bring our oblation *to the altar* of God;[l] reserving no spite or grudge toward any man, but having a heart clear of all ill-will and desire of revenge; being in affection of mind towards others, as we wish, and hope, and pray that God would be toward us: such in all reason, equity, and ingenuity, should our disposition be; and such God requires it to be; and such we do assert and promise it to be; implying also a compact with God, no otherwise to desire or expect his favour and mercy toward us, than as we resemble him in kind and merciful intentions toward our brethren: it is implied on God's part, that he vouchsafes pardon only upon these terms; yea more, that he doth truly promise pardon upon our performing this condition; so our Saviour, purposely reflecting on this petition, doth afterward expound it: *For,* saith he, *if you forgive to men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you:*[m] it also implies a consent on our parts, and submission to this condition, as most equal and reasonable; so that if we break it, if we do retain any uncharitable inclinations, we deal falsely with God; we forfeit all pretence to favour and mercy from him; we are neither qualified for mercy, nor shall obtain it from God.

Lead us not into Temptation.

Temptation is sometime taken, in a

j Psal. ciii. 2, 3.
k 1 Tim. ii. 8.
l Matt. v. 23.
m Matt. vi. 14.

middle and indifferent sense, for any occasion by which the moral quality of persons (their virtue or vice) is examined and discovered: so God is said to have *tempted Abraham*, when he propounded to him the offering up of his son;[n] so he tempted the Israelites, by leading them in that long journey through the wilderness, *that he might know what was in their heart, whether they would keep his commandments, or no;*[o] so he likewise tempted them by permitting seducers to do wonderful things, *that he might know whether they did love the Lord with all their heart and with all their soul:*[p] and because affliction is of such a nature as to try the temper, disposition, and intentions of men, therefore temptation often is used for affliction. It seemeth also sometimes put in a good sense, for an occasion designed to exercise, or to improve, or to declare the virtues of a person; so the inconveniences and crosses incident to our nature and condition here, the which our Lord did undergo, are by St. Luke, and others of the apostles, styled temptations; so *the fiery trial*, in St. Peter, was εἰς πειρασμὸν, to exercise and refine them, *that*, saith he, *the trial of their faith might be to praise, and honour, and glory;*[q] so St. James biddeth Christians to *rejoice, when they fall into divers temptations;*[r] that is, when they meet with opportunities of exercising their faith and patience; and so we may understand that place in Deuteronomy: *Who* (it is said) *fed thee with manna, that he might humble, and prove thee* (or *tempt thee*, ἵνα ἐκπειράσῃ σε, say the LXX.) *to do thee good at thy latter end: that he might tempt thee;*[s] that is, that he might render thee approved; might exercise and improve thy dependence on God, thy patience, thy obedience. But the word is commonly taken in a worse sense, for an occasion presented with ill purpose, or naturally tending and not easily avoided, of falling into sin; a stumbling-block, a snare; as when St. Paul saith, that *they who will be rich, do fall* εἰς πειρασμὸν καὶ παγίδα, *into temptation and a snare;*[t] thus St. James assureth us that *God tempteth no man;*[u] that is, doth not intend to seduce or inveigle any man into sin. Yet because nothing in the world, either good or bad, doth happen without God's permission and governance; and the Devil himself must obtain license from God, before he can tempt any man, or do any mischief (as we see in Job's case, and in the history of Ahab;) since God seeth whatever is done, and with greatest ease could hinder it;[v] and doth not otherwise than for some good end suffer any evil to be designed or achieved; it is the style of Scripture to attribute such things in some sense to him; as when God is said to *send Joseph into Egypt to preserve life;*[w] whenas in truth his brethren, out of envy and ill-will, did sell him thither; and, God is said to *move David to number the people;* whenas indeed Satan (as it is otherwhere affirmed) *provoked him to number them:*[x] and that horrid tragedy acted by the Jews upon our blessed Saviour is said to be brought to pass by the *hand and definite counsel of God;*[y] because God, foreseeing the temptations which those men should incur of committing such acts, and their inclinations to perform them, did resolve not to interpose his power in hinderance of them, but suffering them to proceed, would turn their mischievous practices to an excellently good end, and use them as instruments of his just, holy, and gracious purposes: thus then, whereas by *temptation* here is meant any occasion alluring or provoking to sin, or withdrawing from duty, with a violence, all things considered, exceeding our strength to resist or avoid (or however such an one that is apt to overthrow us;) God may be said to bring them into it, whom in justice he permits to be exposed thereto; although he do no otherwise intermeddle, or concur therein, than by not affording, or by withdrawing, his especial direction and assistance; leaving them without check blindly or wilfully to follow the sway of their own tempers, the instincts of their vain minds, the bent of their corrupt wills, the violence of their unruly pas-

[n] Gen. xxii. 1.
[o] Deut. viii. 2,—ἵνα πειράσῃ σε.
[p] Deut. xiii. 3.
[q] Luke xxii. 28; Heb. ii. 18; iv. 15; 1 Pet. iv. 12; i. 6, 7.
[r] James i. 2.
[s] Deut. viii. 16.
[t] 1 Tim. vi. 9.
[u] James i. 13.
[v] Job ii. 6; 1 Kings xxi. 22.
[w] Gen. xlv. 5.
[x] 2 Sam. xxiv. 1; 1 Chron. xxi. 1.
[y] Acts ii. 23; iv. 28.

sions and appetites; letting them to fall into the manifold snares of false opinion, evil custom, and contagious example, which the world sets before them (the world, which by its fair promises and pleasing flatteries enticeth to sin, or by its angry frowns and fierce threats discourageth from goodness;) permitting the Devil, without control or impediment, by his wiles to delude and seduce them; which kind of proceeding of God with men is clearly represented in the 81st Psalm; where, of the Israelites, God says, that having signally declared his pleasure to them, and by promise of great benefits invited them to observe it, upon their wilful neglect, he dealt thus with them: *But*, says God there, *my people would not hearken to my voice, and Israel would none of me; so I gave them up unto their own hearts' lusts; and they walked in their own counsels.*[a] In such manner, if God, provoked thereto by our heinous miscarriages, doth justly bring us into, or doth let us *enter into temptation* (as our Lord otherwhere expresseth it; *Pray*, saith he, *that ye enter not into temptation*), we shall infallibly run into many grievous sins and desperate mischiefs;[a] no less surely, than we shall wander and stumble in the dark, than we shall slide and fall in the most slippery places, and sometimes be entangled, when we do walk in the midst of snares, surrounded with traps innumerable, most cunningly laid to catch us: *It is not* (saith the prophet) *in man to direct his steps*, so as to go straight and upright;[b] it is not in him to see duty, to bend his inclinations to compliance therewith; to restrain his appetites, when sensible objects forcibly press on them; to govern his passions, when they are vehemently stirred to disorderly motion; we do continually need God's instruction to guide us, God's *hand to uphold us*, God's care and help to guard us:[c] when therefore, I say, our condition and circumstances do minister dangerous occasions of sin; when our vain and weak tempers do incline or betray us thereto; when the world would smile or frown us into it; when the Devil violently solicits, or thrusts on toward it; thus to be destitute of God's grace, thus to be left to ourselves, is the most horrible judgment that can be. In such cases and seasons, God's interposal is necessary, either to remove those temptations, or to support and defend us from the prevalence of them, φυλάσσων ἀπταίστους, *keeping us from stumbling and falling*, as St. Jude speaks;[d] *not suffering us*, as St. Paul expresseth it, *to be tempted above what we are able, but making with the temptation also a way to escape, so that we shall be able to sustain it.*[e]

That God would please to do this for us, we do here pray; and in pursuance of this petition, we subjoin that which in part may pass for an illustration thereof (implying an antithesis serving to that purpose: for, *delivering from evil* importeth the same with ῥύεσθαι ἐκ πειρασμοῦ, *being rescued from temptation*, in St. Peter; *The Lord*, saith he, *knoweth how to rescue the godly out of temptation*;[f] and τηρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ὥρας πειρασμοῦ, *to preserve from the time of temptation*, in the Revelation;[g] which are opposed to bringing into temptation), partly it may be supposed an improvement thereof; *delivering from evil* signifying perhaps somewhat more, than not permitting us to incur occasions strongly inviting us to evil; even the effectual keeping us from being over-borne or complying with it. But let us consider that petition itself.

But deliver us from Evil.

From evil, ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· St. Chrysostom takes it for the Devil; who is the ὁ πονηρὸς, *the evil one*, the tempter, who seduceth us to evil: but we shall take it according to the more common acception: *from evil*; that is, principally, from sin, or evil moral and spiritual; the only evil, simply and in its own nature such, and the root of all other evil; from that, and consequently from all mischief (evil natural and temporal, or evil penal and afflictive) which may grow upon, or sprout from thence. As for such evils as these; the want of things necessary or convenient for us; bodily disease and pain; disappointment in our designs, and ill success in our undertakings; disgrace and

[a] Psal. lxxxi. 11, 12. [a] Luke xxii. 40, 46.
[b] Jer. x. 23 [c] Psal. xxxvii. 23, 24.
[d] Jude 24. [e] 1 Cor. x. 23.
[f] 2 Pet. ii. 9. [g] Rev. iii. 10.

reproach upon our good names; dangers, difficulties, and distresses concerning our outward estate; distractions, vexations, and troubles of mind about temporal matters, with the like evils (in some sense, in some degree evils, or appearing such to our natural sense and fancy;) we may indeed deprecate them (as even our Lord himself did), with submission (as he did) to the wisdom and will of God, in case it pleaseth him, and he thinketh fit to remove them: but all these things being but names and empty sounds in comparison to spiritual and eternal evils (such as are vicious distempers of mind; indispositions to serve God; ill progress in our spiritual affairs; dissatisfaction concerning our state in respect to God; actual transgression of God's holy will and law; incurring God's displeasure and disfavour; being deprived of his grace and assistance; wanting the communion and comfort of his Holy Spirit; remorse of conscience, and anguish of spirit, for having violated or neglected our duty; blindness of mind, hardness of heart; want of love, reverence, devotion toward God, of charity and good-will toward our neighbour; of sobriety, humility, regularity of passion, and calmness of temper, in respect to ourselves and the inward frame of our souls; these, I say, and such like evils), we should absolutely request of God, that he in mercy would deliver and free us from them; they being irreconcilably repugnant to his will and glory, and inconsistent with our eternal welfare. Yet even these, and all other things, we do request only in general terms, having the distinct matter, and manner, and measure, according to which they should be dispensed, to the wisdom and goodness of God; who *doth* (as our Lord telleth us) *know what things we have need of, before we ask him;* and is not only *able* (as St. Paul says, but willing also) *to do* for us *superabundantly above what we can ask or think.*[h] We are hereby (it seems) taught this point of good manners in our devotion, not to be tediously punctual and particular in our prayers, as if God needed our information, or were apt to neglect the particulars concerning our good.

We shut up all with a doxology, most suitable to the nature of devotion signifying our due faith, our affection, and our reverence toward God.

For thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory, for ever and ever Amen.

That is, for thou hast a perpetual and unmoveable authority, whereby justly to dispose of all things; thou hast an indefectible and irresistible power, whereby thou canst effect whatever seems just and good to thee; wherefore we profess only to rely upon, and seek help from thee; with hope and confidence we address ourselves to thee for the supply of our needs: *thine is the glory;* all honour and reverence, all love and thankfulness, are due unto thee; therefore we render our adorations and acknowledgments to thee. Even so, to thee, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, be for ever ascribed all glory and praise. Amen.

[h] Matt. vi. 8; Eph. iii. 20.

AN

EXPOSITION OF THE DECALOGUE.

ALTHOUGH this system of precepts may seem to have been its design rather political than moral; to regard public and external, rather than private and interior action; that great branch of morality, which respecteth ourselves in our private retirements, or in our particular conversation, sobriety of mind and manners, being scarce touched herein, at least not openly and plainly expressed; as also devotion toward God (in any of its kinds, of praise, thanksgiving, confession of sin, prayer and intercession), that great part of natural religion, being not explicitly and positively enjoined: although also (as by the introduction thereto, and some passages therein, especially as it is delivered in Deuteronomy, may appear) it seemeth particularly to concern the Jewish nation; a people called and chosen by God out of all nations, to be governed in a more special and immediate manner by God himself, obliged to him by peculiar benefits and favours, designed by him to a separate manner of living;* being also perhaps in temper and disposition, as well as in condition and circumstances of life, different from other people; whence laws convenient (or in a manner necessary) for them might not so well suit to all others; upon which accounts, as other of their laws, so perchance some passages in this notable part of them, may not unreasonably be deemed peculiarly to concern them; although, however, this system doth more directly and immediately oblige that people, all being formally, and in style of law, directed only to them, promulged in their ears, expressed in their language, inserted into the body of their laws, as a principal member of them; it being also expressly called a *covenant* with that people: (*He declared unto you*, says the text, *his covenant, which he commanded you to perform, even ten commandments*), and accordingly was reposed in the ark, hence it seems named *the ark of the covenant*,[a] the which, when all nations should be converted to God, and admitted into the church, was, as the prophet Jeremiah foretold, to be utterly discarded and laid aside: (*In those days*, saith God in him, *they shall say no more, the ark of the covenant of the Lord: neither shall it come to mind: neither shall they remember it; neither shall they visit it; neither shall* that *be done any more.*[b]) Hence, although some passages herein, according to their primary, strict, and literal meaning, might never have been intended universally and perpetually to oblige;

Yet, notwithstanding these exceptions, if we consider,

1. The manner of its delivery; with what extraordinary solemnity it was proclaimed; how it was dictated immediately from God's own mouth; and written with his finger; or,

2. The matter of it, containing the prime dictates of natural reason, the chief rules of piety toward God, and equity toward our neighbour (whence those elogies conferred on it, in Nehemiah: *Thou camest also down from*

* Ὁ γὰρ ἐν Χωρὴβ παλαιὸς ἤδη νόμος καὶ ὑμῶν φίλων, &c. —Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 228.

[a] Deut. iv. 13; x. 2; Exod. xxxiv. 1, 28.
[b] Jer. iii. 16, 17.

mount Sinai—and gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good statutes and commandments:[c] and by St. Paul; *The law is holy; the commandment holy, just, and good:*[d] for that commendation doth, I suppose, especially respect this part of the Jewish law, out of which he takes his instance, *Thou shalt not covet:*[e]) if we also consider,

3. The end and design of these precepts, which was to ground them in true notions of religion, and to dispose them to the practice of righteousness; to render them loyal and acceptable subjects to God; to promote God's glory and their own good; which being expressed in general concerning their law, doth more especially agree to this system;[f] being as the base and platform, the heart and quintessence of all their other laws; the which seem added as superstructures on it, or fences thereof.

4. If we also consider, that our Saviour did not derogate from this law; but declared his intention only to expound it, or to ampliate and extend it (they are the words of Tertullian and Irenæus;) and how the apostles do sometimes allege some passages in it, as retaining some authority and force to oblige.[g]

5. Considering also, further, that there is no commandment herein (howsoever according to its immediate and direct sense seeming peculiar to that people) which may not in a larger, or in a mysterious and spiritual meaning, which at least may not according to good analogy, or parity of reason, concern us; obliging us, if not by direct authority in punctual manner to the very same thing, yet, as a signification of God's pleasure and approbation, to somewhat answerable and like thereto.

6. Lastly, If we consider that all, or the greatest part of, the main duties concerning us are either plainly expressed, or closely insinuated in them; or may at least be conveniently reduced to them; our Saviour himself having gone before, directing us in the matter and manner of doing it:

Considering, I say, these things, we have no small reason to yield great veneration to this ancient system of precepts: and to acknowledge the great use thereof in order to the guidance of our life and practice: we accordingly shall so descant thereon, as by considering the main drift, intrinsic reason, and spiritual intention of each particular, to reduce the chief precepts of Christian doctrine which oblige us thereto.

Premising thus much, I address my discourse to the particular; omitting all controverted niceties concerning the division thereof, and all circumstantial questions; touching only such things as shall appear substantial and useful.

God spake all these Words, saying:

This is a title, or superscription, like the *Par de le Roi* (*by the King*) at the head of a proclamation, declaring from whom, and in what manner, that which follows doth come; and therefore implying what it is, and how it should be received.

God Spake: It comes from God, as author; and that most immediately, as it were, from his own mouth; and hath consequently the nature and force of a law, obliging to highest regard and obedience; as that which proceedeth from the most sovereign, unquestionable, and uncontrollable authority; which is promulged in a way most evident and most direct: every signification of God's purpose or pleasure is usually called God's word; for *God* (as the apostle says) *in divers kinds and manners did speak unto the fathers;*[h] and to every such word our ear should be attentive, our heart should be submissive, our hand should be obedient; but especially they should be so, when God himself immediately declares his mind and will; as he did notoriously in this case, by a great voice, distinctly audible and intelligible, miraculously formed by himself: *Behold* (say the people), *the Lord our God hath showed us his glory and his greatness, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire: we have seen this day that God doth talk with man, and he liveth:*[i] and if what ever is in God's name (by message of angels, by inspiration of men, or by

[c] Neh. ix. 13.
[d] Rom. vii. 12.
[e] Rom. vii. 7.
[f] Deut. x. 12.
[g] Rom. vii. 7; Eph. vi. 2.
[h] Heb. i. 1.
[i] Deut. v. 24.

any other ways) revealed, must be entertained with all submiss respect, what regard is due to that word, which God is pleased, not by his ministers and instruments, but himself in person, as it were, to pronounce!

These words: that is, these speeches or sentences (for so a *word* in scripture style signifieth;) or these things and matters (for the Hebrew word *debrim*, as the Greek ῥήματα, signifieth both words and things:) they are several times in the Pentateuch called the *ten words* or *ten things;* whence the system of them is named the *Decalogue.*[j]

All these words:[k] all, without distinction or exception, did proceed from the same authority, and in the same manner; and all therefore do require the like regard and observance to be yielded to them.

I am the Lord:

or, *I am Jehovah, thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt:*

These words are by some taken for a precept, enjoining the acknowledgment and acceptance of God, answerable to what is here implied; and consequently all the positive duties of religion, deducible hence: but we see the style is declarative and assertive, not directly imperative; and so it may pass rather as a preface, further enforcing obligation to obedience; wherein are expressed or intimated the chief reasons upon which it is grounded; every word containing in it somewhat of remarkable emphasis.

I am Jehovah; or that very same God, who under this appellation discoverd myself to thy forefathers; who enacted a special covenant with them; who received homage, worship, and engagements to service from them; who promised especial protection and favour to them and to their seed; that *Jehovah*, who indeed *am*, what this name importeth, the only true and real God; eternal, independent, and indefectible in essence; true and infallible in word; constant and immutable in purpose; firm and faithful in performance of whatever I promise or threaten: that same *Jehovah* I am: to whose words, therefore, upon all accounts of reason, of duty, of interest, thou particularly dost owe most submissive attention and obedience.

Thy God: that supereminent Being and Power, to whom thou peculiarly dost owe worship and honour, love and affection, duty and service: who although he be indeed the Lord of all the world, yet beareth a special relation unto *thee;* as *having chosen* and avouched *thee to be a special people to himself, above all the people that are upon the face of the earth;* having promised thee to *make thee high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name, and in honour;*[l] and having by many signal demonstrations of favour and mercy confirmed to thee the performance of his covenant and promise; thou also reciprocally having *avowed me to be thy God, to walk in my ways, to keep my statutes, my commandments, my judgments, and to hearken to my voice.*[m]

Who brought thee out of the Land of Egypt: out of the House of Bondage:

This is a particular and most remarkable instance, by which it appeareth what God it is that doth thus impose law upon them, and how they are obliged to entertain it: that God it is, who in pursuance of his singular favour toward thee, and of his covenant made with thee, hath particularly obliged thee by so eminent a benefit, in a manner so full of wonder in itself, so full of grace toward thee, delivering thee from saddest oppression and slavery, bringing thee into a desirable state of present liberty and of sure tendency (not otherwise than by thy fault to be frustrated) toward enjoyment of rest, of plenty, of all joy and comfort in the promised land; declaring hereby, as his glorious and divine perfections of wisdom and power, so his exceeding goodness toward thee, his faithful care over thee, his readiness and sufficiency, in all thy needs and exigencies, to protect, preserve, and deliver thee:

I then being such, *Jehovah*, the only true God; *thy God*, by particular engage-

[j] Exod. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13; x. 2; James ii. 10, 11. [k] Matt. v 19.

[l] Deut. vii. 6; xiv. 2; xxvi. 18, 19.
[m] Deut. xxvi. 16.

ment and endearment; thy gracious and bountiful benefactor, not in will only, but in deed, do thou propound my will unto thee; and upon all accounts of general and special duty, of reason, of justice, of gratitude, require thy regard and observance of what follows.

Now what God in a direct and literal sense thus speaketh to the Jewish people, may, according to likeness of case and parity of reason (especially in a mystical and spiritual way), upon more considerable and effectual accounts, be applied unto us: the Lord *Jehovah* is such no less to us than to them; he is *the same yesterday, to-day and for ever*;[n] to him, as to the only true, eternal, and Almighty God, the essential Author, Lord, and Governor of all things, our highest respect and observance are due; he also, in a stricter relation, founded on higher grounds, is *our God*, having chosen us, and consecrated us more especially to himself; having received us into a closer confederacy (*a new and better covenant*, as the apostle calls it, *established upon better promises*;[o]) having obliged us by granting nobler privileges, and dispensing more excellent benefits to us: who likewise hath brought us up out of a spiritual Egypt, and state of infinitely more wretched bondage; hath rescued us from the tyrannical dominion of Satan (a far more intolerably cruel and hard master than any Pharaoh;) hath freed us from serving sin in our souls and bodies, a far harder service than making bricks, or any bodily toil can be; who hath conducted us in the way, and conferred on us an assured hope (if we be not wanting to ourselves and our duty), of entering into the heavenly Canaan, a place of perfect rest and unconceivable bliss; who (as St. Paul expresseth it) *hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and translated us into the kingdom of his most beloved Son*:[p] who therefore here, according to spiritual intent, may be understood to speak in a higher strain to us; justly exacting a more punctual and accurate obedience to his commandments. But so much for that part which seems introductory.

[n] Heb. xiii. 8. [o] Heb. viii. 6; vii. 22.
[p] Col. i. 13.

Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.

(*First Commandment.*)

It is in the Hebrew, There shall be to thee no other Gods (or no strange Gods;[q] for *alii* some render it, some *alieni*), על פני (*al pani*) to my face, or at my face; that is, in comparison, or competition with me; so as to be confronted to me; or together and in consort with me: *I am he* (saith God otherwhere), *and there is no God* עמדי (*immadhi*) *with me*, or beside me;[r] πλὴν ἐμοῦ the LXX. render it; and so the phrase commonly importeth; as in that saying of the scribe, answering to this, *There is one God*, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ, and *there is no other* God *beside him*:[s] but we need not criticise on the words, the sense being plain; as containing a prohibition of assuming any other into partnership with the one true God; acknowledging, in mind or in outward expression, any other for God. The precept, as most of the rest, is in form negative and prohibitive, but supposeth and implieth somewhat affirmative and positive; as the rest also may be conceived to do; it implies this affirmative precept Thou shalt have me for thy God. Now to have for our God, signifies, as to internal disposition of mind, a most high esteem, honour, dread, and love of that Being, as endued with attributes and perfections superlatively excellent; the admiring all his works, approving all his actions, acquiescing in all his proceedings and dealings with us; the reposing our hope and trust in him, as most able and willing to help us, and do us good: in outward expression, to acknowledge, praise, and bless him as such; to yield all fitting demonstrations of respect to his name, and to whatever is specially related to him; patiently to submit to his will, and readily to obey his commandments: these principally, and the like acts of internal devotion and external piety, are comprised in the words *having him for our God*, and we are to understand them here enjoined to us; the same which is in scripture called

[q] Matt. iv.
[r] Deut. xxxii. 39. [s] Mark. xii. 32.

the *fearing*, the *serving*, the *worshipping*, the *loving God with all our heart, and all our soul, and all our mind, and all our might.*[t]

This is implied: and it is expressly prohibited us to yield to any other beside him the like esteem, acknowledgment, or service. That there is in truth but one such being, to whom eminently those acts are due, nature, ancient tradition, general consent, and especially divine revelation, do assure us; whereupon is consequent, that yielding them (yielding, I say, those opinions, estimations, and affections of our mind, or those acknowledgments and expressions in word, or those performances in deed or work, which we before specified) to any other being whatever, whether really existent in the world, or merely formed by our imagination, is highly unreasonable, unbeseeming us, and unjust toward him.

1. It is highly unreasonable, as false and groundless in itself, as vain and unprofitable to us, as productive of many bad effects. It is from error in a matter of the highest nature and manifest consequence; and so beyond any other mistake hurtful to us, as reasonable and intelligent creatures; the *μετάλλαξις τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, the transmuting the truth of God into a lie*, St. Paul calls it;[u] reckoning it for a grievous folly and crime. It is a vanity of all most lamentable; a pursuance of shadows, an embracing of clouds;[v] a building in air, or mere vacuity; a leaning upon that which hath no substance, or no strength to support us, a dreaming and doting upon mere nothing; whence those false deities well in scripture are termed *μάταια, vanities;* for that, as they have no truth, or substance, or efficacy considerable in them, so all our thoughts, affections, expectations, and labours are idly misemployed, and unprofitably mispent upon them.[w]

2. It is also a thing most unbeseeming us men (whom God hath placed in so high a rank of worth and dignity among his creatures; who are in our original so near of kin, so like in nature, so dear in relation and regard unto God himself), to admire and worship, to place our choice affections upon, to afford lowly submissions unto, to rest our hope and confidence in any other but him, who alone truly so far excels us, and can worthily challenge such respects from us: all flattery is base and unworthy; but this of all is the worst and most unbecoming.

3. To do so, is also most unjust and injurious to God; to whom, as to the Author of our being, and of all our good received since, we do owe all that our mind can yield of reverence, all that our heart can hold of affection, all that our tongue can utter of praise, all that our utmost might can perform of service: and since the exhibiting to any other thing part of these must needs not only by that communication debase and derogate from their worth, but also withdraw them in great measure from him, so diminishing and embezzling his due (for we cannot, as our Saviour teacheth us, together adhere unto, or serve, diverse masters;) therefore having any other God, but the true *one*, is a high indignity and a heinous injury to him.*

This command, therefore, is most reasonable upon many accounts; which as it hath been in grossest manner violated by those who have not acknowledged or worshipped any God at all, and by those who have acknowledged and adored many gods (by all Atheists and Polytheists;) from which transgressions thereof we Christians may seem totally exempt, who in formal profession and practice have but one God (the Maker and Lord of all things, infinitely perfect and glorious;) yet there are many subtle, and, perchance, no less mischievous transgressions thereof, of which even we may be very guilty, and to which we are very obnoxious.† If we do not with all our hearts reverence and love the most wise and powerful, the most just and holy, the most good and gracious God; if we do not trust and hope in him, as the fountain of all our good; if we do not

[t] Matt xxii. 37; Luke x. 27; Deut. vi. 5.
[u] Rom i. 25. [v] Jer. ii. 13.
[w] Jer. viii. 19, &c.; Acts xiv. 15, &c.

* Οὐ περιστᾶται πρὸς τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ τινὶ δουλεύειν μετ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ὄνοι κυρίοις δουλεύειν.—Orig. i, viii. p. 382.

† Λέγει ὁ Ξήνων, ὁ τῆς Στωϊκῆς κτίστης αἱρέσεως—μήτε ναοὺς ποιεῖν μήτε ἀγάλματα· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ἄξιον κατασκεύασμα.—Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 426; Id. de Numa. p. 223; Strom. i. *vide* Aug. de C. D. 4, 31.

diligently worship and praise him; if we do not humbly submit to his will and obey his laws, we break the positive intent of this law, not having him for our God; being indeed like those of whom St. Paul speaketh, *who profess to know God* (that is, who in words and outward pretence acknowledge him), *but in works deny him, being abominable, and disobedient, and to every good work reprobate.*[x] Likewise, if we frame in our fancy an idea untrue, disagreeable unto, or unworthy of, that one most excellent Being, and to such a phantasm of our own creation do yield our highest respects and best affections, we break this law, and have another God to ourselves. If upon any creature (whether ourselves or any other thing) we impart our chief esteem or affection, or employ our most earnest care and endeavour, or chiefly rely upon it, or most delight in it, that thing we make a god unto us, are guilty of breaking this law. Hence St. Paul more than once calls the *covetous* (or wrongful) person *an indolater;*[y] and our Lord calls the immoderate pursuit of riches, the serving (or worshipping) of Mammon; and St. Paul speaketh of some persons who were φιλήδονοι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόθεοι, *lovers of pleasure rather than lovers of God;*[z] of whom otherwhere he says, *that their god was their belly:* we meet with those in the scripture, who *put their trust in their horses and their chariots;*[a] with those who *sacrifice to their net, and burn incense to their drag;* with them who *trust in man, and make flesh their arm*[b] (Men of Mezentius's faith, ready to say with him, *Dextra mihi Deus est, et telum quod missile libro;*) with those *whose heart is lifted up* (as the prince of Tyre in Ezekiel), and who *say they are gods:*[c] these, and whoever practise in like manner, are so many transgressors of this covenant: in short, whoever chiefly regards and affects, seeks and pursues, confides and delights in wealth, or honour, or pleasure; wit, wisdom, strength, or beauty; himself, friends, or any other creature, he hath another God, against the design and meaning of this holy law.

[x] Tit. i. 16.
[y] Eph. v. 5; Col. iii. 5; Matt. vi. 24.
[z] 2 Tim. iii. 4.
[a] Phil. iii. 19; Psal. xx. 7.
[b] Hab. i. 16; Jer. xvii. 5.
[c] Virg. Æn. 10; Ezek. xxviii. 2; Isa. x. 13.

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, &c.

(*Second Commandment.*)

The first commandment determined the final object of our religion; this doth limit the manner of exercising and expressing it; as to the chief intent of it, interdicting that mode, which in the practice of ancient times had so generally prevailed, of representing the deities (apprehended so) in some corporeal shape, and thereto yielding such expressions of respect, as they conceived suitable and acceptable to such deities. I cannot stand to declare the rise and progress of such a practice; how the Devil's malice, and some men's fraud conspiring with other men's superstitious ignorance and fondness, prevailed so far to impose upon mankind; I shall only observe, that men naturally are very prone to comply with suggestions to such guises of religion: for as the sense of want, and pain, and manifold inconvenience, not to be removed or remedied by any present sensible means, doth prompt men to wish and seek for help from otherwhere; and this disposes them to entertain any hopes propounded to them (with how little soever ground of probability) of receiving it from any absent or invisible power; as it also consequently engageth them to undertake any conditions required by those who propound such hopes, as needful for obtaining thereof; whence the ordinary sort of men are very apt to embrace any way of religion suggested to them, especially by persons of credit, and authority for knowledge; so also, when the proposition thereof doth come attended with circumstantial appearances, and shows, gratifying their senses, or humouring their passions, or delightfully amusing their fancies, it most easily allures and takes them: as likewise, on the other side, when abstraction of mind and restraint of passion are required, and sense or fancy are little entertained thereby, men are somewhat averse from such proposals of religion, and are not so easily brought heartily to like, or earnest-

ly to embrace them: wherefore since the propounding of images and sensible representations (relating to somewhat not immediately discerned, from whence men are promised the supply of their needs, or relief from the inconveniences which they endure), by their magnificency, beauty, curiosity, strangeness, or even by their sensibility itself, do make so facile and pleasant impressions upon the dull and low conceits of men; it is the less wonderful, that men commonly have been so easily inveigled into such idolatrous superstitions, so unreasonable in themselves, and of so mischievous consequence.* For what can be more senseless, than to imagine, that that Being, which in wisdom and power is sufficient to overrule nature, and thereby to afford us the assistance we need, may be resembled by any of these corporeal things, the best of which we cannot, without debasing ourselves, esteem superior to ourselves? how unreasonable is it to conceit thus, how unworthy is it, and unsuitable to the dignity of our nature, derived from heaven, to crouch unto such mean representations! It is St. Paul's discourse, *Being* (saith he) *the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device.*[d] How injurious also to that most excellent nature must it be, to frame, and expose to view, such, not only homely and mean, but, in respect of the divine nature, most foul and ugly, portraitures of him, which cannot but tend to vilify him in men's conceit!† He that should form the image of a serpent, or a toad, and exhibit it as the similitude of a king, would surely derogate much from his majesty, and beget very mean and unbeseeming conceits of his person in their minds whom he should persuade to take it for such; and infinitely more must he detract from the dignity, and diminish the reverence due to that immense, almighty, all-wise, most pure and perfect Being, who shall presume to present any sensible, any finite, any corruptible thing, as a resemblance of him; *changing* (as St. Paul expresseth it) *the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things;*[e] as the Israelites are said to have *changed their glory* (that is, their glorious God) *into the similitude of an ox, that eateth grass:*[f] no wonder it was that they, who used such expressions of their religion, had so low opinions concerning those supposed deities whom they worshipped; that they supposed them liable to such passions, fathered such actions upon them, described them as vile in their dispositions and their doings, as they represented them in their shape: most reasonable therefore is this prohibition of making any resemblance, of what kind soever (by *picture*, *sculpture*, or *fusion*), in order to religious adoration; and yielding to them any such signification of respect, which the custom or consent of men hath appropriated to religion; as bowing, falling down, lying prostrate before them, or the like: most reasonable, I say; for since there is but one proper and allowable object of our worship, as the first commandment declares and enacts, the making an image of any other existent in nature, or devised by our own fancy in order to the worship thereof, is but a pursuance of that unreasonable, unhandsome, and unjust superstition there forbidden; adding some absurdity in the manner, to the pravity in the substance, of such worship.

And as for that one true object of our devotion, the eternal, immense, and all-perfect God; the glorious excellency of whose nature doth infinitely transcend our comprehension, and consequently of whom we cannot devise any resemblance not infinitely beneath him, unlike to him, unworthy of him (whereby we shall not disparage him, and expose him to irreverent apprehensions, especially with the gross vulgar; whereby indeed we shall not cloud his true, inimitable perfections, and affix imperfections to him; blending inexpressible truth with apparent false-

* Κοινὸς ἁπάντων νόμος,—Max. Tyr. diss. 38, —where he defendeth idolatry.

† Ἐξευτελίζει τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ σεμνότητα ἡ ἐν ἑτοιμῳ τῆς ὄψεως συνήθεια, καὶ τὴν νοητὴν οὐσίαν δι' ὕλης σεβάζεσθαι ἀτιμάζειν ἐστὶν αὐτὴν δι' αἰσθήσεως.—Clem. Strom. v. p. 408.

The being ordinarily exposed to view doth (saith Clemens Alexandrinus), extenuate the venerability of God; and to worship the intelligible nature by matter doth vilify it through the sense.

[d] Acts xvii. 29.

[e] Rom. i. 23.

[f] Psal. cvi. 20.

hood ;) it must be therefore a profane folly to pretend the representing him by any image ; and the doing of it is upon such accounts in many places of scripture forbidden ; and that it is so here, according to the intent of this precept, is plain by that place in Deuteronomy, where Moses reports the ground of this prohibition: *Take ye therefore* (saith he) *good heed unto yourselves ; for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire: lest you corrupt, and make you a graven image :*[g] no shape representing God did appear at his utterance of these laws, to prevent their framing any resemblance of God, and taking occasion to practise this sort of worship, thereby implied to be unreasonable. And the prophet Isaiah having in sublime language and discourse set out the incomparable greatness, power, and majesty of God: (*Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with a span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance ;—before whom the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of a balance :—yea, before whom all nations are as nothing, and are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity :—who sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers : who stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in :*[h]) having, I say, in this, and more such language, endeavoured to describe the might and majesty of God, he infers, *To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto him ?*[i] and thereupon he proceeds to discourse against making images for religious use. Like whereto is the discourse of St. Paul to the Athenians: *God* (saith he) *who made the world and all things that are therein, being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands ; nor is worshipped by the hands of men :—we therefore being the offspring of God, ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, the engravement of art and man's device :*[j]

[g] Deut iv. 15.
[h] Isa. xl. 12-22.
[i] Isa. xl. 25.
[j] Acts xvii. 24-29.

in which place, as the forming any image to represent divine things is manifestly prohibited, so the reasons which we touched against such practice are discernibly enough insinuated.

Neither should we omit, that this law is confirmed in the New Testament, and there made a part of God's new law ; for we are therein often commanded *to flee idols*, not to *be idolaters*, to *shun idolatry* as a most heinous crime, of the highest rank, proceeding from fleshly pravity, inconsistent with good conscience, and exposing to damnation : for the meaning and notion of *idolatry* in which places, why should we understand it otherwise, than according to the plain sense of the word, which is the worship of images, or resemblances ?[k] why should we take it otherwise, than as opposite to God's law, then in force ? why should we otherwise expound it, than according to the common notion and acceptance of God's people at that time ? The word *idolatry* was unknown to other people than the Jews: among the Jews, it signified the violation of the second commandment: wherefore the observance of that commandment is established and enforced by the apostles. The Jews detested the worshipping any images: their detestation was grounded on this law: they therefore, who earnestly exhort them to continue in detestation thereof, do confirm and enforce the obligation of this law: nor can we reasonably suppose any distinction, or reservation for any idolatry (or any worshipping of images), as lawful or allowable to christians ; since the apostles, as they found it universally prohibited to the Jews, so they continued to charge Christians against it. This discourse hath more force, considering that the same reason upon which this law was enacted doth still apparently continue ; men still unmeasurably affecting this fanciful way of religion, being apt in the exercise thereof (if not curbed by a law) to dote upon sensible representations ; being averse from raising up their minds to the only true object of worship, as endued with intelligible and spiritual perfections : this the experience of men's wild eagerness for images, reliques, and other such

[k] 1 John v. 21 ; 1 Cor. x. 7, 14 ; v. 10, 11 ; vi. 9 ; Gal. v. 20 ; Rev. ix. 20 ; xxi. 8 ; xxii. 15.

foolish trinkets, which had almost quite oppressed our religion (as in many ages the best and wisest men did observe and complain), doth plainly evince.

We may add, that if the common tradition and consent of the ancient church is in any case a ground of persuasion, or rule of practice to us, we are thence obliged to disapprove and decline the worshipping images; for nothing can be more evident, than that all such worship was not only carefully eschewed, but zealously detested, by the primitive Christians: this is manifest from most express words of the Fathers generally impugning and condemning all worship of images; which are as applicable to that worship which hath been practised among Christians, as to that of the heathens; their expressions do not signify, nor their arguments prove, any thing, if any worship of images be allowable; if they do not as well condemn and confute the modern, as the ancient Romans; they could not with any reason or modesty have used such words, or urged such reasons, if their practice had been like that which afterward crept into the church: their darts then against pagan idolatry easily might, surely would, have been retorted on themselves; which is so far from having been done, that the pagans accused them for having no images:* *Celsus objecteth* (saith Origen), *that we shun making altars, statues, and shrines, thinking this to be a faithful pledge (or mark) of our secret communion together:*† this Origen answers by confessing the matter of fact, but defending the right: Not for your reason (saith he) we shun these things, but *because we, by the doctrine of Jesus, having found the true manner of piety toward God, do eschew those things, which in conceit or appearance of piety do make men impious*—and *the images of Christians are* (saith he) *their virtues, whereby they resemble God, and truly worship him; and every good Christian, carefully imitating God, is his best statue.*‡

Yea, the Fathers were so far from practising worship of images, that some of them condemn the simple making of them; calling the art of doing it a fallacious art, introduced by the Devil, and forbidden by God; expounding this commandment so, as that in it not only the worshipping, but the forming any similitude is forbidden: *Moses* (saith Clemens Alexandrinus) *did of old expressly give law, that no carved, or fusile, or plastered, or painted portraiture or imagery should be made; that we should not attend to sensible things, but pass to things intelligible:*† and Tertullian in several places saith the same.‡ Whether their exposition (concurring, it seems, with the common opinion of the Jews in their time) were true, I shall not now discuss; that making any similitudes in order to worship is prohibited, is most evident.

In fine, divers of the Fathers say, that all the commands in the Decalogue, excepting the sabbath, do continue in force as naturally obligatory, and as confirmed by the Christian law: for instance, St. Augustine, in his 119th Epistle, speaketh thus. *The other precepts* (excepting the sabbath) *there* (in the Decalogue) *we do observe properly, as they are commanded, without any figurate observation; for we have manifestly learned, not to worship idols, and not to take the name of the Lord our God in vain, to honour father and mother*, &c. *do not figurately pretend one thing and mystically signify another thing, but are so observed as they sound.*

* Cur nullas aras habent, templa nulla, nulla nota simulacra?—*Minut.*

Consuestis crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere, quod neque ædes sacras venerationis ad officia construamus, non Deorum alicujus simulacrum constituamus, aut formam, &c. —*Arnob.* 6.

† ——Κέλσος φησιν ἡμᾶς βωμοὺς, καὶ ἀγάλματα, καὶ νεὼς ἱδρύσθαι φεύγειν, ἐπεὶ τὸ πιστὸν ἡμῖν ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀπορρήτου κοινωνίας οἴεται εἶναι σύνθημα.—viii. p. 389.

Ὁ Μωσῆς τὰς δοκίμους καὶ γλαφυρὰς τέχνας ζωγραφίαν καὶ ἀνδροντοποιΐαν ἐκ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν πολιτείας ἐξέβαλεν.—Philo de Gig.

* —— ἀλλ' ὅτι εὑρόντες, διὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν, τὸν τρόπον τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας, φεύγομεν τὰ φαντασία εὐσεβείας ἀσεβεῖς ποιοῦντα, &c.—*Vide* Tert. de Idol. iii. iv. p. 389, 390.

† Μωσῆς πρόπαλαι διαῤῥήδην ἐνομοθέτησεν μηδὲν δεῖν γλυπτὸν, ἢ χωνευτὸν, ἢ πλαστὸν, ἢ γραπτὸν, ἄγαλμά τε καὶ ἀπεικόνισμα ποιεῖσθαι· ὡς μὴ αἰσθητοῖς προσανέχοιμεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ νοητὰ μετίωμεν, &c.—Clem. Strom. v. p. 408.

Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε ὁ μηδὲ γλυπτὸν εἴδωλον δημιουργεῖν παραινέσας, αὐτὸς ἀπεικόνιζεν τῶν ἁγίων ἄγαλμα.—p. 411.

‡ Tertul. de Spectac. cap. 23; de Idol. 3, 4, 5, &c.; Contra Marc. ii. 22; *vide* Iren. iv. 31, 32; Tertul. de Idol. per tot. Aug. contra Faust. xv. 4, 7; et xix. 18; Contra. 2 Epist. Pet. iii. 4.

But so much for the prohibition: I shall add, that we may conceive this positive precept implied and intended here, That in our devotions and religious services of God, we should raise our mind above gross sense and fancy; that we should entertain high and worthy conceptions of God; that we should apprehend him incomparably superior to all things which we do see or know; that we direct our minds unto him as to a Being transcendently perfect in goodness, justice, wisdom, and power, above what we can comprehend and think; that which our Saviour calls *worshipping God in spirit and truth*;[l] which is (as I take it) the especial positive duty of this commandment.

I need not further to urge, how presumptuous and dangerous the practices of those men are, who (to the great danger and scandal of Christianity among Jews, and Mahometans, and men of other religions), notwithstanding these commandments of God, backed with others of the same import, frequently occurring in the holy scripture (never, that we find any intimation of, repealed or relaxed), particularly against that signal one made use of by our Saviour, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve;* without any ancient good authority or example, without any necessity or good reason inducing, do not only yield themselves, but violently force others to yield unto angels, and unto the souls of dead men (men of dubious state in reference to God, not having passed the last trial and judgment, the result whereof it is a profane temerity in us peremptorily to anticipate), all kinds of worship, both internal (reposing trust and hope in them of obtaining benefits from them; attributing unto them in their esteem the knowledge and power which, for all that we can know, are incommunicably proper unto God himself) and external, of prayer and invocation, of praise and thanksgiving; and not only thus, as to the substance, imparting a kind of divine worship to them, but, as to the manner, erecting images of them, even in the places devoted to God's own service, and affording to them the same expressions of reverence and respect that we do or can present unto God himself (with great solemnity dedicating such images to them, with huge care and cost decking them, with great semblance of devotion saluting them, and casting themselves down before them; carrying them in procession, exposing them to the people, and making long pilgrimages to them;) so that instead of the spiritual worship of God himself, peculiarly required of Christians, and to which our religion is perfectly suited; a religion chiefly employing sense and fancy, and for the greatest part directed unto the representations of creatures, is substituted, in despite, as it were, and in defiance of these commandments; the plain force of which they endeavour to elude and evade by slender pretences and subtle distinctions, by the like to which there is no law which may not as easily be rendered insignificant and invalid; never in the mean time considering, that these laws were not given to employ the wits of sophisters and schoolmen, but to direct the practice of rude and plain people; to which purpose no law, after such artists have had the handling of it, can signify any thing; nothing being so clear, which by their cavillations and quirks they cannot confound; nothing so smooth, wherein they cannot find or make knots.

There is subjoined to these two commandments (as we reckon them; others have accounted them but one;[m] and their opinion is somewhat countenanced by what is added here seeming to bear a common respect to both; there is, I say, subjoined) a reason, or rather a contexture of reasons, strongly pressing and encouraging to obedience, deterring and discouraging from disobedience to them, or indeed generally to all God's commandments, but especially unto these, most immediately relating to him:

For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God; (am *El kanah, fortis zelotes,* as the Vulgar Latin reads it: it may seem to have been a name of God, implying, as all the other names of God do, some attribute of God; for it is, in the 34th of Exodus, said, *Thou shalt worship no other God;*

[l] John iv. 23, 24.

[m] St. Austin, Bede, &c.

for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, or *Kana, is a jealous God.*[n])

I am a jealous God; that is, a God very tender of my honour, and of my right; who am impatient of any mate, or competitor, in respect to those duties which properly and incommunicably belong unto me: *I am* (saith God in the prophet Isaiah) *the Lord; that is my name, and my glory I will not give to another, nor my praise to graven images.*[o] This *jealousy* doth contain in it, not only a strong dislike, but a fierce displeasure, against the infringers of these laws: *For the Lord thy God* (saith Moses in Deuteronomy, pressing the observance of this same precept, concerning the worship of images) *is a consuming fire, he is a jealous God:*[p] and if God be thus jealous, so easily provoked to indignation by our detracting his due honour, and imparting it to any other, we have great reason to be afraid of incurring the guilt of either; for *who can stand in his sight, when he is angry?* who can support the effects of his displeasure?[q]

Visiting the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me:

Visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children: God doth not only punish those persons themselves, who commit notorious and heinous sins (such as these of idolatry and profaneness, whereby he is publicly wronged and dishonoured), but the more to deter men (who naturally bear much regard to their posterity, and are afraid to be, ashamed to appear, the causes of ruin and calamity to their family), he declareth that in respect to their doings it shall go ill with their posterity; they shall therefore be more strictly and severely dealt with; they shall upon this score be capable of less favour and mercy from God, than otherwise they might have been: for we must not hereby understand, that God will arbitrarily inflict undeserved pains upon the children of bad men for the faults of their ancestors (God doth expressly disclaim such kind of proceeding: *The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father; the soul that sinneth it shall die;*[r] saith he in the prophet: and, *Every one shall die for his own iniquity; Every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge,*[s]) but that he will upon that account withdraw his free favours from them; that measure of grace and indulgence, which otherwise the son of such a person (had he not been a great traitor against God) might, according to the general course of God's goodness, have received, the which might have more effectually restrained him from sin, and consequently have prevented his guilt and his punishment, God may well (in consistence with his justice and goodness, to manifest his detestation of heinous wickedness) withhold from him. Such a son, if he do fall into personal offences (for that also is to be understood; otherwise, such is the goodness of God, that he hath declared, *if a son seeing his father's sins, and considering, doeth not the like, he shall not die for the iniquity of his father, but shall surely live;*[t] if, I say, he falleth into personal sins), God will visit, that is, will use a close inspection and animadversion upon him, will severely punish and avenge his sin; not only upon his own, but on his father's account; examples of which proceeding do in the divine histories frequently occur; in Solomon, in Jeroboam, in Baasha, in Ahab, in Jehu, and in others.[u]

Of them that hate me. We may observe, that in the scripture style the transgressors of God's laws are termed haters and enemies of God; because their actions signify a disposition of mind in them repugnant to the mind of God; and because by them they resist and oppose God's will: no wonder, then, if God deal thus severely with them.

But God not only deters from disobedience by threatening a train of punishments; but he encourageth to obedience by a declaration of his intention (or prom-

[n] Exod. xxxiv. 14.
[o] Isa. xlii. 8.
[p] Deut. iv. 24.
[q] Psal. lxxvi. 7.
[r] Ezek. xviii. 20.
[s] Deut. xxiv. 16; Jer. xxxi. 30.
[t] Ezek. xviii. 14, 17.
[u] 1 Kings xi. 35; xiv. 13; xiii. 34; xiv. 10; xvi. 3; xxi. 29; 2 Kings ix. 8; x. 30; xv. 12; Job. xxvii. 14.

ise) graciously to reward, not only upon the obedient persons themselves, but upon their posterity for ever (in a manner), unto thousands, that is, unto a thousand descents:

Showing Mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

Shewing mercy:[v] God doth not absolutely promise that he will forbear to punish the posterity of good men, in case they offend, but that he will show mercy, and deal the more favourably with them in that respect: his meaning and method in these cases are plainly represented in those words concerning David: *If his children forsake my law, and walk not in my judgments; If they break my statutes, and keep not my commandments; then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes: nevertheless my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him:*[w] God declares he will punish the offending children of very good men, yet so that their misdeeds shall not interrupt his kindness toward the rest of their posterity, or abolish his remembrance of their goodness: so we may see God dealt with Abraham and the patriarchs, passing by (in memory of their love and reverence to him, and their faithful obedience to his will) the manifold provocations of their posterity;[x] so that he did not for a long tract of time, and after many generations passed, suffer them (according as their personal demeanour highly deserved) to incur ruin: upon this consideration he brought them out of Egypt, he settled them in Canaan, he frequently delivered them from their enemies, he restored them from oppressions and captivities; as is often expressed and insinuated in scripture. So also it is frequently mentioned, that for David's sake, his posterity, although highly provoking God by their miscarriages, was protected and preserved; I cannot stand to mention places.[y] I shall only further note, that which is very obvious and most remarkable here, the difference between God's proceeding in way of severity and in way of favour: by a vast proportion the expressions of God's mercy do exceed those of justice, althought both insisting upon like or correspondent grounds: *he visiteth the iniquities* of disobedient fathers *unto the third or fourth generation*, but *he showeth mercy to a thousand generations of those* that love and obey him; he soon forgetteth the wrongs done, but he long retaineth in memory the services performed to him: which consideration should work upon our ingenuity, and engage us willingly to obey so gracious a Lord.

It is also observable, that as disobedience is styled hatred of God, so *loving God* and *keeping his commandments* are conjoined as terms equivalent: they are indeed inseparably connected, love being a certain cause of obedience, obediance an infallible sign of love: *He that hath my commandments, and observeth them, he it is* (saith our Saviour) *that loveth me:* and, *If any man love me, he will keep my word.*[z] But I pass forward to the next.

Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

(*Third Commandment.*)

It consisteth, we see, of a precept, and of a reason deterring from disobedience thereto, by declaring or threatening the mischief ensuing thereon.

The precept is, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain:* it might be rendered, Thou shalt not bring the name of the Lord thy God to a vanity (or to a lie, for so the שוא, *shaveh*,[a] frequently importeth;) that is (as it seems interpreted in a parallel place, where most of these laws are repeated, inculcated, and fenced by additional injunctions), *Thou shalt not swear in my name to a falsehood;* and in the 24th Psalm, *to lift up one's soul to vanity*, is explained by

[v] *Vide* Deut. vii. 9.
[w] Psal. lxxxix. 30; 2 Chron. xxi. 7.
[x] Isa. xlv. 4; Psal. cv. 42; Deut. iv. 37; Levit. xxvi. 42; Exod. ii. 34.
[y] 1 Kings xi. 12, 34; xv. 4; Psal. xviii. 50; Isa. xxxv. i. 35.
[z] John xiv. 21, 16; xxiii. 24.
[a] Levit. xix. 12.

swearing לְמִרְמָה (*lemirmah*) *to deceit or falsehood.*[b] Josephus eexprsseth it by ἐπὶ μηδενὶ φαύλῳ τὸν Θεὸν ὀμνύναι, to *adjure God to no bad matter* (or to no false matter, as the word φαῦλος commonly in good writers is taken.) And our Lord himself, in his Sermon on the Mount, seemeth to respect this law, when he says, *Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients* Οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις, *Ye shall not forswear, but shall render to the Lord your oaths*;[c] for he doth immediately before cite other passages out of the Decalogue (*Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery*), with intention to explain or extend them; and therefore probably he proceeds respecting this law, the most conspicuous of all those which relate to this matter; and if this law be (as some conceive) supposed to signify more strictly, it had been more suitable to his purpose to cite it, than any other of more lax importance; his drift being plainly to extend in matter, and to straiten in obligation, even the fullest and strictest of ancient laws, at least as they were then commonly expounded and understood; yea, even in this case, our Lord seemeth to affirm that the ancients had no law strict and perfect enough for evangelical practice; considering which things, it is probable that the prime intent of this law is to prohibit that great sin of *perjury*, that is, of invoking God's attestation to a lie; thereupon appealing to him, as witness and judge, that what we assert is true; as a surety that what we promise we do stedfastly resolve and shall faithfully endeavour to perform;* implying also, that we do expect a curse, and vengeance from him upon us, if we be found knowingly to falsify in our affirmation, or wilfully to violate our promise.

Swearing is in its own nature immediately an act of religion, and as such was enjoined by God (*Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name*;[d]) it expresseth the pious persuasion we have concerning God's chief attributes and prerogatives; of his omnipresence and omniscience (extending to the knowledge of our most inward thoughts and secret purposes;) of his watchful providence over what we do; of his justice and fidelity in maintaining truth and right, in avenging iniquity and falsehood: the reason of using it was derived from, or grounded upon, a persuasion about God, which hath ever been common among men, that God, the governor and judge of the world, the protector and patron of right, is always ready, upon our invocation and reference unto him, to undertake the cognizance of matters in debate and controversy between men, for the protection of truth, the maintenance of right, and preservation of peace among them: (*An oath*, saith the Apostle, *for confirmation is to men an end of all strife*[e]) so that the use thereof becometh a main instrument of promoting those purposes, the strongest tie of fidelity, the surest ground to proceed upon in administration of justice, the most sacred band of all society; which, therefore, he that shall presume to violate, doth not only most unworthily wrong this or that person, this or that society of men, but doth what in him lies to subvert the foundations of all public justice and peace; withal most impiously abusing and affronting God Almighty himself; profaning his most sacred ordinance, making his name instrumental to the compassing his deceitful and base purposes, despising his judgment, and defying his vengeance.

This seems to be the first and direct meaning of this law; but it may by parity of reason well be extended further, so as we may hereby understand all light and vain swearing, all wanton and irreverent use of God's holy name: and hitherto our Lord hath plainly extended it, forbidding us to swear at all, and charging us in our conversation to use only the simple and plain manner of assertion, or promise, saying only, *Yea, yea*, or *Nay, nay*;[f] without presuming upon any slight occasion to introduce the holy name of God; which indeed we should not without extreme awe of spirit ever think upon, nor without high veneration dare to mention: it is an instance of the most sottish folly, it is an argument of the most horrible impiety that can be, thus (without any cause, or temptation thereto, without any profit or pleasure thence) to trifle

* Πᾶς ὅρκος εἰς κατάραν τελευτᾷ τῆς ἐπιορκίας.

[b] Psal. xxiv. 4; Jos. Arch. iii. 4.

[c] Matt. v. 33. [d] Deut. vi. 13; x. 20.

[e] Heb. vi. 16. [f] Matt. v. 37.

with the divine Majesty; to abuse his glorious name, and provoke his dreadful vengeance, *who will in nowise hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.*

Remember The Sabbath Day to keep it holy.

(*Fourth Commandment.*)

The Decalogue is in several places of scripture (as we before noted) called a covenant with the Jewish people; and the observation of this law is likewise so called in a particular and special manner: it is expressed to have been appointed as a sign, or characteristical note, whereby their peculiar relation to God might be discerned, and they distinguished from all other people. As circumcision was a seal of the covenant made with Abraham and his posterity; so keeping the sabbath did obsignate the covenant made with the children of Israel after their delivery out of Egypt: *The children of Israel* (saith the text) *shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant: it is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever:*[g] and, *I gave them* (saith God in Ezekiel) *my statutes, and showed them my judgments, which if a man do, he shall live in them: moreover I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord, who sanctifies them:*[h] and, *Thou camest down from mount Sinai* (say the Levites in Nehemiah), *and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good statutes and commandments; and madest known unto them thy holy sabbath's:*[i] where *making known to them the sabbaths*, as also otherwhere *giving them the sabbath,*[j] are expressions (together with the special ends of the sabbath's appointment, which are mentioned in those places), confirming the judgment of the ancient Christians, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, &c. who refer the first institution of the sabbath to Moses, affirming (that which indeed the history by its total silence concerning the sabbath before him sufficiently doth seem to confirm) that the patriarchs were not obliged thereto, nor did practise it.*

And we may observe, that the law concerning the sabbath is mentioned and insisted upon separately from the body of their laws, as being in nature different from the rest, and enacted upon a special design; as from the forecited passages appeareth; and further may appear from considering how the condition of the proselytes (those of the stricter sort, called *proselytes of righteousness*) is described in Isaiah: *The sons of the strangers* (saith God in that prophet) *that join themselves to the Lord, to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer:*[k] where to undertake the observance of the sabbath, and to lay hold of the Jewish covenant, are signified to be coincident, or especially coherent.

All the other precepts indeed (one passage in the second commandment, as it may be understood to prohibit absolutely the making of any similitude, being liable to exception) are immediately grounded in the reason of the thing, and have a necessary obligation, even visible to natural light; they consequently have been acknowledged as reasonable and obliging by the general consent of men; or might be so propounded and asserted by argument, as easily to extort such consent: but this command (although as to its general and remote matter it is most evidently reasonable, and requireth that which no man can deny to be matter of necessary duty, yet) as to the more immediate matter, as to the determinate measure and manner of performing those general duties, no reason can discern an obligation distinct from, or antecedent to, the Lawgiver's will, to practise according thereto: that we should

[g] Exod. xxxi. 16.
[h] Ezek. xx. 11, 12, 20.
[i] Neh. ix. 13, 14.
[j] Exod. xvi. 29.

* Καὶ γὰρ μὴ σαββατίσαντες οἱ πρὸωνομασμένοι πάντες δίκαιοι τῷ θεῷ ἐνηρέστησαν, &c.—Just. p. 236.

Ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ ἤρξατο περιτομὴ καὶ ἀπὸ Μωσέως σάββατον, καὶ θυσίαι καὶ προσφοραί, &c.—261.

Abraham sine circumcisione, et sine observatione sabbatorum credidit Deo, &c.—*Iren.* iv. 30.

Tertul. adv. Jud. ii. 4:

[k] Isa. lvi. 6, 7, (4.)

frequently with grateful and joyful sense reflect upon the glorious works of God;[1] (especially that grand and fundamental one, wherein God's wonderful excellencies of goodness, wisdom, and power, were so illustriously displayed, the creation of the world; wherein so great accommodations and benefits were generally dispensed to all the creatures, and to us eminently among them; remembering with deepest respect and most hearty thankfulness our bountiful Maker;) that we should not be unmindful of the special favours by God's gracious providence vouchsafed to our country, our relations, ourselves (especially such very signal ones as was that of the delivery from Egyptian slavery in a manner so remarkable and miraculous;) that we should not spend ourselves and our time in perpetually carking and labouring about affairs touching our body and this present life; but should assign some competent time both for the relaxation of our mind, and for attendance to the concernments of our soul: that also we should allow fitting time of respite and refreshment to those of our brethren whom divine Providence hath disposed into a meaner condition and relation of servants to us; that their lives may not by incessant care and toil be rendered overburdensome and grievous to them, but so that they may with some comfort serve us; that also they be not destituted of leisure and opportunity to serve God, our common master; and to regard the welfare of their souls, no less precious than our own: that also we should show some kindness and mercy even toward our beasts, allowing them some ease from their painful drudgeries in our behalf: these are all of them things which reason evidently dictates, which common sense must needs admit, as duties of piety, justice, and humanity: and to secure the performance of them, both as to the substance, due measure, and fit manner of them, common prudence would suggest that set times should be appointed; in which they should be solemnly and notoriously discharged, under the public testimony and cognizance: and accordingly we find that, in all wise and civil societies, some provision ever hath been made, by appointing festival times, for the practice of such duties, in some kind or degree: *The founders of laws* (saith Seneca) *did institute festival days, that men should publicly be constrained to cheerfulness; interposing, as necessary, a temperament of their pains.** Plato, with a more admirable sagacity, refers the invention, or first institution, of such times unto God himself: *The gods* (saith he, that is, the divine Providence administering affairs here by the ministry of inferior invisible powers, according to his notion and manner of speaking), *pitying mankind, born to painful labour, appointed, for an ease and cessation from their toils, the recourses of festival seasons observed to the gods.*† Thus, I say, reason acknowledges the substance of these duties, and approves the securing their performance, as a good end, or fit matter of law both divine and human. But as to the circumstantial determination of measure and manner; that a *seventh day* precisely should be assigned; that a total cessation from labour for man and beast should be prescribed; this is above reason to discern a necessity of, or a conveniency in comparison with other limitations in those respects devisable and practicable: nor can we assuredly resolve the obligation thereto into any other ground than the pleasure of the most wise Author of this law, who did see what was most fit to be prescribed to those whom this law concerned. Here is indeed mentioned a reason, why God especially did choose this day to bless, and sanctify it in this manner to such purposes; namely, his resting upon the seventh day from his works of creation; the which yet doth not certainly import a natural conveniency, toward accomplishing those purposes, of this precise quantity of time, or in this way of observing it, in preference to any other that might have been appointed; it only seemeth to imply a fitness of these determinations, as containing some-

[1] Psal. cxliii. 5; xcii. 4; cvii. 22; xxvi. 7; cxlv. 10.

* Legum conditores festos instituerunt dies, ut ad hilaritatem homines publice cogerentur, tanquam necessarium laboribus interponentes temperamentum.—*Sen de Tranq. An.*

† Θεοὶ δὲ οἰκτείραντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος ἀναπαύλας τε αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων ἐτάξατο τῶν ἑορτῶν ἀμοιβὰς τοῖς θεοῖς.—Plat. de Leg. ii. p. 787.

what of profitable significancy, that such a correspondency in circumstances of time, and manner of practice, might admonish us concerning the substance of our duty, or a principal part thereof, peculiarly designed in the sanction of this law, the grateful commemoration of God's most glorious work (the foundation, as it were, of all other his acts of beneficence), the creation of the world: for thus in all ceremonial institutions we may observe, that some significant circumstance is selected on purpose to instruct or excite us to practice, by representing to our fancy the nature and intention of the main duty required; as in circumcision, in the passover, in baptism, and other ritual constitutions, it is not hard to perceive: so it being God's design to enforce the performance of that excellent duty, by appropriating a time thereto, we may conceive that he therefore especially selected that day, as most apt to mind them to whom this law was given, of the history of the creation; the reflecting upon and celebrating which was the main duty intended.

Seeing, therefore, the observation of the sabbath is expressed to have a peculiar respect to the children of Israel, as a sign of the covenant made with them when he led them out of Egypt; seeing in its own nature it differeth from the rest of the *ten Laws*, the obligation thereto being not, discernibly to natural light, grounded in the reason of the thing, we can nowise be assured that an universal and perpetual obligation thereto was intended, or that its obligation did extend further than to the Jews, to whom it was as a formal law delivered, and upon special considerations severely inculcated; to whose humour, condition, and circumstances, it might also perhaps be particularly suited: Justin Martyr was of opinion that this law, as many others, was given to the Jews *διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ σκληροκαρδίαν, for their iniquity and hardness of heart*,[m] by way of concession and indulgence; for, because they by their natural disposition were apt to forget their Maker; to neglect the state of their soul, being wholly intent on worldly affairs: to exact intolerable pains from their brethren whoserved them; to use cruelly the poor beasts employed in tilling their ground, or bearing their burdens; therefore God (considering this incorrigible temper of theirs) did indulge six days to them for the prosecution of those affairs to which they were so devoted, contenting himself to exact from them no more than this part of time for his own service, for the benefit of servants and ease of beasts: if he had required more of them, they could, it seems, or would hardly have endured it; the command would perhaps not only have been disobeyed itself, but the dislike thereof might have rendered them averse from all religion and service of God; as it happeneth, when commands very rigorous, and exceeding men's strength, are enjoined: for we see the prophets complain of them, that they could hardly be induced to go thus far, or to afford God this so moderate share of time; but were impatient even for this one day in seven to abstain from their secular business, to relax themselves, or their servants, or their cattle, from their daily labours: they impeach them for *polluting*, *profaning*, *hiding their eyes from* (that is, wholly overlooking, neglecting, and disregarding) *the sabbath;* for *doing their own pleasure* and *exacting their own labours upon it;* for *not delighting* therein, or not willingly observing it:[n] *Hear this* (saith the prophet Amos), *O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the sabbath, that we may set forth wheat?*[o] This being the disposition of that people, not bearing a greater strictness, they not being able to preserve within their hearts a perpetual remembrance of God's works and favours; not to moderate their pursuits of temporal good things; not to bear a due regard and tenderness toward their brethren and their fellow-creatures (the performing which things in a constant uninterrupted tenor, the said holy father and blessed martyr supposeth to be the sabbatism which Christians are bound to observe;*) therefore God, considering their infirmity and incapacity to comply with higher injunctions, did use

[m] Just. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 235, &c.

* Σαββατίζειν ἡμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διακαινὸς ἐθέλει.—p. 229.

[n] Isa. lviii. 3, 13; Ezek. xx. 13, 21; xxii. 26; xxiii. 38.

[o] Amos viii. 4, 5.

(as in the cases of divorce, revenge, and the like) an indulgence toward them, permitting them on the other days to *do their pleasure*,[p] as the prophet speaks, reserving only this day for a punctual and solemn performance of the duties specified: thus discoures that good ancient in his Dialogue with the Jew. However, that this law (as to its circumstantial parts) was not intended to oblige generally and perpetually, we have a most forcible ground to suppose; St. Paul himself his express discharging Christians from the observation thereof: yea, his earnest reprehension of some persons for rigorously insisting thereon, deeming it themselves, and urging it upon others, as a necessary duty to observe it: his conjoining it with other ceremonial observances, whose nature was merely symbolical, and whose design was to continue no longer than till the real substance of that which they represented came into full force and practice: *Let no man* (saith he to the Colossians) *judge you for meat, or drink, or upon account of a festival day, or new moon, or sabbath:*[q] *which things are the shadow of future things; but the body is of Christ* (that is, they did only prefigure and presignify; the real substance intended and represented by them is somewhat in the law and doctrine of Christ; which coming immediately to appear and to oblige, that shadow vanisheth, and ceaseth to have any regard due thereto:) again more sharply to the Galatians, whom some Judaizing dogmatists had reduced, or were reducing to the practice of legal rites, under conceit of needful obligation to them: *How* (saith he) *do ye return again to those weak and beggarly elements, to which back again you are pleased to be enslaved? Ye observe days, and months, and years;*[r] which words, that they relate generally to the Jewish festivals, the context doth plainly enough show and there is good reason to think that they chiefly respect the sabbath we treat on, for which probably these men had the greatest respect and zeal: again, in the 14th to the Romans, the same great patron and champion of Christian liberty not obscurely declareth his mind, that Christians of strength in judgment did regard no day above another, but esteemed all days (he excepteth none) alike, as to any special obligation, grounded upon divine law and right; in subordination to which doctrine we may add, that this appears with great evidence to have been the common opinion of the wisest and most orthodox Christians in the primitive church, the most constant and strict adherence to catholic tradition (who from the apostles' instruction best understood the purport and limits of the liberty purchased by Christ), that this law, as it was not known or practised before Moses, so it ceased to oblige after Christ; being one of the shadows which the evangelical light dispelled, one of the burdens which this law of liberty did take off us.*

Now, although upon these accounts we cannot press the strict observation of this law in all its parts, according to its literal and direct intention, yet we may learn much of our duty, much of God's will, from it: all God's laws, spiritually and wisely understood, did tend to the promoting of piety and virtue; and, abstracting from the special circumstances of that people, to whom they were consigned, may (so far as our case is like theirs, and wherein a common reason doth appear) pass for fit patterns for us to imitate, suggesting proper means of exercising, nourishing, increasing those qualities in us: and so from this law we may learn these duties:

1. That we should frequently call to mind and consider the great and glorious works of God, performed for the general good of his creatures, and specially for mankind: the creation of the world; the redemption of mankind; the nativity, passion, resurrection, and exaltation of our Lord and Saviour, and the like, no less now considerable to us, both in respect of glory due to God and of benefit accruing to us, than was the creation formerly to the Jews.

2. That we are bound to restrain ourselves in the prosecution of worldly business; not distracting our minds with care,

[p] Isa. lviii. 13.

[q] Coloss. ii. 16, 17.—(σαββάτων and σαββάτου are both read; both equivalent.)

[r] Gal. iv. 10.

* Inter omnia decem præcepta solum ibi quod de sabbato positum est figurate observandum præcipitur.—*Aug.* Ep. 119; *vide* Cit. Patres.

not exhausting our bodies with toil about them; but allowing our mind convenient and seasonable freedom, affording our souls sufficient leisure with vigour and alacrity to enjoy its nobler entertainments, and to pursue its higher interests.

3. That we are obliged to use the same indulgence toward those whom divine Providence hath disposed to be under our power, care, or governance: or to allow our children, our subjects, our servants, a competent measure of rest and refreshment from their ordinary labours, sufficient time and leisure undistractedly to serve God, and quietly to mind their spiritual welfare: we must so charitably tender their good, as to permit and procure that their life may be easy and comfortable here; and that also they may have means to obtain for themselves a happy immortality hereafter; not being in these respects either harsh to their outward man, or uncharitable to their souls.

4. That we must not be unmerciful to any creature; not only abstaining from inflicting, in wantonness of humour, needless vexation upon them, but also from wearying and grieving them too much for our emolument or convenience: the advantage and pre-eminency bestowed upon us by God over them should be managed with moderation and clemency; we should be gentle masters to them, not cruel tyrants over them: we should consider that God did make them, as to help and serve us, so to enjoy somewhat themselves of delight and satisfaction in their being; which if we go to deprive them of, rendering their condition intolerable, and worse than if they had no being, as we do abuse and injure them, transgressing the bounds of our right over them, so we encroach upon, disappoint, and wrong their Maker, and cannot therein but displease him: doing thus is a point of injustice not enough considered by them who commit it; they consider not how beastly they are themselves when they misuse poor beasts.

5. We may hence further learn, that it is fit certain times should be allotted for the public and solemn performance of the forenamed duties: common reason prompteth, that God (upon whose protection and disposal the public good depends) should be publicly honoured, and his benefits frequently acknowledged; also that care should be taken in every society, that all states of men should lead their lives in some competent degree of content; that all objects of grievous pity should be removed from public view; also common sense will inform us, that these things cannot effectually be executed without constituting definite periods of time, and limiting circumstances, according to which they shall be practised under public inspection and censure: and these dictates of ordinary prudence the divine Wisdom hath ratified by his exemplary order; the which, in cases wherein he hath not interposed his direct authority by way of precept, may serve for a good direction to governors, what they may with safety, what they should in wisdom, establish; what provision they should make for the promotion of piety and virtue: such a precedent requires greatest veneration and respect, cannot but appear of high moment in consultation about matters of this nature.

It is indeed particularly observable, that in this command there is not an express order concerning the natural or moral service of God (by prayer, or hearing God's Law) to be publicly performed on this day; but the Jews were themselves so wise as to understand these duties couched in the sanctification of the day prescribed to them; and accordingly they practised; they in all places of their habitation did settle synagogues and oratories; to them upon this day they resorted; in them then they did offer devotions to God (as the names *προσευχαί* and *προσευκτήρια* do import;) the Scribes did read the Law, and expound it to the people: *Moses* (saith Josephus) *did command the people to assemble for hearing of the Law, not once, or twice, or many times, but every seventh day, laying aside their works, and exactly to learn it;** whence addeth he, the people became so skilful in the laws, that *if one asked any of them concerning them, he would more easily tell them all than his own name;*† whence also an admirable concord in

*Οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασαμένους, οὐδὲ δίς, ἢ πολλάκις, ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῶν ἔργων ἀφεμένους, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου ἐκέλευσε συλλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν.—Joseph. adv. App. ii. p. 946.

† Ἡμῶν δ' ὁντινοῦν εἴ τις ἔροιτο τοὺς νόμους, ῥᾶον ἂν εἴποι πάντα, ἢ τοὔνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.—Joseph. adv. App. ii. p. 947.

mind and uniformity in practice did, as he further observes, arise: and, *The custom*, saith Philo, *was always as occasion gave leave, especially upon the seventh days, to philosophate*,‡ &c. In consideration of which practice it was, that the Jews so highly valued this precept, that it was a saying among them, *The sabbath weigheth against all the commandments*;[t] as procuring them all to be known and observed. And if that blind people could pick these duties out of this Law, much more should we see ourselves obliged, according to the analogy thereof, to appoint set times for ensuring the practice of them.

6. Again; we may hence also learn our obligation to submit obediently to the constitution of governors relating to this matter; that we readily should observe all solemn times of festivity and rest, which the rulers of church or state do appoint for the securing or the promoting those purposes of piety or charity, according to the measure and manner prescribed by them: for reason approving the thing as good and useful, and divine order more clearly and fully confirming it to be so, and it not appearing that God hath made express determinations about it, it remains, that it is left wholly to them to whose care God hath intrusted the public welfare, and hath committed to their judgments the providing means conducible thereto; having also, consequently, enjoined us in all lawful things to follow their guidance and appointment in order thereto. God decreed death to be inflicted on those who violated his command concerning the sabbath, which showeth how great a fault it is to offend in this particular; and we may reasonably esteem that command to be his, which proceedeth from his ministers by authority from himself, and in conformity to his own pattern.

7. We add, that whereas God required of the Jews such a portion of time to be solemnly dedicated to religion and mercy, we, to whom he hath vouchsafed higher benefits, and proposed greater encouragements, cannot reasonably but deem ourselves obliged to sequester and consecrate as much or more time to the same intents: we should indeed be content to withdraw ourselves more frequently from pursuance of our own profits and pleasures to the service of God, to the remembrance and celebration of his favours; we should willingly allow greater relaxation to our dependents: and should the public be deficient in exacting a performance of such duties from us, it would become us to supply such defects by our private devoting fit and frequent seasons thereto; that in some proportion we may exceed the Jews in grateful piety, as we surpass them in the matter and causes thereof; that we may appear in some degree more charitable than they, as we have much greater reason and obligation to be so than they. So much for this.

I proceed briefly to consider the remaining commandments, the which immediately concern another object: those foregoing did chiefly serve to regulate our religious practice in yielding due reverence toward God; these following (which are supposed to have made up the second of those tables, which, written by God's hand, were delivered to Moses, and preserved in the ark of the testimony) do guide our conversation and carriage toward our neighbour; in the front of which worthily is placed that which obligeth to dutifulness toward our parents; unto whom, after God and his supreme vicegerents, we owe the highest respect, gratitude, and duty.

Honour thy Father and thy Mother.

(*Fifth Commandment.*)

Honour: the word signifies to have in weighty regard, and aptly serves to denote those particular acts of duty, which are otherwhere expressed in scripture; *fear* and *reverence* (*Ye shall fear every man his father and mother:*) *observance* and *obedience* (*Children obey your parents in all things, for this is well pleasing to God:*) *gratitude* and *retribution* (*Let children learn* ἴδιον οἶκον εὐσεβεῖν, *to be pious toward their own family;* and ἀμοιβὰς ἀποδιδόναι, to render suitable returns, or *to requite their parents; for this is good and acceptable before God:*[u]

‡ Ἔθος γὰρ ἦν, δεῖ μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, προηγουμένως δὲ ταῖς ἑβδόμαις, φιλοσοφεῖν, &c.—Philo de Vit. Mos.

[t] Midrash. Exod. xxvi.

[u] Lev. ix. 3; Col. iii. 20; 1 Tim. v. 4.

regarding their instruction and advice (*My son, hear the instruction of thy father, and forsake not the law of thy mother:*[v]) it also comprehendeth a prohibition of the contrary acts, *contemning*, *cursing*, offering *violence* or *contumely* unto, *disobedience* and *contumacy* toward parents, the which are forbidden under capital penalties and dreadful comminations: *Cursed be he that setteth light by his father or mother;* and, *The eye that mocketh at his father, and despiseth to obey his mother, the ravens of the valley shall pick it out, and the young eagles shall eat it;*[w] (that is, God in a fearful and strange manner will avenge that wickedness upon him:) and in the Law it is ordained, that the rebellious and stubborn son, who will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him will not hearken unto them, shall be stoned by all the men of his city, and put to death in that manner.

Whence we may learn the nature of the duty here enjoined, and what rank it beareth among other duties; what high obligation belongs thereto, of what consideration it is with God, and how grievous a crime the violation thereof is; that, briefly, we are obliged to yield our parents high affection of heart, great expressions of respect and observance in word and deed; that the neglect of these duties is, next to that of profaneness and undutifulness toward God himself, the greatest disorder we can be guilty of: this all civil nations have consented to be our duty; and if we consider the grounds upon which it is built, we shall find that reason, justice, and necessity do require it: St. Paul presseth his precept of observance to parents with a τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, *for this is just and equal:*[x] for if we look upon the disposition of parents in their mind toward their children, we may presume them always full of tender affection and good-will toward them, full of desire and care for their good, full of pity and compassion toward them, in the highest and most especial degree beyond what they bear to others; which dispositions in reason and equity do require answerable dispositions in those upon whom they are placed, and who from them do receive inestimable benefits; for if we do regard the effects proceeding from them, we shall discern, that,

1. From parents children do receive being and life; that good which nature inclineth so highly to value and tender, as the foundation of all the good, happiness, and comfort, we are capable of.

2. They are obliged to their parents for the preservation, maintenance, and protection of their life: it is a long time before we come to be able (such is the particular condition of man among all living creatures, so ordered on purpose, as it were, to beget this obligation and endearment) anywise to provide for or to defend ourselves; and the doing thereof, in that senseless and helpless state, relies upon the care, pain, and solicitous vigilance of our parents; the which they are not only always obliged, but are commonly disposed, with admirable willingness to spend on their children.

3. Parents not only thus at first undergo such care and trouble to maintain their children, but by expensive education (often with much inconvenience and incommodity to themselves) they provide means for their future support and subsistence during life.

4. Children are so strictly tied to their parents, as by their willing concession to partake in all the comforts of their state and ornaments of their fortune.

5. The goods acquired by the parents' industry do usually devolve upon their children by inheritance and succession; whence that children live handsomely and comfortably is the reward of their parents' merit, comes from the store that they have carefully provided and laid up for them.

6. To which we may add, that not only the provision for our temporal necessities and conveniences dependeth upon our parents, but the care of our souls, and our spiritual welfare, is incumbent on them; they are obliged to instruct us in the fear of God, and to set us in the way toward eternal happiness.[y]

7. We may consider also, that all this they do most frankly, and out of pure

[v] Prov. i. 8; xxiii. 22.
[w] Deut. xxvii. 16; Exod. xxi. 15, 17.
[x] Eph. vi. 1.
[y] Deut. vi. 7, 20; Eph. vi. 4.

kindness; without regard to any merit antecedent, or benefit consequent to themselves; as they received nothing to oblige and move them to such performances, so they can seldom hope for answerable returns: it is abundant satisfaction to them, if they see their children do well; their chief delight and contentment is in their children's good absolutely and abstractedly, without indirect regards to their own advantage.

Upon these, and the like accounts, it appeareth, that as parents have the affections most resembling those of God toward us, as they perform toward us the actions most like to his, as they are the principal instruments of divine providence and bounty (by which God's blessings are conveyed and conferred upon us;) so they may be deemed in a sort to represent God, and, as his most lively images, have an especial veneration due to them. God himself, to endear and render himself amiable, or in the most kindly way venerable to us, to engage us to a more ready obedience of him, to declare the nature of our duty toward him, assumes the title of Father;[a] and all nations have agreed to style him so: reciprocally also, whereas the duties toward other men are termed justice, or charity, or courtesy, or liberality, or gratitude, those towards parents in every language (I suppose) are styled piety, implying somewhat divine in the object of those duties;[b] it is more than injustice to wrong a parent; it is more than uncharitableness to refuse them succour or relief; it is more than discourtesy to be unkind to them; it is more than sordid avarice to be in their need illiberal to them; it is rather high impiety to offend in any of these kinds.

He that returns not love in answer to their tender affection; that doth not (as occasion requires, and his ability permits) requite the benefits received from them, doth not defer to them an especial reverence, in regard to that sacred name and character they bear, thereby intimates that he would in like manner be unjust, ungrateful, and disingenuous toward God, from whom he hath received the like benefits; the beginning and continuance of his being; the preservation, maintenance, and protection of his life: if he will not honour his earthly parents, whom he hath seen, how will he reverence his heavenly Father, whom he hath not seen? so we may, according to St. John, argue.

I might subjoin, that as justice and ingenuity do enforce this duty, so for the good of the world there is a necessity that it should be observed: if parents are not only by natural instincts disposed, but by divine command obliged, and by human law (the preservation of the world so requiring) constrained to undergo such hardships for the maintenance and education of their children, it is fit and necessary they should be supported and encouraged in the bearing them by reciprocal obligations in children to return them dutiful respect, observance, and requital; the world could not well subsist without children being engaged to these duties: there were no reason to exact, there were no ground to expect, that parents should cheerfully and faithfully discharge their part upon other terms.

To this precept there is added a promise (and it is, as St. Paul observeth, the *first precept that hath a promise* formally annexed;[b] whereby he enforceth his exhortation to the observance thereof:)

That thy Days may be long upon the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

So God expressly promiseth to bless dutiful children with a long life in the comfortable possession of those good things which he should bestow upon them;* this was the most of reward, explicitly covenanted to the Jews, in regard to their obedience; there is also implied a commination of a contrary curse from God upon the infringers of this law, that they should either be immaturely cut off from life (as Abimelech and Absalom were upon this score), or should draw on a wretched life in banishment from the contents thereof: by which things respectively are intimated to us the rewards of piety in this kind, or the punishments of impiety in the future state, whereof the land here men-

[a] Deut. xxxii. 6.
[b] Εὐσεβεῖν, 1 Tim. v. 4; Colere parentes.

* Ἱκανῶς βιώσεις γηροβοσκῶν τοὺς γονεῖς.
[b] Eph. vi. 2.

tioned was a shadow or figure: what length of days in Canaan was to them, that to us is immortal life in heaven; what being excluded thence was then, that now is everlasting death, or banishment into the regions of misery.

I might also note the congruity of the reward propounded, that they who are grateful to those from whom, in subordination to God, they received life, shall by God's dispensation enjoy that life long and well; and that they who neglect the authors of their life shall soon be deprived of it, or of its comforts. But I find the same reward assigned to the diligent observers of other duties; particularly to them who are just in their dealings; to them who are charitable to the poor; to them who are meek and patient; to them who confide in God; and to all good men that obey God's commandments.[c]

I shall only add, further, that we may, according to analogy and like ground of reason, reduce unto this commandment the obligation we have to honour all those who perform toward us beneficial offices like unto those which we receive from our parents; those who preserve our life by relief, protection, or defence; those who afford us maintenance or education; those who watch over us for the good of our body or of our soul; those who instruct us, or advise us; such are our governors and magistrates, either political or ecclesiastical; our benefactors and patrons; our schoolmasters and tutors; our especial faithful friends; and the like: but I pass forward.

In the subsequent precepts are contained the prime rulers of justice toward our neighbour; the observation of which is not only most equal and reasonable in itself, but necessary for the preservation of civil society, and public peace among men; for the procurement of our safe and pleasant living and conversing in the world; men thereby being secured in the quiet enjoyment of God's gifts and the fruits of their industry, and of whatever is dear and precious to them: of their lives first; then of the comforts of their conjugal state; of their possessions; of their reputations: the laws respecting these being here disposed in order, according to the value of their respective objects, in the nature of things, or in the opinion of men, or in regard to the consequences arising from them.

[c] Deut. xvi. 20; Psal. xxxvii. 29, 9, 11; xxxiv. 12, 13, 16; Prov. viii. 16; Deut. xxvi. 15.

Thou shalt not kill.

(*Sixth Commandment.*)

Of all good gifts conferred upon us, none (according to the natural and common esteem of men) is more precious than life itself, the foundation of enjoying the rest: God hath therefore reserved the disposal of it entirely to himself, as his special prerogative; neither he that hath it, nor any other person, having absolutely any just power or right over it: no man can take away any man's life, but by commission or license from God, reasonably presumed to be granted by him: so may God (the absolute king of the world) be supposed to have committed to lawful magistrates, as his vicegerents and officers, in his name and behalf, upon reasonable cause, for preservation of public justice, peace, and order, in a lawful course of justice, to dispose of men's lives, who have forfeited them to the law: (the magistrate, as St. Paul saith, *bearing not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.*[d]) He hath not forbidden sovereigns (in case of necessity, and when amicable means will not prevail) to maintain the safety or welfare of the societies intrusted to their care, even by armed violence, against such as wrongfully invade them, or anywise harm them, and will not otherwise be induced to forbear doing so; in which case the resolution of such differences (insomuch as they cannot be tried at any other bar, or composed by other means) is referred to God's arbitrement, who is *the Lord of Hosts*, the sovereign protector of right, and dispenser of success; the soldier, in a just cause, being then his minister, and carrying a tacit commission from him. God also may be supposed, together with life, with a natural love to it, with means to preserve it, to have imparted to every man a right to defend his life, with its necessary sup-

[d] Rom. xiii. 4; 1 Pet. ii. 14.

ports, against unjust, extreme, and inevitable violence upon it or them: the slaughter, therefore, which may happen in these cases (or in the like, wherein God hath plainly by a general order, or by special command, or by permission reasonably supposed, conferred on any person a power over his neighbour's life, in the maintenance of God's own honour, or in subserviency to public good) is not concerned in the design or meaning of this precept: for he that kills another, in a way not irregular, as a minister of justice, or in a lawful war, as a soldier authorised by a sovereign power here under God, or for his own just and necessary defence, doth not, according to the intent of this law, *kill;* but rather God himself, the Lord of life and death, doth then kill; the authority of killing so being derived from him, and his work being done thereby: *vengeance is his*, and *he* so (by his instruments) *repays it.* But here is forbidden all other voluntary taking away our neighbour's life, when a man acts as a private person; without just and necessary cause, in any illegal or irregular way; upon what motive, principle, or end soever (whether it be out of hatred, spite, envy, revenge; for our presumed safety, or pretended reparation of honour; for promoting what interest, or procuring what satisfaction soever to ourselves), by what means soever, either by direct violence, or by fraudulent contrivance; in an open or clandestine manner; immediately by ourselves, or by means of others; by advising, encouraging, anywise becoming instrumental, or accessory thereto.

This is the crime expressly prohibited: but a positive duty should also be understood; that we are obliged, so far as we are able, to preserve our neighbour's life; by relieving him in extreme need, by succouring him in extreme danger; by admonishing him of any destructive mischief, when he appears tending unawares thereinto; the neglect of which things argueth a murderous disposition toward our neighbour, is in reasonable esteem, and in God's sight, a killing of him; for we mistake, if we think with Cain that we are not our *brother's keepers*, or are not bound, when we are able, to preserve his life.

The violation of which commandment is certainly the most heinous sin that can be committed of all those which are not immediately directed against God himself, or the persons which peculiarly represent him; and a sin which never can escape vengeance and due punishment from him. It is the greatest wrong to God; it is the extremest injury to our neighbour; it is the highest sort of uncharitableness; it is a principal offence against public society.

1. It is an exceeding wrong and affront done unto God; in assuming the disposal of his gifts; in dispossessing him of his rights, by robbing him of a creature, of his child, his servant, his subject (one whose life is precious to him, and toward whom he beareth a tender regard;) an usurping in a high way his sovereign authority, his throne of majesty, his tribunal of justice, his sword of vengeance; to omit the sacrilege, as Philo speaks, committed herein by violating God's own image, which every man doth bear.

2. It is also an extreme injury to the person, who is thereby deprived of an unvaluable good, which can nowise be repaired or compensated: he that loses his life, doth therewith lose all the good he possesseth, or is capable of here, without any possibility of recovering it again: the taking therefore of life can be no suitable revenge, no reasonable satisfaction, for any injury or damage received; it infinitely, in a manner, surpasseth all the evil which any man can sustain from another in his estate, or fame, or welfare of any kind; for those things have their measure, and may be capable of some reparation, but this is altogether extreme and irreparable; and therefore doth include greatest iniquity: add hereto, that not only all temporal good is hereby at once ravished from a man, but the soul also of the person may incur the greatest damage or hazard in respect to its future estate by being thus snatched away: the slayer not only robbeth his brother of his temporal life, but of his time of repentance, and opportunity of making peace with God.

3. It is also the highest uncharitableness to deal thus with our neighbour; arguing that nothing of good-will, of pity, of humanity toward him is left in us: to hate his brother to the death, is the ut-

most pitch of hatred. If in imitation of our Saviour, and out of respect to him, we ought, as St. John instructeth us, to be willing to lay down our lives for our brethren; how enormous a crime, how opposite to Christian charity is it, to take away our brother's life!

4. It is likewise a main offence against the public, not only by unlawful bereaving it of a member and subject, but to its prejudice and dishonour (yea, so far as lies in us, to its subversion and dissolution) assuming to ourselves, pulling away from it, its rights and prerogatives of judgment.

Such, briefly, is the direct intent and importance of this law:[e] but our Saviour in his comment hereon hath explained and extended it further, so as to interdict all that anywise approaches in nature, or in effect tends unto this heinous evil: he means to obstruct all the springs, and extirpate all the roots thereof; such as are rash, causeless, outrageous, inveterate anger, contumelious and despiteful language, reserving grudges or spite in our heart, not endeavouring speedily to reconcile ourselves to them who have done us injury or displeasure; for these things, as they commonly do produce the act of murder, so they argue inclinations thereto (which, if fear and self-respect did not restrain, would produce it), and consequently in moral account, which regardeth not so much the act as the will, are of the same quality therewith; however they arise from the same bitter root of great uncharitableness; upon which score St. John telleth us, that *he that hateth his brother is a murderer*;[f] and consequently in effect all malice and spite, envy, hatred, malignity, rancour, immoderate and pertinacious anger and animosity, are here prohibited.

Thou shalt not commit Adultery.

(*Seventh Commandment.*)

After life (if after that, for this command in the Greek translation of Exodus (though not in Deuteronomy), in some places of the New Testament, and in sundry ancient writers, is placed before that against murder), nothing commonly is more dear to men than the comforts of their conjugal estate; the enjoyment of that special affection and friendship, together with those instances of benevolence, which by divine institution and mutual contract, ratified by most sacred and solemn promises of fidelity, are reserved peculiar to that state: which enclosures, therefore, of his neighbour, whoever shall invade or trespass upon, who shall anywise loose or slacken those holy bands, who, shall attempt the affection or chastity of his neighbour's wife, doth most grievously offend God, and committeth (as Joseph, when he was tempted thereto, did call it) *a great evil against God*, against his neighbour, against himself, against the common society of men. He violateth an institution to which God hath affixed especial marks of respect and sanctity; he wounds his neighbour's honour and interest in the most tender part, wherein the content of his mind and comfort of his life are most deeply concerned. He as much (or rather more) dishonoureth and abuseth himself, not only by committing a fact of so high injustice, but by making himself accessory to the basest perfidiousness that can be. [*Whoso committeth adultery lacketh understanding: he that doth it destroyeth his own soul. A wound and dishonour shall he get; and his reproach shall not be wiped away. For jealousy is the rage of a man: therefore he will not spare in the day of vengeance. He will not regard any ransom; neither will he rest content, though thou givest many gifts.*[g]] He also offendeth against the public quiet and welfare, breeding inextricable confusions and implacable dissensions in families; so that hardly from any other cause such tragical events have issued as from this: in fine, this crime is, as Philo calls it, στυγητὸν, καὶ θεομίσητον ἀδίκημα, *a loathsome unrighteousness, most odious to God*; and *a fire*,[h] as Job representeth it, that consumeth to destruction.

But we must further also consider, that acts of this kind contain also in them another evil: that persons committing them do not only so highly wrong their neighbour, but defile themselves also by the foulest turpitude; in which respect the prohibition of all unlawful and irregular

[e] Matt. v. 21. [f] 1 John iii. 15, 17. [g] Prov. vi. 32-34. [h] Job xxxi. 12.

satisfactions to lustful appetite; all compliance with that great enemy of our souls, the flesh; all kinds of impurity and lasciviousness, not in act only, but in thought, in speech, in gesture, may be reduced to this law:[i] our Lord himself doth so interpret it, as to make it include a forbidding of all unchaste desires; and Christianity doth in a most strict and special manner oblige us to all kinds of sobriety and modesty, of chastity and purity in body and spirit; enjoining us to *abstain from all fleshly lusts, as enemies to our souls*; to *mortify our fleshly members*; to *possess our vessels* (or bodies) *in sanctity and honour*; not to have *any impurity or filthiness so much as named among us*: nor to suffer *a foul word to proceed out of our mouth*: not to *defile our bodies*, consecrated unto God, and made *temples of the Holy Spirit*:[j] excluding persons guilty of such things from any title or capacity of entering into God's kingdom:[k] in fine, representing all such practices as most dishonourable to us, most displeasing to God, most grievous to God's holy Spirit (the fountain of all virtue and goodness), most contrary to the nature and design of our religion, and most destructive of our souls.

Thou shalt not steal.

(*Eighth Commandment.*)

That every man should quietly enjoy those supports and those conveniences of life, which in any honest manner (by God's bounty immediately dispensing it, or by God's blessing upon his industry) he hath acquired the possession of, or right unto, as all reason and equity do require, so it must be acknowledged absolutely necessary for the preservation of common peace, and the maintenance of civil society among men; to secure which purposes, and to encourage honest industry, this law prohibiteth all invasion or usurpation, by any means whatever (either by open violence and extortion, or by clandestine fraud and surreption) of our neighbour's proper goods and rights: he that in any way, against his neighbour's knowledge or will, getteth into his power, or detaineth therein, what doth in equity belong to his neighbour, and which he can restore to him, doth transgress against the intent of this law; as we see it interpreted in Leviticus, where it is thus expressed: *Thou shall not defraud thy neighbour, not rob him.*[l] Defrauding by cunning practice is no less forbidden, than robbing by violent force. Anywise ἀποστερεῖν, (that is, to deprive our neighbour of his due;) νοσφίζειν, to purloin, or (by subtle and sly conveyance) to separate any part of our neighbour's substance from him;[m] πλεονεκτεῖν, to exact or extort anything more than one's due;[n] ὑπερβαίνειν ἐν τῷ πράγματι, *to go beyond*, or overreach our neighbour *in dealing*, to delude and cozen him by false speeches or fallacious pretences, are acts, in St. Paul's expression, to be referred hither, as so many special acts of theft. I cannot stand to reckon up all the sorts of unrighteousness included here, or reducible to this matter (such as, beside downright rapine and cheating, are, foul dealing in bargains and contracts; using false weights and measures; withholding the pledge; detaining the labourer's wages from him; the exercising vexatious, biting, and devouring usuries; removing bounds or possession; oppressing by undue or rigorous exaction; corrupting justice for reward or favour; raising gain by unlawful and shameful arts or practices; consenting or sharing with, advising or instigating to these, and the like acts,[o] these I shall not particularly insist upon), but shall only say, that God expresseth great indignation against, and threateneth most severely to punish, all acts of this kind; *For all* (saith he) *that do such things* (such as use deceitful measures in trade), *and all that do unrighteousness, are an abomination unto the Lord thy God*:[p] ἔκδικος ὁ Θεὸς περὶ πάντων τούτων, *God* (saith St. Paul, speaking against the circumventing and defrauding our neighbour) *is an avenger for all these kinds of things*:[q] nor indeed is the gospel more severe in

[i] Matt. v. 14.
[j] 1 Pet. ii. 11; Col. iii. 5; 1 Thess. iv. 4; Eph. v. 3; iv. 29; 1 Cor. iii. 17; vi. 18, 19.
[k] Eph. v. 4, &c.
[l] Lev. xix. 13.
[m] 1 Cor. vi. 8; Tit. ii. 10.
[n] 1 Thess iv. 6.
[o] Prov. xxii. 18; xx. 14; ix. 24; Ezek. xxii. 12; xviii. 7, 16; Hos. v. 10; Amos viii. 5; Deut. xxv. 13; Lev. xix. 13; Deut. xxiv. 14; Psal. xv. 4; Isa. i. 23; James v. 4.
[p] Deut. xv. 16.
[q] 1 Thess. iv. 6.

denunciation of punishment against any crime than this: *Know ye not that unjust persons* (saith St. Paul, meaning this sort of unjust persons, so most properly and strictly called) *shall not inherit the kingdom of God:*[r] and κλέπται, πλεονέκται, ἅρπαγες, thieves, exactors (or cheaters), and rapacious persons, make a good party in the catalouge of those who shall be excluded from eternal bliss.

I should add the positive duties here to be understood, and referred to this matter, the which are commended to us in scripture: such are, diligence and industry in our calling, whereby, with God's blessing, we may support ourselves, preventing the need, and escaping the temptation of encroachment upon our neighbour's property (whereby we may, as St. Paul speaketh, *have need of nothing*, may *eat our own bread*, may even have *wherewith to impart to the needs of others;*) contentment in that estate wherein God hath placed us, how mean soever; trusting in God and relying upon his providence; *casting our burden and care upon him*, who hath promised *to sustain us*, who *hath said* that *he will never leave or forsake us;*[s] lastly, charitable relief of our neighbour in his need; for in such a case our neighbour hath a title to the goods we possess, derived from the appointment and donation of God, who is the absolute proprietor of all we have, we being only his stewards and dispensers thereof, according to the rules he hath declared; so that if we do not according to his order, supply our poor neighbour, we are in just estimation, we shall in God's judgment appear to be, thieves, both in respect to God himself and to our neighbour; for that we thereby detain from God what by original right is his, and bereave our neighbour of what God hath bestowed on him.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy Neighbour.

(*Ninth Commandment.*)

It is in the Hebrew, *Thou shalt not answer* (to wit, being examined or adjured in judgment) *against thy neighbour as a false witness;* so that primarily, it seems, bearing false testimony against our neighbour (especially in matters of capital or of high concernment to him) is prohibited; yet that not only this great crime, but that all injurious (even extrajudicial) prejudicing our neighbour's reputation, and consequently his safety or his welfare in any sort, is forbidden, we may collect from that explication of this law, or that parallel law, which we have in Leviticus: *Thou shalt not*, it is there said, *go up and down as a talebearer among thy people; neither shalt thou stand against the blood of thy neighbour:*[t] as talebearer, רָכִיל that is, a merchant, or trader in ill reports and stories concerning our neighbour, to his prejudice;* defaming him, or detracting from him, or breeding in the minds of men an ill opinion of him; which vile and mischievous practice is otherwhere under several names condemned and reproved: such are *muttering* (*The words of a mutterer*, saith the Wise Man, *are as wounds, going into the innermost parts of the belly,*) *whispering*, ψιθυρισμοὺς: we have often, in the Son of Sirarch and in St. Paul, mentioned with a bad character, or with prohibition and reproof: *supplanting* (so in the good man's description, Psal. xv. it is said, *He supplants not with his tongue;* so the word signifies:) *detraction*, or *backbiting*, καταλαλία, which is so often in the apostolical writings forbidden and reprehended: *slander*, or *calumny*, and *sycophantry;* that is, oppressing, abusing, or any way harming men by false tales, suggestions, or pretences:[u] which sort of practices, how base they are in themselves (nothing being more unworthy of an honest and ingenuous mind, nothing more ugly to the judgment of them who have any sense of goodness;) how contrary they are to justice, which doth not permit us to wrong our neighbour, as well in his credit and good name, as in his other goods (for they perhaps may be as much valued by him, may really be of as much

[r] 1 Cor. vi. 9.
[s] Eph. iv. 28; 1 Thess. iv. 12; 2 Thess. viii. 12; Phil. iv. 11; 1 Tim. vi. 8; Prov. xxx. 8; Psal. lv. 23; 1 Pet. v. 7; Heb. xiii. 5.

* LXX. οὐ πορεύσῃ δόλῳ.
[t] Levit. xix. 16.
[u] Prov. xviii. 8; כרכן Sirac. v. 14; xxi. 30; xxviii. 13; 2 Cor. xii. 20; Rom. i. 30; Psal. xv. 3; רבל, 2 Cor. xii. 20; James iv. 11; Rom. i. 30; 1 Pet. ii. 1; Luke iii. 14; xix. 8; Levit. xix. 11; Psal. lxxii. 4; cxix. 134.

consequence to him, as any thing that he hath;) which bindeth us to abstain from hurting him, as well in word as in deed; how opposite they are to charity, which obligeth us to think the best of our neighbour, and to endeavour that others also may do so;[v] to conceal his real faults and blemishes; much more not to devise and affix false ones to him, not to gather and disperse ill reports to his prejudice; of how mischievous consequence also they are, breeding ill-will, and sowing strife in all societies both public and private (even *separating chief friends*, as the Wise man telleth us), common sense and experience do show:[w] they consequently must be very odious in the sight of God, who loveth the place and welfare of men; and very offensive to men, who do the mischiefs springing from them.

To this law may be reduced our obligations to be candid in our opinions and discourses concerning others (according to St. Paul's excellent description of charity;[x] to forbear rash and harsh censure, as you know our Saviour in his most divine sermon on the mount chargeth us; to be veracious, sincere, and faithful in all our conversation; which duties are so often taught and pressed in both Testaments: *Ye shall not* (saith the Law) *steal, nor deal falsely, nor lie one to another;* and, *To walk uprightly, and work righteousness, and speak the truth from his heart*, are the first lineaments in the good man's character drawn by the Psalmist;[y] and, *These are the things ye shall do*, saith God in the prophet; *Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates:* and in the New Testament, *To lay aside lying, to speak the truth every man with his neighbour;* to *lay aside all malice, all guile, all hypocrisies, envyings, and backbitings*, are apostolical commands.[z]

[v] Prov. x. 12; 1 Cor. xiii. 5, 7.
[w] Prov. xvi. 28. [x] 1 Cor. xiii.
[y] Levit. xix. 11; Psal. xv. 2.
[z] Zech. viii. 16; Eph. iv. 25; Col. iii. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 1.

Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbour's House; thou shalt not covet thy Neighbour's Wife; nor his Man-servant, nor his Maid servant, nor his Ox, nor his Ass, nor any thing that is thy Neighbour's.

(*Tenth Commandment.*)

This law is comprehensive and recapitulatory, as it were, of the rest concerning our neighbour, prescribing universal justice toward him (whence St. Mark, it seems, meaneth to render it in one word, by μὴ ἀποστερήσῃς, *deprive not*,[a] or bereave not your neighbour of any thing;) and this not only in outward deed and dealing, but in inward thought and desire, the spring whence they do issue forth (for, *from the heart*, as our Saviour teacheth, *do proceed evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false-witness, blasphemies;*[b]) we are obliged to be so far from depriving our neighbour of any good thing belonging to him, that we are not so much as to wish or desire it; not only to abstain from injurious action, but to repress covetous inclinations: wherein is also implied, that we should have a delight and complacence in our neighbour's good; not envying him any enjoyment; being in our minds content with the portion God pleaseth to vouchsafe us; and entirely trusting in him, that he will supply us with what is needful or befitting to us, without the damage of our neighbour. Thus *God's law is*, as St. Paul observed, *spiritual;*[c] not only restraining exterior acts, but regulating our inmost thoughts, quelling all inordinate appetites and affections of heart within us; the which may be extended so as to respect not only matters of justice toward our neighbour, but all objects whatever of our practice; so as to import that which in the Christian law is so frequently enjoined us, as the life of our religion, *circumcising our hearts, crucifying the flesh with its passions and desires, mortifying our earthly members, putting to death by the Spirit*

[a] Mark x. 19. [b] Matt xv. 19.
[c] Rom. vii. 7, 14.

the deeds of the body, putting off the old man, which is corrupted according to the deceitful lusts: Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, *Thou shalt not unlawfully or irregularly desire*, doth, according to the spiritual intent, import all this.[d]

I have done; and shall only add, that the sum and end of these, and all other good laws, of all religion, and all our duty, is (as we often are taught in the New Testament) comprised in those two rules, of *loving God with all our heart*, and *loving our neighbour as ourselves*;[e] seriously and honestly attending unto which, we can hardly fail of knowing what in any case our duty is: it remains that we employ our best care and endeavour on the conscientious practice thereof; imploring therewith the assistance of God's grace, and that good Spirit, which God hath most graciously promised to those who duly ask it, by which alone we can be enabled to keep God's commandments: to him be all glory and praise. Amen.

[d] Rom. ii. 29; Phil. iii. 3; Col. ii. 11; Gal. v. 24; Rom. vi. 6; Col. iii. 5; ii. 11; Eph. iv. 22; Rom. viii. 13.

[e] 1 Tim. i. 5.

THE

DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

It is a peculiar excellency of our religion, that it doth not much employ men's care, pains, and time, about matters of ceremonial observance; but doth chiefly (and in a manner wholly) exercise them in works of substantial duty, agreeable to reason, perfective of man's nature, productive of true glory to God, and solid benefit to men. Its design is not to amuse our fancies with empty shows, nor to take up our endeavours in fruitless performances; but to render us truly good, and like unto God, first in interior disposition of mind, then in exterior practice; full of hearty love and reverence to God, of tender charity and good-will toward men; of moderation and purity in the enjoyment of these things; of all true piety and virtue; whereby we may become qualified for that life of bliss which it tendereth and promiseth; for conversation in that holy society above, to which it designeth and calleth us. Yet because fancy is naturally a medium, and an effectual instrument of action, and because sensible objects are apt strongly to affect our minds,* it hath pleased the divine Wisdom to apply them, in fit measure, and to sanctify them to those good purposes, by appointing some few solemn and significant rites to be observed by us, being in their own nature proper and useful, and by God designed to declare his mind and gracious intents to us; to consign and convey his grace into our souls, to confirm our faith in him, to raise our devotion toward him, to quicken our resolutions of obeying his will; to enable and excite us to the practice of those great duties, which he requireth of us: *Our Lord Jesus Christ* (saith St. Austin) *hath subjected us to his gentle yoke and light burden; whence, with sacraments most few in number, most easy for observance, most excellent in signification, he bound together the society of new people:* and, *The mercy of God* (saith he again) *would have religion free, by the celebration of a most few and most clear sacraments.*[a]

Of these there appear two (and St. Austin, in the place cited, could instance in no more) of general and principal use, instituted by our Lord himself; which, because they represent to us somewhat not subject to sense, and have a secret influence upon us; because what is intended by them is not immediately discernible by what is done, without some explication (their significancy being not wholly grounded in nature, but depending upon arbitrary institution, as that of words, which is of kin to them; whence St. Austin calls a sacrament, *Verbum visibile*), have usually been called mysteries (that

* It hath, especially upon vulgar and weaker minds, a strong efficacy.

[a] Cypr. Ep. 76.

* Dominus noster leni jugo suo nos subdidit, et sarcinæ levi; unde sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis societatem novi populi colligavit; sicut est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius; et si quid aliud in scripturis canonicis commendatur, &c.—*Ep.* 118.——Religionem paucissimis et manifestissimis celebrationum sacramentis misericordia Dei liberam esse voluit.—*Id. Ep.* 119.

is, actions of a close and occult importance, of deeper meaning and design than is obvious to ordinary perception;) and thence are also called sacraments, for no other reason, I conceive, than because the ancientest translators of the Bible into Latin did usually render the word μυστήριον by the word *sacramentum;* whence every thing containing under it somewhat of abstruse meaning, is by ancient writers termed a sacrament. (So Tertullian calls all Christianity the sacrament of Christian religion; and Elisha's axe he calls the sacrament of wood; and St. Austin speaks of the sacrament of bread, of fish, of numbers, of the rock, &c.* In short, he says of all signs, that *when they belong to divine things they are called sacraments:*† which shows to how small purpose the disputes are, yea, on what small grounds the decrees are, concerning the number, general nature, and efficacy of sacraments: for where a name or form of a sacrament is of so large, ambiguous, and indeterminate signification, there can be nothing but confusion in the disputes about it.) But those which chiefly at least, and in way of eminency, have obtained this name, are those two instituted by our Lord, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; of which I shall in order discourse; and so of each, as very briefly to consider the occasion of their institution; the actions enjoined in them; the nature of them, or wherein their mystery doth consist; the ends for which they were intended; and the effects they produce; together with the dispositions and duties (antecedent, concomitant, and consequent) required of us in the use and practice of them. And first,

OF BAPTISM.‡

THERE were, as the Apostle to the Hebrews telleth us, in sacred use among the Jews, διάφοροι βαπτισμοὶ, *several kinds of baptisms.*[b] The learned in their laws and customs teach, that they never did receive any person into their covenant, whether that which was more strict (to which natural Jews *and proselytes of righteousness* were tied), or that which was more lax, with which strangers and proselytes of the gate did comply, without a baptism. And that priests and Levites entering into their office were to be sanctified by washing with water, we see plainly prescribed in their Law;[c] likewise that all persons who had contracted any kind of defilement were purified by the like ceremony, particularly children new born, is expressed there.[d] Moreover, that it was in use for persons, who were conscious to themselves of having transgressed God's law, being in God's name invited by some person of eminent authority (a prophet, or like a prophet, one commissionated by God) unto repentance and amendment of life, to be washed by him, in testimony of their steadfast purpose to amend, and in hope to obtain pardon from God of their past offences, and to be reinstated in his favour, appears probable by St. John the Baptist's undertaking, and the success thereof.[e] For if the manner of his proceeding had been altogether unusual and unknown, so many, it seems, would not so readily (without any stir or obstacle) have complied therewith; especially among the Scribes and Pharisees, those zealous adherents to traditionary practice, who, to maintain their credit and interest with the people, were so averse from all appearance of novelty. This practice, than, of washing, in so many cases, and to so many purposes, customary among God's people, to signify men's entering into a new state or course of life, being withal most apt and proper for his design, our blessed Saviour, who never favoured needless innovations, was pleased to assume and impose upon the disciples and followers of his religion, accommodating it to those holy purposes, which we shall now endeavour to declare.

What the action itself enjoined is what the manner and form thereof, is apparent by the words of our Lord's institution: *Going forth therefore* (saith he) *teach* (or *disciple*) *all nations, baptizing them*

* Exod. xii. 26.—Sacramenti natura diserte et plane exprimitur.

† Nimis autem longum est convenienter disputare de varietate signorum, quæ, cum ad res divinas pertinent, Sacramenta appellantur. —*Aug. Ep.* 5.

In cunctis Christi actionibus sacramentorum mysteria corruscarunt.—*Leo.* i. *Ep.* 4.

‡ Βαπτισμῶν διδαχῆ.—Heb. vi. 2.

[b] Heb. ix. 10; Seld. De Synedriis.

[c] Exod. xxix. 4; Numb. viii. 6.

[d] Levit. xv. 8, 16, 18, 27; xxii. 6; Numb. xix. 7, &c.; Ezek. xvi. 4.

[e] John i. 25, 33.

in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things which I have commanded you.[f]

The action is baptizing, or immersing in water; the object thereof, those persons of any nation whom his ministers can by their instruction and persuasion render disciples; that is, such as do sincerely believe the truth of his doctrine, and seriously resolve to obey his commandments. It is performed *in the name;* that is, it is ministered by the authority, and bears special relation unto the Persons of the blessed Trinity as the chief objects of the faith professed, and the sole objects of the obedience undertaken therein; as exhibiting gracious favours unto the person baptized, and as receiving special obligations from him.

Such is the action itself declared to be; the mystery thereof consists in its being a notable sign to represent, and an authentic seal to ratify, the collation then made of certain great benefits to us; and our undertaking correspondent duties toward God.

The benefits which God then signifies, and (upon due terms) engageth to confer on us, are these:

1. The purgation or absolution of us from the guilt of past offences, by a free and full remission of them (the which washing by water, cleansing from all stains, doth most appositely represent;) and consequently God's being reconciled unto us, his receiving us into a state of grace and favour, his freely justifying us (that is, looking upon us, or treating us as just and innocent persons, although before we stood guilty of heinous sins, and thereupon liable to grievous punishments), that these benefits are conferred in baptism, many places of scripture plainly show; [and the primitive church, with most firm and unanimous consent, did believe.] *And now* (saith Ananias to St. Paul), *why dost thou tarry? Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins:* and, *Repent* saith St. Peter, preaching to the Jews), *and let every one of you be baptized for the remission of sins:*[g] and *Christ* (saith St. Paul again to the Ephesians) *loved his church, and delivered himself for it, that he might sanctify it, purging it by the washing of water,* ἐν ῥήματι (that is, he effectually in baptism consigned to the members of his church, that mercy and remission of sins which he purchased and merited by his passion:) and again, *Such* (saith he to the Corinthians) *were some of you* (that is, ye were persons guilty of heinous sins;) *but ye have been washed, ye have been sanctified, ye have been justified in the name of our Lord, and by the Spirit of our God:* where *having been washed in Christ's name* doth (in congruity with what is said in other places) denote baptism in his name;[h] being *sanctified* and *justified* do express the first benefits accompanying that baptism. And indeed, wherever a general remission of sins, or a full sanctification, or consecration, and justification of men's persons in God's sight, are mentioned; that remission of sins, that separation, or dedication unto God's service; that reception into grace, which are consigned in baptism, are (I conceived) understood; there being no other season or occasion, wherein ordinarily and visibly God doth exhibit those benefits.

It may be demanded, How children, by reason *of their innocent age*, are capable of these benefits;* how they can be pardoned, who never had offended; how they can be justified, who never were capable of being unjust? I briefly answer, that because they come from that race, which by sin had forfeited God's favour, and had alienated itself from him; because also they have in them those seeds of pravity, from which afterward certainly, life continuing (without God's restraining grace), will sprout forth innumerable evil actions; therefore that God, overlooking all the defects of their nature, both relative and absolute, or personal, doth assume them into his special favour, is no small benefit to them, answerable to the remission of actual sin, and restitution from the state consequent thereon in others.†

2. In baptism, the gift of God's holy Spirit is conferred, qualifying us for the

[f] Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi 15.

[g] *Vide* Just. Apol. 2; Tertul. de Bapt. &c.; Acts xxii. 16; ii. 38; Eph. v. 26.

* Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum?—*Tertul.*

† —— impletur apud nos Spiritu Sancto puerorum innocens ætas, &c.—*Cypr. Epist.* 10.

[h] 1 Cor. vi. 11.

state into which we then come, and enabling us to preform the duties we then undertake, which otherwise we should be unable to perform; for purification of our hearts from vicious inclinations and desires; for begetting holy dispositions and affections in our souls; for to guide and instruct us, to sustain and strengthen us, to encourage and comfort us in all the course of Christian piety: the which effects are well also figured by water, which purifieth things both from inherent and adherent filth. That this benefit is annexed to baptism, the scripture also teacheth us: *Be baptized* (saith St. Peter) *in the name of Christ to the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost*:[i] εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτισθημεν, We *being baptized in one body, are made to drink of one Spirit* (saith St. Paul:[j]) and with the *laver of regeneration* St. Paul again enjoined the *renovation of the Holy Ghost*: and it is represented as an advantage of our Savour's baptism above that of John, that our Lord not only baptized *with water to repentance, but with the Holy Ghost, and fire.*[*]

Some preventing operations of the Holy Ghost (whereby God freely draweth men to Christianity, persuading their minds to assent thereto, inspiring their hearts with resolutions to comply with it) do precede baptism; but a more full communication thereof (due by compact, assured by promise), for the confirming and maintaining us in the firm belief and constant practice of Christianity, is consequent thereon: *After ye had believed, ye were sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise*, saith St. Paul.[k] To signify which benefit then conferred, the ancient Christians did to baptism annex the chrism, or holy unction, signifying the collation of that healing and cheering Spirit to the baptized person; that which St. Paul may seem to respect, when he saith, *He that establisheth* (or confirmeth) *us with you into Christ, and who hath anointed us, is God; who also hath sealed us, and hath given us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.*[l]

3. With those gifts is connected the benefit of regeneration, implying our entrance into a new state and course of life; being endowed with new faculties, dispositions, and capacities of souls; becoming new creatures and new men, as it were, *renewed after the likeness of God in righteousness and true holiness;*[m] our being sanctified in our hearts and lives, being mortified to fleshly lusts and worldly affections, being quickened to a spiritual life and heavenly conversation: in short, becoming, in relation and in disposition of mind, the children of God. This the matter and the action of baptism do set out: for as children new born (for cleansing them from impurities adherent from the womb), both among the Jews and other people, were wont to be washed;[*] so are we in baptism, signifying our purification from natural and worldly defilements: the mersion also in water, and the emersion thence, doth figure our death to the former, and reviving to a new life. Whence baptism is by St. Paul called *the laver of regeneration;* and our Lord saith, that *if a man be not born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God;*[n] that is, every one becoming a Christian is by baptism regenerated, or put into a new state of life, getteth new dispositions of soul, and new relations to God: *Ye are all* (saith St. Paul) *the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus;*[o] that is, by embracing his doctrine, and submitting to his law professedly in baptism: and, *We* (saith St. Paul again) *are buried with Christ through baptism unto death; that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, so also we should walk in newness of life.*[p]

4. With these benefits is conjoined that of being inserted into God's church, his family, the number of his chosen people, the mystical body of Christ, whereby we become entitled to the privileges and immunities of that heavenly corporation. *We* (saith St. Paul) *have been all baptized in one Spirit into one body*, the mystical body of Christ:[q] and, *So many of you* (saith he again) *as have been baptized*

* Λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, ἀνακαίνωσις πνεύματος ἁγίου,—Tit. iii. 5; Matt. iii. 11.

[i] Acts ii. 38.

[j] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[k] Eph. i. 14.

[l] 2 Cor. i. 21.

* Ezek. xvi. 4.—λούσασα καὶ ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτι.—Theocr.

[m] Eph. ii. 22, 23, 24; Col. iii. 10; 2 Cor. v. 17.

[n] Tit. iii. 5; John iii. 5.

[o] Gal. iii. 26.

[p] Rom. vi. 4; Col. ii. 12.

[q] 1 Cor. xii. 13.

into Christ (into Christ mystical, or the church) *have put on Christ; and ye are* (adds he) *all one in Christ Jesus.*[r] As proselytes among the Jews by baptism were admitted unto the communion and privileges of the Jewish, so thereby are we received into the like communion and privileges of the Christian, far more excellent, society.

5. In consequence of these things, there is with baptism conferred a capacity of, a title unto, an assurance (under condition of persevering in faith and obedience to our Lord) of, eternal life and salvation. We are therein, in St. Peter's words, *regenerated unto a lively hope of an incorruptible inheritance, by* that *resurrection of Christ,*[s] which is represented to us in this action; and so therein applied, as to beget in us a title and a hope to rise again in like manner to a blissful life; whence we are said therein to rise with him; *Being* (saith St. Paul) *buried with him in baptism, wherein also we were raised again:*[t] whence by the two great apostles baptism is said to save us: *Baptism* (saith St. Peter, the antitype of the delivery in the flood) *doth save us;*[u] that is, admitteth us into the ark, putteth us into the sure way of salvation: and, *God* (saith St. Paul) *according to his mercy saved us, by the laver of regeneration;*[v] and, *He that shall believe, and shall be baptized, shall be saved*, is our Saviour's own word and promise:[w] *shall be saved;* that is, shall be put into a state and way of salvation; continuing in which state, proceeding in which way, he assuredly *shall be saved:* for faith there denoteth perseverance in faith, and baptism implieth performance of the condition therein undertaken; which next is to be considered.

For as this holy rite signifieth and sealeth God's collation of so many great benefits on us; so it also implieth, and, on our part, ratifieth our obligation, then in an especial manner commencing, to several most important duties toward him. It implieth, that we are in mind fully persuaded concerning the truth of that doctrine which God the Father revealed by his blessed Son, and confirmed by the miraculous operation of the Holy Ghost; we therein profess our humble and thankful embracing the overtures of mercy and grace purchased for us by our Saviour's meritorious undertaking and performances, the which are then exhibited and tendered to us; we therein declare our hearty resolution to forsake all wicked courses of life, repugnant to the doctrine and law of Christ; fully to conform our lives to his will, living thereafter in all piety, righteousness, and sobriety, as loyal subjects, faithful servants, and dutiful children to God: in brief, we therein are bound, renouncing all erroneous principles, all vicious inclinations, and all other engagements whatever, entirely to devote ourselves to the faith and obedience of God the Father, our glorious and good Maker; of God the Son, our gracious Redeemer; of God the Holy Ghost, our blessed Guide, Assistant, Advocate, and Comforter: these are the duties antecedent unto, and concomitant of, our baptism (immediately and formally required of those who are capable of performing them, mediately and virtually of them who are not), the which are signified by our being baptized in the name of the holy Trinity.

These duties the scripture commonly expresseth by the word, *faith* and *repentance;* sometimes singly, sometimes conjunctly: *If* (said Philip to the eunuch) *thou believest with thy heart, it is lawful* (for thee to be baptized;[x]) faith was an indispensable condition prerequisite thereto: and, *Repent* (saith St. Peter), *and let every one of you be baptized;*[y] repentance also was necessary to precede it: indeed both these (as they are meant in this case) do in effect signify the same; each importeth a being renewed in mind, in judgment, in will, in affection; a serious embracing of Christ's doctrine, and a stedfast resolution to adhere thereto in practice. Hence are those effects or consequences attributed to faith, justifying us, reconciling and bringing us near to God, saving us; because it is the necessary condition required by God, and by him accepted, that we may be capable of those benefits conferred in baptism; the same being also referred to that repentance, or change of mind, which

[r] Gal. iii. 27.
[s] 1 Pet. i. 2.
[t] Col. ii. 12.
[u] 1 Pet. iii. 21.
[v] Tit. iii. 5.
[w] Mark xvi. 16.
[x] Acts viii. 37.
[y] Acts ii. 38.

must accompany our entrance into Christianity; that good conscience with which we stipulate a perpetual devotion and obedience to God;[a] the which therefore doth, as St. Peter telleth us, *save us;* it contributing to our salvation, as a duty necessarily required in order thereto.[a] This is that death to sin, and resurrection to righteousness, that being buried with Christ, and rising again with him, so as to walk in newness of life, which the baptismal action signifies, and which we then really undertake to perform.

And as such are the duties preceding or accompanying baptism; so, making good the engagements they contain, constantly persisting in them, maintaining and improving them, are duties necessarily consequent thereupon: *Having* (saith the apostle) *had our bodies washed with pure water, let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering.*[b] We should indeed continually remember, frequently and seriously consider, what in so solemn a manner we (upon so valuable considerations) did then undertake, promise, and vow to God, diligently striving to perform it; for violating our part of the covenant and stipulation then made, by apostacy in profession or practice from God and goodness, we certainly must forfeit those inestimable benefits which God otherwise hath tied himself to bestow; the pardon of our sins, the favour of God, the being members of Christ, the grace, guidance, assistance, and comfort of the Holy Spirit; the right unto, and hope of, salvation. We so doing, shall not only simply disobey and offend God, but add the highest breach of fidelity to our disobedience, together with the most heinous ingratitude, abusing the greatest grace that could be vouchsafed us: *If we wilfully sin after we have taken the acknowledgment of the truth* (saith the apostle, meaning that solemn profession of our faith in baptism), *we trample under foot the Son of God, we profane the blood of the covenant, we do despite unto the Spirit of grace;*[c] and incurring so deep guilt, we must expect suitable punishment. But I proceed to the other sacrament,

THE EUCHARIST.

Among the wonderful works of power and grace performed by God Almighty in favour of the children of Israel, and in order to their delivery from the Egyptian slavery, a most signal one was the smiting the firstborn in every house of the Egyptians, and passing over the houses of the children of Israel;[d] wherein God declared his just wrath against their cruel oppressors, depriving them in a sudden and dreadful manner of what was nearest and dearest to them; and his gracious mercy toward them, in preserving what was alike dear to them from so woful a calamity; *thus* (as the text expresseth it) putting a difference between the Egyptians and the children of Israel. Now, that the memory of so remarkable a mercy might be preserved, that their affections might be raised to a strong sense of God's goodness, and their faith in him confirmed, so as in the like need to hope for the same favourable help and protection, by the consideration of so notable an experiment, it pleased God to appoint a sacrament, or mysterious rite, to be annually celebrated, representing and recalling to mind that act of God, wherein his special kindness was so eminently demonstrated toward his people: the same also (as did other rites and sacrifices instituted by God among that people) looking directly forward upon that other great delivery from sin and hell, which God in mercy designed toward mankind, to be achieved by our Saviour; prefiguring, that the souls of them who should be willing to forsake the spiritual bondage of sin, should be saved from the ruin coming upon them who would abide therein; God regarding the blood of our Saviour (that immaculate Lamb, sacrificed for them) sprinkled upon the doors of their houses; that is, by hearty faith and repentance, applied to their consciences.[e] The occasion of celebrating which holy rite,

[a] Acts xxvi. 14; v. 31; xx. 21; xxvi. 20; iii. 19; xvii. 30; Rom. v. 1, 2; iii. 25; ii. 4; Gal. ii. 16; iii. 8; Heb. x. 39; Eph. ii. 8; iii. 12; 2 Thess. ii. 13; 2 Tim. ii. 25; 2 Pet. iii. 9; Matt. ix. 13.

[a] Luke xxiv. 47; Mark ii. 17; 1 Pet. iii. 21; Rom. vi. 3, 4, &c.

[b] Heb. x. 23; 2 Pet. iii. 17.

[c] Heb. x. 26, 29.

[d] Cypr. Ep. 63.

[e] Exod. xii. 23; Heb. x. 22; 1 Pet. i. 2.

our Saviour we see did improve to the institution of this sacrament, most agreeing therewith in design, as representative and commemorative of the greatest blessing and mercy that we are capable of having vouchsafed to us; some part of that ancient rite or sacrifice (which was most suitable to the special purposes of this institution, and most conformable to the general constitution of the Christian religion, whereby all bloody sacrifices are abolished) being retained in this.

The action itself (or rather the whole rite, consisting of divers actions) we see plainly described in the Gospels, and in the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, distinguishable into these chief parts: 1. The benediction and consecration (by prayer and thanksgiving) of bread and wine. 2. The breaking of bread, and handling the cup. 3. The delivery and distribution of them to the persons present. 4. The declaration accompanying that delivery, that those symbolical things and actions did represent our Saviour's body given and broken, our Saviour's blood shed and poured out for us, in sanction of the new covenant. 5. The actual partaking of those symbols, by eating the bread and drinking the wine, done by all present.[f] These things we find done at the first institution and exemplary practice of this holy ceremony; the which our Saviour obliged us to imitate, saying, *Do this in remembrance of me.* There followeth in St. Matthew and St. Mark, presently after the narration concerning these particulars,—*Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες*, *And having sung a hymn, they went to the mount of Olives;*[g] which action was indeed in itself proper to conclude the practice of this holy rite; yet what reference it hath thereto, cannot thence be determined: however, with these the church hath always joined several acts of devotion (confessions, prayers, praises, thanksgivings, intercessions, vows) suitable to the nature and design of the sacrament, apt to glorify God, and edify the faithful in the celebration thereof.

Such is the practice itself instituted and enjoined by our Saviour; the mysterious importance thereof, as we find it explained in holy scripture (the only solid and sure ground upon which we can build the explication of supernatural mysteries), consisteth chiefly in these particulars:

1. It was intended for a commemorative representation of our Saviour's passion for us; fit to mind us of it, to move us to consider it, to beget affections in us suitable to the memory and consideration thereof: *Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναμνησιν·* *Do this* (saith our Lord) *for my remembrance*, or in commemoration of me;[h] that is, so as thereby to have raised in you a reflection of mind and heart upon those grievous pains which I shall have endured for your sake, to procure for you a remission of sins and reconciliation to God: and, *So often* (saith St. Paul) *as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup*, *καταγγέλλετε*, *ye tell forth* (or significantly express) *the death of our Lord till he come*, or during his absence from us.[i] The suffering of our Saviour (the most wonderful act of goodness and charity that ever was performed in the world, which produced effects of highest consequence to our benefit, the consideration whereof is apt to work the best dispositions of piety in us) should very frequently be present to our thoughts and affections; and that it may be so with advantage, such a solemn and sensible representation thereof is very conducible; wherein we behold him crucified, as it were *in effigie*, his body broken, his blood poured out for us; it being, in a sort, a putting us into the circumstances of those who did behold our Saviour for us hanging upon the cross. Our Lord being absent in body from us (sitting in heaven at God's right hand), to supply that absence, that we should not be apt to forget him, and thereby become wholly estranged from him, is pleased to order this occasion of being present, and conversing with us, in such a manner, as may retain in our memories his gracious performances for us; may impress in our hearts a kindly sense of them; may raise us up in mind and affection to him.

2. The benefits consequent upon our

[f] 1 Tim. iv. 5; Luke xxii. 19, 20, *εὐχαριστήσας*.—1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, *ἔκλασε*.—Luke xxii. 17, *διαμερίσατε*.—Mark xiv. 22, 23, 24, *ἔπιον ἐκ αὐτοῦ πάντες*.

[g] Matt. xxvi. 30; Mark xiv. 26.

[h] Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 25.

[i] 1 Cor. xi. 26.

Saviour's passion, rightly apprehended, heartily believed, seriously considered by us, are hereby livelily represented, and effectually conveyed, to the sustenance and nourishment of our spiritual life, to the refreshment and comfort of our souls. It is a holy feast, a spiritual repast, a divine entertainment, to which God in kindness invites us; to which, if we come with well-disposed minds, he there feeds us with most holy and delicious viands, with heavenly manna, with most reviving and cherishing liquor. Bread is the staff of life, the most common, most necessary, and most wholesome and most savoury meat; wine is the most pleasant and wholesome also, the most sprightly and cordial drink: by them, therefore, our Lord chose to represent that body and blood, by the obligation of which a capacity of life and health was procured to mankind; the taking in which by right apprehension, tasting it by hearty faith, digesting it by careful attention and meditation, converting it into our substance by devout, grateful, and holy affections, joined with serious and steady resolutions of living answerable thereto, will certainly support and maintain our spiritual life in a vigorous health and happy growth of grace; refreshing our hearts with comfort and satisfaction unspeakable: *He that doeth thus, eats our Saviour's flesh, and drinks his blood* (that is, who, our Saviour interpreteth it, doth *believe in him*;[j] that belief importing all other acts of mind and will connected with right persuasions concerning him), *hath eternal life*, and *shall live for ever*, as himself declares and promises: which benefits, therefore, in the due performance of his holy duty are conveyed unto us.

3. This sacrament declares that union which good Christians partaking thereof have with Christ; their mystical insertion into him, by a close dependence upon him for spiritual life, mercy, grace, and salvation;[k] a constant adherence to him, by faith and obedience; a near conformity to him in mind and affection; an inseparable conjunction with him, by the strictest bands of fidelity, and by the most endearing relations: which things could not more fitly be set out, than by the partaking our best and most necessary food; which being taken in, soon becomes united to us, assimilated and converted into our substance; thereby renewing our strength, and repairing the decays of our nature: wherefore, *He* (saith our Saviour) *that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him*;[l] and, *The cup of blessing* (saith St. Paul) *which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?*[m] We in the outward action partake of the symbols representing our Saviour's body and blood; we in the spiritual intention communicate of his very person, being (according to the manner insinuated) intimately united to him.

4. By this sacrament consequently is signified and sealed that union which is among our Saviour's true disciples communicating therein; their being together united in consent of mind and unity of faith; in mutual good-will and affection; in hope, and tendency to the same blessed end, in spiritual brotherhood and society; especially upon account of their communion with Christ, which most closely ties them one to another; they partaking of this one individual food, become translated, as it were, into one body and substance: *Seeing* (saith St. Paul) *We being many, are one bread, one body; for all of us do partake of one bread.*

In the representing, producing, and promoting these things, we are taught the mystery of this sacrament doth consist; it was designed, as a proper and efficacious instrument, to raise in us pious affections toward our good God and gracious Redeemer; to dispose us to all holy practice; to confirm our faith, to nourish our hope, to quicken our resolutions of walking carefully in the ways of duty; to unite us more fastly to our Saviour, and to combine us in charity one toward another; the accomplishing of which intents thereof doth suppose our faithful and diligent concurrence in the use thereof: whence arise many duties incumbent

[j] John vi. 51, 47; v. 36.
[k] John xv. 4.
[l] John vi. 56.
[m] 1 Cor. x. 16.
[n] *Vide* Cypr. Ep. lxiii. p. 146; lxvii. p. 208; 1 Cor. x. 17.

upon us in respect thereto; some antecedent, some concomitant, some consequent to the use thereof.

1. Before we address ourselves to the partaking of this venerable mystery, we should consider whither we are going, what is the nature and importance of the action we set ourselves about; that we are approaching *to our Lord's table*[o] (so St. Paul calleth it), to come into his more especial presence, to be entertained by him with the dearest welcome and the best cheer that can be; to receive the fullest testimonies of his mercy, and the surest pledges of his favour toward us; that we are going to behold our Lord in tenderest love, offering up himself a sacrifice to God, therein undergoing the sorest pains and foulest disgraces for our good and salvation; that we ought therefore to bring with us dispositions of soul suitable to such an access unto, such an intercourse with, our gracious Lord. Had we the honour and favour to be invited to the table of a great prince, what especial care should we have to dress our bodies in a clean and decent garb, to compose our minds in order to expression of all due respect to him; to bring nothing about us noisome or ugly, that might offend his sight, or displease his mind: the like, surely, and greater care, we should apply, when we thus being called, do go into God's presence and communion. We should, in preparation thereto, with all our power, endeavour to cleanse our souls from all impurity of thought and desire; from all iniquity and perverseness; from all malice, envy, hatred, anger, and all such evil dispositions, which are most offensive to God's all-piercing sight, and unbeseeming his glorious presence; we should dress our souls with all those comely ornaments of grace (with purity, humility, meekness, charity) which will render us acceptable and well-pleasing to him; we should compose our minds into a frame of reverence and awful regard to the majesty of God; into a lowly, calm, and tender disposition of heart, apt to express all repect due to his presence, fit to admit the gracious illapses of his holy Spirit; very susceptive of all holy and heavenly affections, which are suitable to such a communion, or may spring from it. We should therefore remove and abandon from us, not only all vicious inclinations and evil purposes; but even all worldly cares, desires, and passions, which may distract or discompose us, that may dull or deject us, that may cause us to behave ourselves indecently or unworthily before God, that may bereave us of the excellent fruits from so blessed an entertainment.

To these purposes we should, according to St. Paul's advice, δοκιμάζειν ἑαυτοὺς, examine and approve ourselves;[p] considering our past actions and our present inclinations; and accordingly, by serious meditation, and fervent prayer to God for his gracious assistance therein, working our souls into a hearty remorse for our past miscarriages, and a sincere resolution to amend for the future: forsaking all sin, endeavouring in all our actions to serve and please God; *purging out* (as St. Paul again enjoineth us) *the old leaven of vice and wickedness;*[q] so that we may feast, and celebrate this passover, in which *Christ* is mystically sacrificed for us, in the *unleavened* dispositions *of sincerity and truth.* Such are the duties previous to our partaking this sacrament.

2. Those duties which accompany it are, a reverent and devout affection of heart, with a suitable behaviour therein; an awful sense of mind, befitting the majesty of that presence wherein we do appear, answerable to the greatness, and goodness, and holiness of him with whom we converse, becoming the sacredness of those mysteries, which are exhibited to us, (that which St. Paul seemeth to call διακρίνειν τὸ σῶμα Κυρίου, to *discern* or distinguish *our Lord's body;*[r] that is, yielding a peculiar reverence of mind and behaviour in regard thereto;) a devotion of heart, consisting in hearty contrition for our sins, which did expose our Saviour to the enduring such pains, then remembered; in firm resolution to forsake the like thereafter, as injurious, dishonourable, and displeasing to him; in fervent love of him, as full of so wonderful goodness and charity toward us; in most hearty thankfulness for those unconceivably great expressions of kind-

[o] 1 Cor. x. 21.

[p] 1 Cor. xi. 28.

[q] 1 Cor. v. 7.

[r] 1 Cor. xi. 29.

ness toward us; in depest humility, upon sense of our unworthiness to receive such testimonies of grace and favour from him (our unworthiness *to eat the crumbs that fall from his table:* how much more to be admitted into such degress of honourable communion and familiarity, of close conjunction and union with him !) of pious joy in consideration of the excellent privileges herein imparted, and of the blessed fruits accruing to us from his gracious performances; in a comfortable hope of obtaining and enjoying the benefits of his obedience and passion, by the assistance of his grace; in steady faith and full persuasion of mind, that he is (supposing our dutiful compliance) ready to bestow upon us all the blessings then exhibited; in attentively fixing the eyes of our mind, and all the powers of our soul (our understanding, will, memory, fancy, affection) upon him, as willingly pouring forth his life for our salvation; lastly, in motions of enlarged good-will and charity toward all our brethren for his sake, in obedience to his will, and in imitation of him: such like duties should attend our participation of this holy sacrament.

3. The effects of having duly performed which, should appear in the practice of those duties which are consequent thereon; being such as these: an increase of all pious inclinations and affections, expressing themselves in a real amendment of our lives, and producing more goodly fruits of obedience; the thorough digestion of that spiritual nourishment, by our becoming more fastly knit to our Saviour by higher degrees of faith and love; the maintaining a more lively sense of his superabundant goodness; the cherishing those influences of grace which descend upon our hearts in this communion, and improving them to nearer degrees of perfection in all piety and virtue; a watchful care and endeavour in our lives to approve ourselves in some measure worthy of that great honour and favour which God hath vouchsafed us in admitting us to so near approaches to himself; an earnest pursuance of the resolutions, performance of the vows, making good the engagements, which in so solemn a manner, upon so great an occasion, we made, and offered up unto our God and Saviour; finally, the considering that by the breach of such resolutions, by the violation of such engagements, our sins receiving so mighty aggravation of vain inconstancy and wicked perfidiousness, our guilt will hugely be increased; our souls relapsing into so grievous distemper, our spiritual strength will be exceedingly impaired; consequently hence our true comforts will be abated, our best hopes will be shaken, our eternal state will be desperately endangered.

There is one duty which I should not forbear to touch concerning this sacrament; that is, our gladly embracing any opportunity presented of communicating therein; the doing so being not only our duty, but a great aid and instrument of piety; the neglecting it a grievous sin, and productive of great mischiefs to us.

The primitive Christians did very frequently use it, partaking therein, as it seems, at every time of their meeting for God's service: it is said of them by St. Luke, that *they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and communion, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers;* and, *when you meet together, it is not* (as according to the intent and duty of meeting it should be) *to eat the Lord's Supper*, saith St. Paul:* and Justin Martyr, in his second Apology, describing the religious service of God in their assemblies, mentioneth it as a constant part thereof; and Epiphanius reporteth it a custom in the church, derived from apostolical institution, to celebrate the eucharist thrice every week, that is, so often as they did meet to pray and praise God; which practice may well be conceived a great means of kindling and preserving in them that holy fervor of piety, which they so illustriously expressed in their conversation, and in their gladsome suffering for Christ's sake: and the remitting of that frequency, as it is certainly a sign and an effect, so in part it may possibly be reckoned a cause, of the degeneracy of Christian practice, into that great coldness and slackness which afterward did seize upon it, and now doth apparently keep it in a languishing and half-dying state.

The rarer occasions, therefore, we now have of performing this duty (the

* Acts ii. 42; 1 Cor. x.20.

which indeed was always esteemed the principal office of God's service), of enjoying this benefit (the being deprived whereof was also deemed the greatest punishment and infelicity that could arrive to a Christian), the more ready we should be to embrace them. If we dread God's displeasure, if we value our Lord and his benefits, if we tender the life, health, and welfare of our souls, we shall not neglect it; for how can we but extremely offend God by so extreme rudeness, that when he kindly invites us to his table, we are averse from coming thither, or utterly refuse it? that when he calleth us into his presence, we run from him? that when he, with his own hand, offereth us inestimable mercies and blessings, we reject them? It is not only the breach of God's command, who enjoined us *to do this*, but a direct contempt of his favour and goodness, most clearly and largely exhibited in this office. And how can we bear any regard to our Lord, or be anywise sensible of his gracious performances in our behalf, if we are unwilling to join in thankful and joyful commemoration of them? How little do we love our own souls, if we suffer them to pine and starve for want of that food which God here dispenseth for their sustenance and comfort? if we bereave them of enjoying so high a privilege, so inestimable a benefit, so incomparable pleasures as are to be found and felt in this service, or do spring and flow from it? what reasonable excuse can we frame for such neglect? Are we otherwise employed? what business can there be more important, than serving God, and saving our own souls? is it wisdom, in pursuance of any the greatest affair here, to disregard the principal concern of our souls? Do we think ourselves unfit and unworthy to appear in God's presence? but is any man unworthy to obey God's commands? is any man unfit to implore and partake of God's mercy, if he be not unwilling to do it? What unworthiness should hinder us from remembering our Lord's excessive charity towards us, and thanking him for it? from praying for his grace? from resolving to amend our lives? Must we, because we are unworthy, continue so still, by shunning the means of correcting and curing us? Must we increase our unworthiness, by transgressing our duty? If we esteem things well, the conscience of our sinfulness should rather drive us to it, as to our medicine, than detain us from it. There is no man indeed who must not conceive and confess himself unworthy; therefore must no man come thither at God's call? If we have a sense of our sins, and a mind to leave them; if we have a sense of God's goodness, and a heart to thank him for it; we are so worthy, that we shall be kindly received there, and graciously rewarded. If we will not take a little care to work these dispositions in us, we are indeed unworthy; but the being so, from our own perverse negligence, is a bad excuse for the neglect of our duty. In fine, I dare say, that he who, with an honest meaning (although with an imperfect devotion), doth address himself to the performance of this duty, is far more excusable than he that upon whatever score declineth it; no scrupulous shyness can ward us from blame; what then shall we say, if supine sloth, or profane contempt, are the causes of such neglect?

Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ ὡς ἔτυχε προσιέναι κίνδυνος, οὕτω τὸ μὴ κοινωνεῖν τῶν μυστικῶν δείπνων ἐκείνων, λιμὸς καὶ θάνατος. Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ τράπεζα τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τὰ νεῦρα, τῆς διανοίας ὁ σύνδεσμος, τῆς παῤῥησίας ἡ ὑπόθεσις, ἡ ἐλπὶς, ἡ σωτηρία, τὸ φῶς, ἡ ζωή.—Chrys. in 1 Cor. Or. 24.*

Thus having briefly dispatched the considerations that offered themselves upon these subjects, I shall conclude all with prayer to Almighty God, that we, by his grace and help, believing rightly, strongly, constantly, and finally; being frequent and fervent in prayer, and all pious devotion; sincerely obeying all God's commandments; continuing orderly, dutiful, and worthy members of Christ's church, growing continually in grace, by the worthy participation of the holy sacraments, may obtain the end of our faith, the success of our prayers, the reward of our obedience, the continuance in that holy society, the perfect consummation of grace in the possession of eternal joy, glory, and bliss: which God in his infinite mercy grant to us, for our blessed Saviour's sake; to whom be all glory and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

* Mens deficit, quam non recepta Eucharista erigit et accendit.—*Cypr. Ep.* 54.

INTRODUCTION

OF THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY.

§ I. The Roman party doth much glory in unity and certainty of doctrine, as things peculiar to them, and which no other men have any means to attain: yet about divers matters of notable consideration, in what they agree, or of what they are certain, it is hard to descry.

They pretend it very needful that controversies should be decided, and that they have a special knack of doing it: yet do many controversies of great weight and consequence stick on their hands unresolved, many points rest in great doubt and debate among them.

The κύριαι δόξαι of the Roman sect (concerning doctrine, practice, laws, and customs of discipline, rites, and ceremonies) are of divers sorts, or built on divers grounds. 1. Some established by (pretended) general synods. 2. Some founded on decrees of popes. 3. Some entertained as upon tradition, custom, common agreement. 4. Some which their eminent divines or schoolmen do commonly embrace. 5. Some prevailing by the favour of the Roman court, and its zealous dependents.

Hence it is very difficult to know wherein their religion consisteth: for those grounds divers times seem to clash, and accordingly their divines (some building on these, some on others) disagree.

This being so in many points of importance, is so particularly in this.

For instance, the head of their church (as they call it) is, one would think, a subject about which they should thoroughly consent, and which they, by this time, should have cleared from all disputes; so that (so far as their decisive faculty goeth) we might be assured wherein his authority consisteth, and how far it doth extend; seeing the resolution of that point so nearly toucheth the heart of religion, the faith and practice of all Christians, the good of the church, and peace of the world; seeing that no one question (perhaps not all questions together) hath created so many tragical disturbances in Christendom, as that concerning the bounds of papal authority.*

This disagreement of the Roman doctors about the nature and extent of papal authority is a shrewd prejudice against it. If a man should sue for a piece of land, and his advocates (the notablest could be had, and well paid) could not find where it lieth, how it is butted and bounded, from whom it was conveyed to him, one would be very apt to suspect his title. If God had instituted such an office, it is highly probable we might satisfactorily know what the nature and use of it were: the patents and charters for it would declare it.

Yet for resolution in this great case we are left to seek; they not having either the will, or the courage, or the

* Agitur de summa rei Christianæ.—*Bell. Præf. de Rom. Pont.* Upon this one point the very sum and substance of Christianity depends.

power, to determine it. This insuperable problem hath baffled all their infallible methods of deciding controversies; their traditions blundering, their synods clashing, their divines wrangling endlessly about what kind of thing the pope is, and what power he rightly may claim.

"There is" (saith a great divine among them) "so much controversy about the plenitude of ecclesiastical power, and to what things it may extend itself, that few things in that matter are secure."*——

This is a plain argument of the impotency of the pope's power in judging and deciding controversies, or of his cause in this matter; that he cannot define a point so nearly concerning him, and which he so much desireth an agreement in; that he cannot settle his own claim out of doubt; that all his authority cannot secure itself from contest.

So indeed it is, that no spells can allay some spirits; and where interests are irreconcileable, opinions will be so.

Some points are so tough and so touchy, that nobody dare meddle with them, fearing that their resolution will fail of success and submission. Hence even the anathematizing definers of Trent (the boldest undertakers to decide controversies that ever were) did wave this point; the legates of the pope being enjoined "to advertise, That they should not for any cause whatever come to dispute about the pope's authority."†

It was indeed wisely done of them to decline this question, their authority not being strong enough to bear the weight of a decision in favour of the Roman see (against which they could do nothing), according to its pretences; as appeareth by one clear instance. For whereas that council took upon it incidentally to enact, that any prince should be excommuicate, and deprived of the dominion of any city or place, where he should permit a duel to be fought; the prelates of France in the Convention of Orders, anno 1595 did declare against that decree, as infringing their king's authority.*

It was therefore advisedly done not to meddle with so ticklish a point. But in the mean time their policy seemeth greater than their charity; which might have inclined them not to leave the world in darkness and doubt, and unresolved in a point of so main importance (as indeed they did in others of no small consequence, disputed among their divines with obstinate heat, viz. the divine right of bishops, the necessity of residence, the immaculate conception, &c.)

The opinions therefore among them concerning the pope's authority, as they have been, so they are, and in likelihood may continue, very different.

§ II. There are among them those who ascribe to the pope an universal, absolute, and boundless empire over all persons indifferently, and in all matters; conferred and settled on him by Divine immutable sanction: so that all men, of whatever degree, are obliged in conscience to believe whatever he doth authoritatively dictate, and to obey whatever he doth prescribe. So that if princes themselves do refuse obedience to his will, he may excommunicate them, cashier them, depose them, extirpate them. If he chargeth us to hold no communion with our prince, to renounce our allegiance to him, to abandon, oppose, and persecute him, even to death, we may without scruple, we must in duty obey. If he doth interdict whole nations from the exercise of God's worship and service, they must comply therein. So that, according to their conceits, he is in effect sovereign lord of all the world; and superior, even in temporal or civil matters, unto all kings and princes.

It is notorious, that many canonists (if not most) and many divines of that party do maintain this doctrine; affirming, that all the power of Christ (*the Lord of lords, and King of kings*, to whom all power in heaven and earth doth appertain) is

* Tanta est inter doctores controversia de plenitudine ecclesiasticæ potestatis, et ad quæ se extendat, ut pauca sint in ea materia secura——. *Almain. de Auct. Eccl.* cap. 3.

† —— di avertire, Che non si venga mai per qual causa si sia alla disputa dell autorita di papa.—*Concil. Trid.* lib. ii. p. 159.

* Hic articulus est contra authoritatem regis, qui non potest privari, suo dominio temporali, respectu cujus nullum superiorem recognoscit.—*Bochel.* l. v. tit. 20, c. 45. This article is against the authority of the king, who cannot be deprived of his temporal dominion, wherein he acknowledges no superior.

imparted to the pope, as to his vicegerent.*

This is the doctrine which almost 400 years ago Augustinus Triumphus,† in his *egregious work* concerning ecclesiastical power, did teach; attributing to the pope *an incomprehensible and infinite power;* "because great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end."

This is the doctrine which the leading theologue of their sect, their angelical doctor, doth affirm, both directly, saying, that "in the pope is the top of both powers;" and by plain consequence, asserting, that "when any one is denounced excommunicate for apostacy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their oath of allegiance to him."‡

This the same Thomas (or an author passing under his name, in his book touching *The Rule of Princes*) doth teach, affirming, that the pope, "as supreme king of all the world, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of Christianity."||

This (as Cardinal Zabarell near 300 years ago telleth us) is the doctrine "which, for a long time, those who would please popes did persuade them, that they could do all things, whatever they pleased; yea, and things unlawful; and so could do more than God."*

According to this doctrine then current at Rome, in the last Lateran great synod, under the pope's nose and in his ear, one bishop styled him, *prince of the world;*† another orator called him, *king of kings, and monarch of the earth;*‡ another great prelate said of him, that *he had all power above all powers both of heaven and earth.*|| And the same roused up Pope Leo X. in these brave terms: "Snatch up therefore the two-edged sword of divine power, committed to thee; and enjoin, command, and charge, that an universal peace and alliance be made among Christians for at least ten years; and to that bind kings in the fetters of the great King, and constrain nobles by the iron manacles of censures: for to thee is given all power in heaven and in earth."§

This is the doctrine which Baronius, with a Roman confidence, doth so often assert and drive forward, saying, that "there can be no doubt of it, but that the civil principality is subjest to the sacerdotal:"¶ and, that "God hath made the po-

* Prima sententia est, summum pontificem jure divino habere plenissimam potestatem in universum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus ecclesiasticis quam civilibus. Ita docent Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Silvester, et alii non pauci.—*Bell.* v. 1. The first opinion is, that the pope hath a most full power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the doctrine of Aug. Triumphus, &c. and of many others.

† Scripsit egregiam summam de potestate ecclesiæ.—*Bell. de Script.* an. 1301. Error est, non credere pontificem Rom. universalis ecclesiæ pastorem, Petri successorem, et Christi vicarium, supra temporalia et spiritualia universalem non habere primatum; in quem quandoque multi labuntur, dictæ potestatis ignoranti; quæ cum sit infinita, eo quod *magnus est Dominus, et magna virtuo ejus, et magnitudinis ejus non est finis,* omnis creatus intellectus in eius perscrutatione invenitur deficere. *Aug. Triumph. de Potest. Eccl. in præf. ad P. Joh. XXII.*

‡ Thomas in fine Secun. Sentent. dicit in papa esse apicem utriusque potestatis.—*Bell.* v. 1. Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi a dominio, et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt.—*Th.* ii. Secund. qu. 12. art. 2.

|| S. Thomas (in lib. iii. *de Regim. Princ.* cap. 10, 19,) affirmat summum pontificem jure divino habere spiritualem et temporalem potestatem, ut supremum totius mundi regem, adeo ut etiam taleas omnibus Christianis possit imponere, et civitates ac castra destruere pro conservatione Christianitatis.—*Bell.* v. 5.

* Quæ jura sunt notanda, quia male considerata sunt per multos assentatores, qui voluerunt placere pontificibus, per multa retro tempora, et usque ad hodierna suaserunt eis, quod omnia possent; et sic quod facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, et sic plus quam Deus.—*Zab. de Schism.*

† Orbis princeps.—*Episc. Spal.* sess. i. p. 24.

‡ Regum rex, et orbis terrarum monarcha.—*Del. Rio,* sess. viii. p. 87.

|| —Virum, in quo esat potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli, quam terræ.—*Episc. Patrac,* sess. x. p. 132.

§ Arripe ergo gladium divinæ potestatis, tibi creditum, bis acutum; et jube, impera, manda, ut pax universalis et coligatio per decennium inter Christianos ad minus fiat; et reges ad id in compedibus magni regis liga, et nobiles in manicis ferreis censurarum constringe: quoniam tibi data est omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra.—*Ibid.* p. 133.

¶ Politicum principatum sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio.—*Ann.* 57, § 23.

litical government subject to the dominion of the spiritual church."‖

§ III. From that doctrine the opinion in effect doth not differ, which Bellarmine voucheth for the common opinion of catholics, that "by reason of the spiritual power, the pope, at least indirectly, hath a supreme power even in temporal matters."§

This opinion, so common, doth not, I say, in effect and practical consideration, anywise differ from the former; but only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impudence of the other assertion: for the qualifications, *by reason of the spiritual power*, and, *at least indirectly*, are but notional, insignificant, and illusive, in regard to practice: it importing not, if he hath in his keeping a sovereign power, upon what account, or in what formality he doth employ it; seeing that every matter is easily referrible to a spiritual account; seeing he is sole judge upon what account he doth act; seeing experience sheweth, that he will spiritualize all his interests, and upon any occasion exercise that pretended authority; seeing it little mattereth, if he may strike princes, whether he doth it by a downright blow, or slantingly.

§ IV. That such an universal and absolute power hath been claimed by divers popes, successively for many ages, is apparent from their most solemn declarations and notorious practices; whereof (beginning from later times, and rising upwards toward the source of this doctrine) we shall represent some.

The bull of Pope Sixtus V. (An. 1585) against *the two sons of wrath*, Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, beginneth thus: "The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings and princes—It passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all—And if it find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer." And then he proceeds to thunder against them, "We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms;"* and accordingly he depriveth those princes of their kingdoms and dominions, absolveth their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbiddeth them to pay any obedience to them. "By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands."†

Pope Pius V. (An. 1570) one of the holiest popes of the last stamp, who hardly hath escaped canonization until now,‡ beginneth his bull against our Queen Elizabeth in these words: "He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy catholic and apostolic church out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power: this one he hath constituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, destroy,

‖ Politicum imperium subjecit spiritualis ecclesiæ dominio.—*Ibid.* § 53.

§ Tertia sententia media et catholicorum communis, pontificem ut pontificem non habere directe et immediate ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spiritualem, tamen ratione spiritualis habere saltem indirecte potestatem quandam, eamque summam, in temporalibus. —*Bell.* v. 1.

* Ab immensa æterni Regis potentia B. Petro ejusque successoribus tradita auctoritas omnes terrenorum regum et principum superemineat potestates—Inconcussa profert in omnes judicia—Et si quos ordinationi Dei resistentes invenit, severiore hos vindicta ulciscitur, et, quamvis potentiores, de solio dejiciens, veluti superbientis Luciferi ministros, ad infima terræ deturbatos prosternit——. Dominiis, regnis, &c. nos illos illorumque posteros privamus in perpetuum——.

† A juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis et obsequii debito, illos omnes tam universe quam singulatim auctoritate præsentium absolvimus et liberamus; præcipimusque et interdicimus eis universis et singulis, ne illis eorumque monitis, legibus et mandatis audeant obedire.—*Bulla Sixti V. contra Hen. Navarr. R.* &c.

‡ Pius V.—Quem mirum est in albo sanctorum nondum relatum esse.—*Briet. Chr.* anno 1572.

dissipate, ruinate, plant, and build." *—And in the same bull he declares, that "he thereby deprives the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege, whatsoever; and absolves all the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience." †

Pope Clement VI. (An. 1346) did pretend to depose the Emperor Lewis IV.

Pope Clement V. in the great synod of Vienna (An. 1311) declared the emperor subject to him, or standing obliged to him by a proper oath of fealty.‡

Pope Boniface VIII. (An. 1294) hath a decree extant in the canon law running thus: "We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff." || The which subjection, according to his intent, reacheth all matters; for he there challengeth a double sword, and asserteth to himself jurisdiction over all temporal authorities; for "one sword," saith he, "must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power;—whence, if the earthly power doth go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power."§ The which aphorism he proveth by scriptures admirably expounded to that purpose.

This definition might pass for a rant of that boisterous pope ("a man above measure ambitious and arrogant,"*) vented in his passion against king Philip of France, if it had not the advantage (of a greater than which no papal decree is capable) of being expressly confirmed by one of their general councils; for "We" (saith Pope Leo X. in his bull read and passed in the Lateran council) "do renew and approve that holy constitution, with approbation of the present holy council."† Accordingly Melch. Canus saith, that "the Lateran council did renew and approve that extravagant" (indeed extravagant) "constitution:"‡ and Baronius saith of it, that "all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth, who doth not by discord fall from the church."||

The truth is, Pope Boniface did not invent that proposition, but borrowed it from the school; for Thomas Aquinas, in his work against the Greeks, pretendeth to shew, that "it is of necessity to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff."§ The which scholastical aphorism Pope Boniface turned into law, and applied to his purpose of exercising domination over princes; offering, in virtue of it, to deprive King Philip of his kingdom.

The appendix to Mart. Pol. saith of Pope Boniface VIII. "Regem se regum, mundi monarcham, unicum in spiritualibus et temporalibus dominum promulgavit;" that "he openly declared himself to be king of kings, monarch of the world, and sole lord and governor both in spirituals and temporals."

Before him, Pope Innocent IV. (An. 1245) did hold and exemplify the same notion; declaring the Emperor Frederick II. *his vassal, and denouncing, in his general council of Lyons, a sentence of*

* Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terra potestas, unam sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam: hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et ædificet.—*P. Pius V. in Bull. contra R. Eliz.* (*Camb. Hist.* anno 1570.)

† Ipsam prætenso egni jure, nec non omni quocunque dominio, dignitate privilegioque privamus; et iterum proceres, subditos, &c.—*Ibid.*

‡ Apostolica auctoritate de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere.—*Clem.* lib. ii. tit. 9. *Vide* Conc. Vienn. p. 909.

|| Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—*Extrav.* com. lib. i. tit. 8, cap. 1.

§ Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem authoritatem spirituali subjici potestati.—*Ibid.* Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur a potestate spirituali.—*Ibid.*

* Vir super modum ambitiosus et arrogans.—(*Binius in Vita Bonif. VIII.*)

† Constitutionem ipsam, sacro præsenti concilio approbante, innovamus et approbamus.—*Concil. Lateran.* sess. xi. p. 153.

‡ Quam extravagantem renovavit et approbavit concilium Lateranense sub Leone X.—*Canus.* loc. vi. 4.

|| Hæc Bonifacius, cui assentiuntur omnes, ut nullus discrepet, nisi qui dissidio ab ecclesia excidit.—*Baron.* anno 1053, § 14.

§ Ostenditur etiam quod subesse Romano pontifici sit de necessitate salutis.—(*Thom. in Opusc. contra Græcos.*)

deprivation against him in these terms: "We having about the foregoing and many other his wicked miscarriges had before a careful deliberation with our brethren and the holy council, seeing that we, although unworthy, do hold the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and that it was said unto us in the person of St. Peter the apostle, Whatever thou shalt bind on earth,—the said prince (who hath rendered himself unworthy of empire and kingdoms, and of all honour and dignity, and who for his iniquities is cast away by God, that he should not reign or command, being bound by his sins and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all honour and dignity) do shew, denounce, and accordingly by sentence deprive; absolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from such oath forever; by apostolical authority firmly prohibiting, that no man henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king; and decreeing, that whoever shall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him as emperor or king, shall immediately lie under the band of excommunication."*

Before him, Pope Innocent the Third (that *true wonder of the world, and changer of the age*†) did affirm "the pontificial authority so much to exceed the royal power, as the sun doth the moon;"‡ and applieth to the former that of the prophet Jeremiah: *Ecce, constitui te super gentes et regna;*—"See, I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down,"[a] &c.

Of this power that pope made experiment, by deposing the Emperor Otho IV.; "whom," saith Nauclerus, "as rebellious to the apostolical see, he first did strike with an anathema; then him persevering in his obstinacy did in a council of prelates, held at Rome, pronounce deposed from empire."||

The which authority was avowed by that great council under this pope (the which, according to the men of Trent, did represent or constitute the church), wherein it was ordained, that if a "temporal lord, being required and admonished by the church, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should by the metropolitan and the other comprovincial bishops be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be signified to the pope, that he might from that time denounce the subjects absolved from their fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized on by Catholics,"* &c.

Before that, Pope Paschal II. (An. 1099) deprived Henry IV. and excited enemies *to persecute him;* telling them, that they could not "offer a more acceptable sacrifice to God, than by impugning him, who endeavoured to take the kingdom from God's church."†

Before him (An. 1088), Pope Urban II. (called Turban by some in his age) did preach this doctrine, recommended to us in the decrees, that "subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who opposeth God and his saints, or violateth their precepts."‡ An instance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the canons of Tours; "which," saith he, "if any emperor, king, prince, &c. shall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honour and power."||

* Nos itaque super præmissis, &c.—*P. Innoc. IV. in Conc. Lugd.* Matt. Paris (anno 1253) saith, he deemed kings *mancipia papæ.*

† Vere stupor mundi, et immutator seculi.—*Matt. Par.* anno 1217.

‡ Ut quanta est inter solem et lunam tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur.—*P. Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg.* lib. i. tit. 33, cap. 6.

|| Imperatorem—ut rebellem sedi apostolicæ et inobedientem anathemate primum, deinde in pertinacia perseverantem, in concilio præsulum, quod Romæ tum Innocentius celebrabat, ab imperio depositum percussit et pronunciavit.—*Naucl.* anno 1212.

[a] Jer. i. 10.

* Neque enim per. Lateranense concilium ecclesia statuit, &c.—*Syn. Trid.* sess. xiv. cap. 5. Si vero dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus.—*Conc. Later.* cap. 3, *in Decret. Greg.* lib. v. tit. 7, cap. 13.

† Nam in hac non tantum parte, sed ubique, cum poteris, Henricum, hæreticorum caput, et ejus fautores pro viribus persequaris. Nullum profecto gratius Deo sacrificium, quam si eum impugnes, qui se contra Deum erexit, qui ecclesiæ regnum auferre conatur.—*P. Pasch. Ep.* vii. *ad Rob. Fland. Com.*

‡ Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, eorumque præcepta, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere.—*Caus.* xv. qu. 7, cap. 5.

|| Si quis imperator, rex, princeps—contra hanc constitutionem venire tentaverit—potestaris honorisque sui dignitate careat—. *P. Urb. II. Ep.* 12.

But the great apostle (if not author) of this confounding doctrine was Pope Gregory VII. (a man of a bold spirit and fiery temper, inured even before his entry on that See to bear sway, and drive on daring projects; possessed with resolution to use the advantages of his place and time in pushing forward the papal interest to the utmost), who did *lift up his voice like a trumpet*, kindling wars and seditions thereby over Christendom. His dictates and practices are well known, being iterated in his own epistles, and in the Roman councils under him, extant:* yet it may be worth the while to hear him swagger in his own language.

"For the dignity and defence of God's holy church, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from imperial and royal administration, King Henry, son of Henry sometime Emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy church; and I absolve all Christians subject to the empire from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings: for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity, who doth endeavour to diminish the majesty of the church.†

"Go to, therefore, most holy princes of the apostles, and what I said, by interposing your authority, confirm; that all men may now at length understand, if ye can bind and loose in heaven, that ye also can upon earth take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatsoever mortals can have: for if ye can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning these inferior and profane things? And if it is your part to judge angels, who govern proud princes, what becometh it you to do toward their servants? Let kings now, and all secular princes, learn by this man's example, what ye can do in heaven, and in what esteem ye are with God; and let them henceforth fear to slight the commands of holy church: but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all men may understand, that not casually, but by your means, this son of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom."*

So did that pope, not unadvisedly in heat or passion, but out of settled judgment, upon cool deliberation, express himself in his synods at Rome.

This pope is indeed by many held the inventor and broacher of this strange doctrine; and even those, who about his age did oppose it, did express themselves of this mind, calling it "the novel tradition, schism, heresy of Hildebrand."†

"Pope Hildebrand" (saith the church of Liege, in their answer to the epistle to Pope Paschal) "is author of this new schism, and first did raise the priest's lance against the royal diadem.—Who first did girt himself, and by his example other popes, with the sword of war against the emperors."‡

"This only novelty," saith Sigebert, "not to say heresy, had not yet sprang up in the world, that the priests of him who saith to the king, Apostate,[b] and who maketh hypocrites to reign for the sins of the people, should teach the people that they owe no subjection to bad kings; and although they have sworn allegiance to the king, they yet owe him none, and that they who take part against the king may not be said to be perjured; yea, that he who shall obey the king may be held excommunicate; he that shall oppose the king, may be absolved from the crime of injustice and perjury."||

* *Vide* ejus dictata apud Bin. post, lib. 2; Ep. lv.; iv, 2; viii. 21, et passim; i. 58; ii. 5, 12, 13, 18, 32; iii. 10; iv. 1, 2, 3, 7, 22.

† Hac itaque fiducia fretus, pro dignitate et tutela ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Henricum regem, Henrici quondam imperatoris filium, qui audacter nimium et temerarie in ecclesiam tuam manus injecit, imperatoria administratione regiaque dejicio; et Christianos omnes imperio subjectos juramento illo absolvo, quo fidem veris regibus præstare consueverunt: dignum enim est, ut is honore careat, qui majestatem ecclesiæ imminuere causatur. —*Plat. in Greg. VII.* et tom. 7, *Conc. Rom.* iii. *apud Bin.* p. 484.

* Agite, igitur, apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi—. *Plat. in Greg. VII. Conc. Rom.* vii. *apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 491.

† Quod ex novella traditione Hildebrandus. —*Eccl. Leod. apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 521.

‡ Hildebrandus P. author est hujus novelli schismatis, et primus levavit sacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni.—*Ibid.* p. 522. Qui primus se et suo exemplo alios pontifices, contra imp. accinxit gladio belli.—*Ibid.* p. 523.

|| Hæc sola novitas, ne dicam hæresis, nondum in mundo emerserat, ut sacerdotes illius qui dicit regi, apostata, et qui regnare facit hypocritas propter peccata populi, doceant populum, quod malis regibus nullam debeant subjectionem, et licet ei sacramentum fidelitatis

[b] Job xxxiv. 18, 30.

Indeed certain it is, that this man did in most downright strains hold the doctrine, and most smartly apply it to practice; yet did he disclaim the invention or introduction of it; professing that he followed the notions and examples of his predecessors, divers of which he allegeth in defence of his proceedings. "We," saith he, "holding the statutes of our holy predecessors, do by apostolical authority absolve those from their oath who are obliged by fealty or sacrament to excommunicate persons, and by all means prohibit that they observe fealty to them.*

And so it is, that (although for many successions before Pope Hildebrand the popes were not in condition or capacity to take so much upon them; there having been a row of persons intruded into that See, void of virtue, and of small authority, most of them very beasts, who depended upon the favour of princes for their admittance, confirmation, or support in the place; yet) we may find some popes before him, who had a great spice of those imperious conceits, and upon occasion made very bold with princes, assuming power over them, and darting menaces against them. For

Pope Leo IX. telleth us, that Constantine M. "did think it very unbecoming, that they should be subject to an earthly empire whom the Divine Majesty had set over an heavenly:"† and surely he was of his author's mind, whom he alleged; although indeed this pope may be supposed to speak this and other sayings to that purpose, by suggestion of Hildebrand, by whom he was much governed.

Pope Stephanus VI. told the Emperor Basilius, that "he ought to be subject with all veneration to the Roman church."‡

Pope John VIII. (or IX.) did pretend obedience due to him from princes (An. 873); and in default thereof threatened to excommunicate them.*

Pope Nicholas I. (An. 858) cast many imperious sayings and threats at King Lotharius; these among others: "We do therefore by apostolical authority, under obtestation of the divine judgment, enjoin to thee, that in Triers and Colen thou shouldest not suffer any bishop to be chosen, before a report be made to our apostleship."† (Was not this *satis pro imperio?*) And again, "That being compelled thou mayest be able to repent, know, that very soon thou shalt be struck with the ecclesiastical sword; so that thou mayest be afraid any more to commit such things in God's holy church."‡

And this he suggesteth for right doctrine, that subjection is not due to bad princes; perverting the apostle's words to that purpose: "Be subject to the king as excelling, that is," saith he, "in virtues, not in vices:"|| whereas the apostle meaneth eminency in power.

Pope Gregory VII. doth also allege Pope Zachary, "who," saith he, "did depose the king of the Franks, and did absolve all the French from the oath of fidelity which they had taken unto him, not so much for his iniquities, as because he was unfit for such a power."§

This indeed was a notable act of jurisdiction, if Pope Gregory's word may be

fecerint, nullam, tamen fidelitatem debeant; nec perjuri dicantur, qui contra regem senserint; imo, qui regi paruerit pro excommunicato habeatur; qui contra regem fecerit, a noxa injustitiæ et perjurii absolvatur.—*Sigeb. Chron.* anno 1088.

* Nos, sanctorum prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus, et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus.—*Greg. VII. Ep.* viii. 21; *Caus.* xv. qu. 7, cap. 4.

*† Valde indignum fore arbitratus, terreno imperio subdi, quos Divina Majestas præfecit cœlesti.—*P. Leo. IX. Ep.* 1 cap. 12.

‡ Plat. in Vita Leon. IX. Quis te seduxit, ut pontificem œcumenicum scommatibus lacesseres, et S. Romanam ecclesiam maledictis incesseres, cui cum omni veneratione subditus esse debes?—*Steph. VI. Ep.* i. *Baron.* anno 885, § 11.

* —cuncti venire per inobedientiam neglexistis.—*Joh. VIII. Ep.* 119; deinceps excommunicamus omnes, &c.—*Ibid.*

† Idcirco apostolica authoritate, sub Divini judicii obtestatione, injungimus tibi, ut in Trevirensi urbe et in Agrippina Colonia nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum super hoc nostro apostolatui fiat.—*Grat. Dist.* lxiii. cap. 4.

‡ Ut saltem compulsus resipiscere valeas, noveris, te citissime mucrone ecclesiastico feriendum; ita ut ulterius talia in S. Dei ecclesia perpetrare formides.—*P. Nic. I. Ep.* 64.

|| Regi quasi præcellenti, virtutibus scilicet, non vitiis, subditi estote.—*P. Nic. I. Ep.* 4, *App.* p. 626.

§ Alius item Rom. pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, regem Francorum, non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo quod tantæ potestati erat inutilis, deposuit—omnesque Francigenas a juramento fidelitatis quod illi——. *Decret.* ii. *part. Caus.* xv. q. 6.

taken for matter of fact; but divers maintain that pope Zachary did only concur with the rebellious deposers of King Chilperick in way of advice or approbation, not by authority.

It was pretty briskly said of Pope Adrian I. (An. 772), "We do by general decree constitute, that whatever king, or bishop, or potentate, shall hereafter believe, or permit, that the censure of the Roman pontiffs may be violated in any case, he shall be an execrable anathema, and shall be guilty before God, as a betrayer of the Catholic faith."*

"Constitutions against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome, or against good manners, are of no moment."†

Before that, Pope Gregory II. (An. 730), because the Eastern emperor did cross the worship of images, did withdraw subjection from him, and did thrust his authority out of Italy. "He" (saith Baronius), "did effectually cause both the Romans and Italians to recede from obedience to the emperor."‡

This was an act in truth of rebellion against the emperor, in pretence of jurisdiction over him; for how otherwise could he justify or colour the fact? "So," as Baronius reflecteth, "he did leave to posterity a worthy example" (forsooth), "that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign in the church of Christ, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error."||

And no wonder he then was so bold, seeing the pope had obtained so much respect in those parts of the world, that (as he told the Emperor Leo Isaurus) "all the kingdoms of the west did hold St. Peter as an earthly god:"* of which he might be able to seduce some to uphold him in his rebellious practices.

This is the highest source, as I take it, to which this extravagant doctrine can be driven. For that single passage of Pope Felix III., though much ancienter, will not amount to it. "It is certain, that, in causes relating to God, it is the safest course for you, that according to his institution, ye endeavour to submit the will of the king to the priests,"† &c.

For while the emperor did retain any considerable authority in Italy, the popes were better advised than to vent such notions; and while they themselves did retain any measure of pious or prudent modesty, they were not disposed to it. And we may observe divers popes near that time in word and practice thwarting that practice. For instance,

Pope Gelasius, a vehement stickler for papal authority, doth say to the Emperor Anastasius, "I, as being a Roman born, do love, worship, reverence thee as the Roman prince."‡ And he saith, that "the prelates of religion (knowing the empire conferred on him by Divine Providence) did obey his laws."|| And otherwhere he discourseth, that "Christ had distinguished by their proper acts and dignities the officers of ecclesiastical and civil power,"§ that one should not meddle with the other; so disclaiming temporal power due to himself, being content to screw up his spiritual authority.

After him, as is well known, Pope Gregory I. (as became a pious and good man) did avow the emperor for "his lord, by God's gift superior to all men, to whom he was subject, whom he in

* Generali decreto constituimus, ut exsecrandum anathema sit, et veluti prævaricator catholicæ fidei semper apud Deum reus existat, quicunque regum, seu episcoporum, vel potentum, deinceps Romanorum pontificum censuram in quocunque crediderit, vel permiserit violandam.—*P. Had. I. Capit. apud Grat. Caus.* xxv. qu. 1, cap. 11.

† Constitutiones contra canones et decreta præsulum Romanorum, vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti.—*Distinct.* x. cap. 4.

‡ Tum Romanos tum Italos ad ejus obedientia recedere penitus fecit.—*Baron.* anno 730, § 4.

|| Sic dignum posteris reliquit exemplum, ne in ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici principes, si sæpe moniti, in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur.—*Baron.* ibid.

* Ὅν αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλεῖαι τῆς δόσεως ὡς θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι.—Greg. II. Epist. i. Bin. tom. v. p. 508.

† Certum est, rebus vestris hoc esse salutare, ut, cum de causis Dei agitur, juxta ipsius constitutionem, regiam voluntatem sacerdotibus Christi studeatis subdere, non præferre—&c.—*P. Felix. III.* (anno 483), *Dist.* x. cap. 3.

‡ Te, sicut Romanus natus, Romanum principem amo, colo, suspicio.—*P. Gelas. I. Epist.* 8 (*ad Anast. Imp.*)

||—— cognoscentes imperium tibi superna dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis antistites.—*P. Gelas. I. Epist.* 8, (*ad Anast. Imp.*)

§ Christus, dispensatione magnifica temperans, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, &c.

duty was bound to obey;"* and supposed it a high presumption for any one to "set himself above the honour of the empire,"† by assuming the title of universal bishop.

After him, Pope Agatho (An. 680), in the acts of the sixth general council, doth call the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus *his lord;* doth avow "himself, together with all presidents of the churches, servants to the emperor;"‡ doth say, that his see and his synod were subject to him, and did owe obedience to him.

Presently after him, Pope Leo II. who confirmed that general synod, doth call the emperor "the prototype son of the church;"|| and acknowledgeth the body of priests to be servants "(meanest servants) of his royal nobleness."§

After him, Pope Constantine (An. 709) (the immediate predecessor of Pope Gregory II.), when the emperor did command him to come to Constantinople, "the most holy man," saith Anastasius in his Life, "did obey the imperial commands."¶

Yea, Pope Gregory II. himself, before his defection (when perhaps the circumstances of time did not animate him thereto), did, in his epistle to Leo Isaurus, acknowledge him as emperor to be "the head of Christians,"** and himself consequently subject to him.

This Gregory therefore may be reputed the father of that doctrine, which, being fostered by his successors, was by Pope Gregory VII. brought up to its robust pitch and stature.

* Ad hoc potestas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines.
Ego indignus famulus vester——
Ego quidem jussioni subjectus.
P. Greg. I. Ep. ii. 26.

† Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit.—*Ep.* iv. 32.

‡ Δεσπόται καὶ τέκνα.—Act. Syn. vi. p. 53. ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ βασιλέως, p. 304. ἡμετέρα δουλεία, p. 32. τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρόεδροι οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους. p. 94. δουλικὸς ὑμῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θρόνος. p. 64. ἕνεκεν ὑπακοῆς, ἧς ὀφείλομεν. pp. 33, 34.

|| Πρωτότυπον ἐκκλησίας τέκνον.—Act. Syn. vi. p. 303.

§ Ἡ βασιλικὴ εὐγένεια τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἑαυτῆς δούλοις συγκατέβαινε.—Ibid. p. 304.

¶ Misit imp. ad Constantinum P. sacram, per quam jussit eum ad regiam ascendere urbem; qui sanctiss. vir jussis imperialibus obtemperans.—*Anast. in Vit. P. Const.*

** Ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν.—P. Greg. II. ad Leon. Is. Ep. i. (p. 502.)

I know, Pope Gregory VII. to countenance him, doth allege Pope Innocent I. excommunicating the Emperor Arcadius for his proceedings against St. Chrysostom:[c] and the writers of St. Chrysostom's Life, with others of the like age and credit, do back him therein.[d] But seeing the historians who lived in St. Chrysostom's own time, and who write very carefully about him, do not mention any such thing; seeing that, being the first act in the kind, must have been very notable, and have made a great noise; seeing that story doth not suit with the tenor of proceedings, reported by those most credible historians, in that case; seeing that fact doth noways sort to the condition and way of those times; that report cannot be true, and it must be numbered among the many fabulous narrations, devised by some wanton Greeks, to set out the life of that excellent personage.

The same pope doth also allege St. Gregory M. denouncing excommunication and *deprivation of honour to all kings, bishops, judges,* &c. who should violate the privilege granted to the monastery of St. Medard.* But this (as are many such privileges) is a rank forgery, unworthily imposed on Pope Gregory (that prudent, meek, and holy man), much to his wrong and disgrace: which I will not be at trouble to confute, having shewed St. Gregory to have been of another judgment and temper, than to behave himself thus towards princes; and seeing that task is abundantly discharged by that very learned man, Monsieur Launoy.[e]

Indeed (upon this occasion to digress a little farther), it doth not seem to have been the opinion of the ancient popes, that they might excommunicate their sovereign princes: for if they might, why did they forbear to exercise that power, when there was greatest reason, and great temptation for it?

* Siquis autem regum, antistitum, judicum, vel quarumcumque secularium personarum, hujus apostolicæ auctoritatis, et nostræ præceptionis decreta violaverit—cujuscunque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur.—*Gr. M. Post. Et.* xxxviii. lib. 2.

[c] Greg. VII. Ep. viii. 2; Baron an 407, § 23.

[d] Greg. Alex. Vit. Chrys. cap. 68; Anon. Vit. Chrys. cap. 39; Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Palladius.

[e] Epist. pars vii.

Why did not Pope Julius or Pope Liberius excommunicate Constantius, the great favourer of the Arians, against whom Athanasius, St. Hilary, and Lucifer Calar. do so earnestly inveigh, calling him heretic, antichrist, and what not? How did Julian himself escape the censure of Pope Liberius? Why did not Pope Damasus thunder against Valens, that fierce persecutor of Catholics? Why did not Damasus censure the Empress Justina, the patroness of Arianism? Why did not Pope Siricius censure Theodosius I. for that bloody fact, for which St. Ambrose denied him the communion? How was it that Pope Leo I. (that stout and high pope) had not the heart to correct Theodosius Junior in this way, who was the supporter of his adversary Dioscorus, and the obstinate protinate protector of the second Ephesine council, which that pope so much detested? Why did not that pope rather compel that emperor to reason by censures, than supplicate him by tears? How did so many popes connive at Theodoric and other princes professing Arianism at their door? Wherefore did not Pope Simplicius or Pope Felix thus punish the Emperor Zeno, the supplanter of the synod of Chalcedon, for which they had so much zeal? Why did neither Pope Felix, nor Pope Gelasius, nor Pope Symmachus, nor Pope Hormisdas, excommunicate the Emperor Anastasius (yea, did not so much, Pope Gelasius saith, as "touch his name,"*) for countenancing the oriental bishops in their schism, and refractory noncompliance with the papal authority? Those popes did indeed clash with that emperor, but they expressly deny that they did condemn him with others whom he did favour. "We," saith Pope Symmachus, "did not excommunicate thee, O emperor, but Acacius.—If you mingle yourself, you are not excommunicated by us, but by yourself." And, "If the emperor pleaseth to join himself with those condemned," saith Pope Gelasius, "it cannot be imputed to us."†

Wherefore Baronius doth ill, in affirming Pope Symmachus to have anathematized Anastasius:[f] whereas that pope plainly denied that he had excommunicated him, yea, denied it even in those words which are cited to prove it, being rightly read:* for they are corruptly written in Baronius and Binius; *ego* (which hath no sense, or one contradictory to his former assertion) being put for *nego*, which is good sense, and agreeable to what he and the other popes do affirm in relation to that matter.

Why do we not read that any pope formally did excommunicate, though divers did zealously contradict and oppose, the princes who did reject images?

In fine, a noble bishop above 500 years ago did say, "I read and read again the records of the Roman kings and emperors, and I nowhere find that any of them before this was excommanicated or deprived of his kingdom by the Roman Pontiff."†

Surely therefore the ancient popes did either not know their power, or were very negligent of their duty.

Such have been the doctrine and behaviour of popes in reference to their power.

§ V. This doctrine of the pope's universal power over all persons in all matters may reasonably be supposed the sentiment of all popes continually for a long time, even for more than 500 years unto this present day. For,

1. If this doctrine be false, it implieth no slight error, but one of a very high nature and most dangerous consequence; which involveth great arrogance and iniquity, which tendeth to work enormous wrongs and grievous mischiefs: whence,

* Quid sibi vult autem, quod dixeri timperator a nobis se in religione damnatum, cum super hac parte decessor meus non solum minime nomen ejus attigerit?—*P. Gelas. I. Epist.* 4.

† Nos te non excommunicavimus, imperator, sed Acacium.—Si temisces, non a nobis, sed a te ipso excommunicatus es.—*P. Symmachus I. Ep.* 7. Si isti placet se miscere damnatis, nobis non potest imputari.—*P. Gelas. I. Ep.* 4.

* Dicis quod, mecum conspirante senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem ego (nego), sed rationabiliter factum a decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor.—*P. Sym. Ep.* 7. You say, that I excommunicated you by the joint consent of the senate. This I deny: but I undoubtedly follow what was with good reason done by my predecessors.

† Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum.—*Otho Frising. Chron.* lib vi. cap. 35.

[f] Baron. an. 503, § 17.

if any pope should conceive it false, he were bound openly, to disclaim, to condemn, to refute it; lest the authority of his predecessors, and his connivance, should induce others into it, or settle them in it; as it is (in regard to Pope Honorius) charged upon Pope Leo II. "who did not, as it became the apostolical authority, extinguish the flame of heretical doctrine beginning, but did by neglecting cherish it."* In such a case a pope must not be silent: for, "No small danger," saith Pope Gelasius, "lieth upon popes in being silent about what agreeth to the service of God:"† and "If," saith Pope Paschal, "a pope by his silence doth suffer the church to be polluted with the gall of bitterness and root of impiety, he should nowise be excusable before the eternal Judge:"‡ and, "Error," saith Pope Felix III., "which is not resisted (by those in eminent office), is approved; and truth which is not defended, is oppressed:"|| and, "He is not free from suspicion of a close society in mischief, who ceaseth to obviate it:"§ and, "We," saith Pope Gregory I., "do greatly offend, if we do hold our peace at things that are to be corrected."¶ But all popes since the time specified have either openly declared for this doctrine, or have been silent, and so have avowed it by tacit consent.

2. Any pope disapproving that tenent were bound to renounce communion with those that hold and profess it; or at least to check and discountenance it. But on the contrary they have suffered it to be maintained in their presence and audience; and have hugged that sort of men with especial favour, as their most affectionate and sure friends: they have suspected, discountenanced, and frowned on those who have showed dislike of it.

Those men indeed who vouch this doctrine, may reasonably be deemed to do it as accomplices with the popes, on purpose to gratify and curry favour with them, in hopes of obtaining reward and preferment of them for it.*

3. The chief authors and most zealous abettors of these notions (popes, synods, doctors of the school) have continually passed for most authentic masters of divinity, and have retained greatest authority in the church governed and guided by the pope.

4. The decrees containing them do stand in their canon law, and in their collections of synods, without any caution or mark of dislike; which is a sufficient indication of their constant adherence to this doctrine.

5. The common style of the papal edicts or bulls doth import their sense; which is imperious, in regard to all persons without exception: "Let no man" (say they) "presume to infringe this our will and command," &c.

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications (even those who have passed for the most wise and moderate among them) have been ready to practise according to those principles, when occasion did invite, and circumstances of things did permit; interdicting princes, absolving subjects from their allegiance, raising or encouraging insurrections; as appeareth by their transactions not long since against our princes, and those of France; which shews the very See imbued with those notions.

7. They do oblige all bishops most solemnly to avow this doctrine, and to engage themselves to practice according to it. For in the oath prescribed to all bishops they are required to avow, that "they will observe the apostolical commands with all their power, and cause them to be observed by others;"† that "they will aid and defend the Roman papacy and the royalties of

* —— cum Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis non, at decuit apostolicam authoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit.—*P. Leo II. Ep.* 2.

† Non leve discrimen incumbit pontificibus siluisse pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit.—*P. Gelas. I. Ep.* 8, (*ad Anastas. Imp.*)

‡ Si vero nostro silentio pateremur ecclesiam felle amaritudinis et impietatie radice pollui, qua ratione possemuf apud æternum Judicem excusari?—*P. Paschal. II. Ep.* 3, (*ad Anselm. Cant.*)

|| Error cui non resistitur, approbatur; et veritas quæ minime defensatur, opprimitur.—*P. Felix III. Ep.* 1. (*ad Acacium.*)

§ Non caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori desinit obviare.—*Id. Ibid.*

¶ Si ea quæ nobis corrigenda sunt tacemus, valde delinquimus.—*P. Greg. I. Ep.* ii. 37.

* Οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι,—Rom. i. 32. They not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

† Mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et ab aliis observari faciam.

St. Peter against every man;"* that "they will to their power persecute and impugn heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the pope or his successors,"† without any exception; which was, I suppose, chiefly meant against their own prince (if occasion should be); together with divers other points, importing their acknowledgment and abetting the pope's universal domination.

These horrible oaths of bishops to the pope do seem to have issued from the same shop with the high Hildebrandine dictates: for the oath in the Decretals is ascribed to Pope Gregory (I suppose Gregory VII.) And in the sixth Roman synod under Gregory VII. there is an oath of like tenor, exacted from the bishop of Aquileia; perhaps occasionally, which in pursuance of that example might be extended to all.[e]

And that before that time such oaths were not imposed doth appear from hence; that when Pope Paschal II. did require them from some great bishops (the bishop of Palermo, and the archbishop of Poland), they did wonder and boggle at it, as an uncouth novelty; nor doth the pope, in favour of his demand, allege any ancient precedent, but only proposeth some odd reasons for it.[h] "You have signified unto me, most dear brother, that the king and his nobles did exceedingly wonder, that an oath with such a condition should be every where offered you by my commissioners, and that you should take that oath, which I had written, and they tendered to you."‡

§ VI. All Romanists, in consistence with their principles, do seem obliged to hold this opinion concerning the pope's universal power. For, seeing many of their standing masters and judges of controversies have so expressly from their chair declared and defined it; all the row for many ages consenting to it and countenancing it; not one of them having signified any dissent or dislike of it; and considering that, if in anything they may require or deserve belief, it is in this point; for in what are they more skilful and credible than about the nature of their own office? "What," saith Bellarmine wisely, "may they be conceived to know better than the authority of their own See?"* Seeing it hath been approved by their most great and famous councils, which they hold universal, and which their adored synod of Trent doth allege for such (the Laterane under Pope Innocent III. that of Lyons under Pope Innocent IV. the other Laterane under Pope Leo X.); seeing it hath been current among their divines of greatest vogue and authority, the great masters of their school; seeing by so large a consent and concurrence, during so long a time, it may pretend (much better than divers other points of great importance) to be confirmed by tradition or prescription; why should it not be admitted for a doctrine of the holy Roman church, *the mother and mistress of all churches?* How can they who disavow this notion be true sons of that mother, or faithful scholars of that mistress? How can they acknowledge any authority in their church to be infallible, or certain, or obliging to assent?

How can they admit the pope for authentic judge of controversies, or master of Christian doctrine, or in any point credible, who hath in so great a matter erred so foully, and seduced the Christian world; whom they desert in a point of so great consideration and influence on practice; whom they, by virtue of their dissent from him in this opinion, may often be obliged to oppose in his proceedings?

How can they deny, that bad doctrines might creep in, and obtain sway in the church, by the interest of the pope and his clients?

How can they charge novelty or heterodoxy on those who refuse some dictates of popes, of papal councils, of scholastic divines, which stand upon no better

* Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem.

† Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

‡ Significasti, frater charissime, regem et regni majores admiratione permotos, quod passim tibi ab apocrisiariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, si sacramentum, quod a nobis scriptum detulerant, jurares.—*P. Pasch.* II. *Ep.* 6.

[e] Greg. Decret. lib. ii. tit. 24, cap. 4; Concil. Rom. vi. apud Bin. p. 489.

[h] Decret. Greg. lib. i. tit. 6, cap. 4.

* Ipsis præcipue debet esse nota suæ sedis authoritas.—*Bell.* iv. 3.

grounds than those on which this doctrine standeth?

Why hath no synod, of the many which have been held in all parts of Christendom, clearly disclaimed this opinion; but all have let it slip, or have seemed by silence to approve it?

Yea, how can the concord and unity of that church well consist with a dissent from this doctrine? For,

No man apprehending it false, seemeth capable with good conscience to hold communion with those who profess it; for, upon supposition of its falsehood, the pope and his chief adherents are the teachers and abettors of the highest violation of divine commands, and most enormous sins; of usurpation, tyranny, imposture, perjury, rebellion, murder, rapine, and all the villainies complicated in the practical influence of this doctrine.

It seemeth clear as the sun, that, if this doctrine be an error, it is one of the most pernicious heresies that ever was vented; involving the highest impiety, and producing the greatest mischief. For if he that should teach adultery, incest, simony, thieft, murder, or the like crimes, to be lawful, would be a heretic; how much more would he be such that should recommend perjury, rebellion, regicide (things inducing wars, confusions, slaughters, desolations, all sorts of injustice and mischief,) as duties!

How then can any man safely hold communion with such persons? May we not say with Pope Symmachus, that "to communicate with such is to consent with them?" with Pope Gelasius, that "it is worse than ignorance of the truth to communicate with the enemies of truth?" and, that "he who communicateth with such an heresy is worthily judged to be removed from our society?"*

§ VII. Yet so loose and slippery are the principles of the party which is jumbled in adherence to the pope, that divers will not allow us to take this tenent of infinite power to be a doctrine of their church; for divers in that communion do not assent to it.

For there is a sort of heretics (as Bellarmine and Baronius call them) sculking everywhere in the bosom of their church, all about Christendom, and in some places stalking with open face, who restrain "the pope's authority so far, as not to allow him any power over sovereign princes in temporal affairs; much less any power of depriving them of their kingdoms and principalities."*

"They are all branded for heretics, who take from the church of Rome, and the See of St. Peter, one of the two swords, and allow only the spiritual." This heresy Baronius hath nominated the "heresy of the politics."†

This heresy a great nation, otherwise sticking to the Roman communion, doth stiffly maintain, not enduring the papal sovereignty over princes in temporals to be preached in it.

There were many persons, yea, synods, who did oppose Pope Hildebrand in the birth of his doctrine, condemning it for a pernicious novelty, and branding it with the name of heresy; as we before shewed.

Since the Hildebrandine age there have been in every nation (yea, in Italy itself) divers historians, divines, and lawyers, who have in elaborate tracts maintained the royal sovereignty against the pontifical.[i]

This sort of heretics are now so much increased, that the Hildebrandine doctrine is commonly exploded. Which, by the way, sheweth, that the Roman party is no less than others subject to change its sentiments; opinions among them gaining and losing vogue, according to circumstances of time and contingencies of things.

§ VIII. Neither are the adherents to the Roman church more agreed concerning the extent of the pope's authority even in spiritual matters.

* An communicare non est consentire cum talibus?—*P. Sym. I. Ep.* 7. Quasi non sit deterius, et non ignorasse veritatem, et tamen communicasse cum veritatis inimicis.—*P. Gelas. I Ep.* 1. Cuicunque hæresi communicans merito judicatur a nostra societate removendus. —*Id. ibid.* . *Vide* Ep. xiii. p. 642.

* Altera non tam sententia quam hæresis duo docet primo, pontificem ut pontificem ex jure divino nullam habere temporalem potestatem, nec posse ullo modo imperare principibus secularibus, nedum eos regnis et principatu privare ——. *Bell.* V. 1

† Hæresis errore notantur omnes qui ab ecclesia Rom. cathedra Petri e duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec nisi spiritualem concedunt. —*Baron.* anno 1053, § 14. Hæresis Politicorum, *Baron.* an. 1073, § 13.

[i] Otto Frising. Sigebert. Abbas Ubsp. Occam, Marsilius Patav. &c.

For, although the popes themselves plainly do claim an absolute supremacy in them over the church; although the stream of divines who do flourish in favour with them doth run that way; although, according to their principles (if they had any principles clearly and certainly fixed), that might seem to be the doctrine of their church: yet is there among them a numerous party, which doth not allow him such a supremacy, putting great restraints to his authority (as we shall presently shew.) And as the other party doth charge this with heresy, so doth this return back the same imputation on that.

§ IX. That their doctrine is in this matter so various and uncertain, is no great wonder; seeing interest is concerned in the question, and principles are defective toward the resolution of it.

1. Contrary interests will not suffer the point to be decided, nor indeed to be freely disputed on either hand.

On one hand, the pope will not allow his prerogatives to be discussed; according to that maxim of the great Pope Innocent III., "When there is a question touching the privileges of the apostolic see, we will not that others judge about them."* Whence (as we before touched) the pope did peremptorily command his legates at Trent, in no case to permit any dispute about his authority.

On the other hand, the French will not permit the supremacy of their king in temporals, or the privileges of their church in spirituals, to be contested in their kingdom. Nor, we may suppose, would any prince admit a decision prejudicial to his authority and welfare, subjecting and enslaving him to the will of the Roman court. Nor (we may hope) would any church patiently comport with the irrecoverable oppression of all its rights and liberties by a peremptory establishment of papal omnipotency.

2. Nor is it easy for their dissensions to be reconciled upon theological grounds, and authorities to which they pretend deference. For, not only their schools and masters of their doctrine do in the case disagree, but their synods do notoriously clash.

* Cum super privilegiis sedis apostolicæ causa vertatur, nolumus de ipsis per alios judicari.—*Greg. Decr.* lib. ii. tit. 1, cap. 12.

§ X. Yea, even popes themselves have shifted their pretences, and varied in style, according to the different circumstances of time, and their variety of humours, designs, interests.

In time of prosperity and upon advantage, when they might safely do it, any pope almost would talk high, and assume much to himself: but when they were low, or stood in fear of powerful contradiction, even the boldest popes would speak submissly or moderately. As, for instance, Pope Leo I., after the second Ephesine synod, when he had to do with Theodosius II., did humbly supplicate, and whine pitifully; but after the synod of Chalcedon, having got the emperor favourable, and most of the bishops complacent to him, he ranted bravely. And we may observe, that even Pope Gregory VII., who did swagger so boisterously against the Emperor Henry, was yet calm and mild in his contests with our William the Conqueror; who had a spirit good enough for him, and was far out of his reach.

And popes of high spirit and bold face (such as Leo I., Gelasius I., Nic. I., Gregory II., Gregory VII., Innocent III., Bonface VIII., Julius II., Paul IV., Sextus V., Paulus V., &c.), as they did ever aspire to screw papal authority to the highest peg; so would they strain their language in commendation of their See as high as their times would bear. But other popes of meeker and modester disposition (such as Julius I., Anastasius II., Gregory I., Leo II., Adrian VI., &c.), were content to let things stand as they found them, and to speak in the ordinary style of their times; yet so, that few have let their authority go backward or decline.

We may observe, that the pretences and language of popes have varied according to several periods, usually growing higher as their state grew looser from danger of opposition or control.

In the first times, while the emperors were pagans, their pretences were suited to their condition, and could not soar high; they were not then so mad as to pretend to any temporal power, and a pittance of spiritual eminency did content them.

When the empire was divided, they could sometimes be more haughty and peremptory; as being in the west, shrouded under the wing of the emperors there

(who commonly did affect to improve their authority, in competition to that of other bishops), and at distance from the reach of the eastern emperor.[1]

The cause of Athanasius having produced the Sardican canons, concerning the revision of some causes by the popes, by colour of them they did hugely enlarge their authority, and raise their style; especialy in the west, where they had great advantages of augmenting their power.

When the western empire was fallen, their influence upon that part of the empire which came under protection of the eastern emperors rendering them able to do service or disservice to those emperors, they, according to the state of times, and the need of them, did talk more big or more tamely.

Pope Boniface III., having by compliance with the usurper Phocas obtained a declaration from him concerning the headship of the Roman church, did make a considerable step forward toward the height of papal greatness.

After that Pope Gregory II. had withdrawn Italy from the oriental empire, and Rome had grown in a manner loose and independent from other secular powers; in the confusions of the west, the pope interposing to arbitrate between princes, trucking and bartering with them, as occasion served, for mutual aid and countenance, did grow in power, and answerably did advance his pretences.

The spurious Decretal Epistles of the ancient popes (which asserted to the pope high degrees of authority) being foisted into men's hands, and insensibly creeping into repute did inspire the pope with confidence to invade all the ancient constitutions, privileges, and liberties of churches; and having got such interest every where, he might say what he pleased, no clergyman daring to check or cross him. Having drawn to himself the final decision of all causes, having got a finger in disposal of all preferments; having by dispensations, exemptions, and grants of privileges, tied to him so many dependents, what might not he say or do?

Pope Gregory VII. being a man of untameable spirit, and taking advantage from the distractions and corruptions of his times, did venture to pull a feather with the emperor; and with success having mated him, did set up a peremptory claim to sovereignty over all persons in all causes.

In his footsteps his successors have trodden, being ever ready upon occasion to plead such a title, and to practise according to it. No pope would forego any power which had been claimed by his predecessors. And popes would ever be sure to have dancers after their pipe, numberless abettors of their pretences.

No wonder, then, that persons deferring much regard to the authority of popes, and accommodating their conceits to the dictates of them (or of persons depending on them), should in their opinions vary about the nature and extent of papal authority; it having never been fixed within certain bounds, or having in several ages continued the same thing.

§ XI. Wherefore intending by God's help to discuss the pretended authority of the pope, and to shew that he by no divine institution, and by no immutable right, hath any such power as he doth claim; by reason of this perplexed variety of opinions I do find it difficult to state the question, or to know at what distinct mark I should level my discourse.

§ XII. But seeing his pretence to any authority in temporals, or to the civil sword, is so palpably vain, that it hardly will bear a serious dispute, having nothing but impudence and sophistry to countenance it; seeing so many in the Roman communion do reject it, and have substantially confuted it; seeing now most are ashamed of it, and very few (even among those sects which have been its chief patrons) will own it; seeing Bellarmine himself doth acknowledge it a novelty devised about 500 years ago in St. Bernard's time;* seeing the popes themselves, whatever they think, dare now scarce speak out, and forbear upon sufficient provocation to practise according to it; I shall spare the trouble of meddling with it, confining my discourse to the pope's authority in ecclesiastical

[1] P. Nich. ad Imp. Mich. p. 511, 513.

* Primi qui temporalem potestatem summo pontifici ex Christi institutione tribuunt, videntur esse Hugo de S. Victore, Bernardus, &c.—*Bell.* v. 5. The first that yield the pope temporal power by Christ's institution, seem to be Hugo, &c.

affairs; the pretence whereto I am persuaded to be no less groundless, and no less noxious than the other to Christendom; the which being overthrown, the other, as superstructed on it, must also necessarily fall.

§ XIII. And here the doctrine which I shall contest against is that in which the cordial partisans of that See do seem to consent, which is most common and current, most applauded and countenanced in their theological schools; which the popes themselves have solemnly defined, and declared for standing law, or rule of jurisdiction; which their most authentic synods (whereby their religion is declared, and distinguished from others) have asserted or supposed; which the tenor of their discipline and practice doth hold forth; which their clergy by most solemn professions and engagements is tied to avow; which all the clients and confidents of Rome do zealously stand for (more than for any other point of doctrine;) and which no man can disclaim without being deemed an enemy or a prevaricator toward the apostolic see.

§ XIV. Which doctrine is this, That (in the words of the Florentine synod's definition) "the apostolical chair and the Roman high priest doth hold a primacy over the universal church; and that the Roman high priest is the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the true lieutenant of Christ, and the head of the church; and that he is the father and doctor of all Christians; and that unto him," in St. Peter, "full power is committed to feed, and direct, and govern the catholic church under Christ; according as is contained in the Acts of General Councils and in the Holy Canons."*

That (in the words of Pope Leo X. approved by the Laterane synod)† "Christ before his departure from the world, did in solidity of the rock institute Peter and his successors to be his lieutenants, to whom it is so necessary to obey, that who doth not obey must die the death."

That to the pope, as sovereign monarch by divine sanction of the whole church, do appertain royal prerogatives (*regalia Petri*, the royalties of Peter, they are called in the oath prescribed to bishops.) Such as these which follow:

To be superior to the whole church, and to its representative, a general synod of bishops. To convocate general synods at his pleasure; all bishops being obliged to attend upon summons from him. To preside in synods, so as to suggest matter, promote, obstruct, overrule the debates in them. To confirm or invalidate their determinations, giving like to them by his assent, or subtracting it by his dissent. To define points of doctrine, or to decide controversies authoritatively; so that none may presume to contest, or dissent from his dictates. To enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, dispense with ecclesiastical laws and canons. To relax or evacuate ecclesiastical censures by indulgence, pardon, &c. To avoid promises, vows, oaths, obligations to laws by his dispensation.[k] To be the fountain of all pastoral jurisdiction and dignity. To constitute, confirm, judge, censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore, reconcile bishops. To confer ecclesiastical dignities and benefices by paramount authority, in way of provision, reservation, &c. To exempt colleges, monasteries, &c. from jurisdiction of their bishops and ordinary superiors. To judge all persons in all spiritual causes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating judges for them, with a final and peremptory sentence. To receive appeals from all ecclesiastical judicatories; and to reverse their judgments, if he findeth cause. To be himself unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof. To erect, transfer, abolish episcopal sees. To exact oaths of fealty and obedience from the clergy. To found religious orders; or to raise a spiritual militia for propagation and defence of the church. To summon and commisionate soldiers by croisade, &c. to fight against infidels, or persecute infidels.

Some of these are expressed, others in general terms couched in those words of Pope Eugenius, telling the Greeks what they must consent unto. "The

* Ὅτι ὁρίζομεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν, &c.—Concil. Flor. defin. p. 854.

† Christus—migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in soliditate Petræ Petrum ejusque successores vicarios suos instituit, quibus ex libri Regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur.—*P. Leo X.* in *Conc. Later.* sess. xi. p. 151.

[k] Bell. iv. 22.

pope," said he, "will have the prerogatives of his church; and he will have appeals to him; and to feed all the church of Christ, as shepherd of the sheep. Beside these things, that he may have authority and power to convoke general synods, when need shall be; and that all the patriarchs do yield to his will."*

That the pope doth claim, assume, and exercise a sovereignty over the church endowed with such prerogatives, is sufficiently visible in experience of fact, is apparent by the authorized dictates in their canon law, and shall be distinctly proved by competent allegations, when we shall examine the branches of this pretended authority.

In the mean time it sufficeth to observe, that in effect all clergymen do avow so much, *bona fide* and without prevarication do submit to take the oaths and engagements prescribed to them of course by papal appointment. For this surely, according to the pope's meaning (by which their obligation is to be measured), is designed in the profession ordained by Pope Pius IV. wherein every beneficed clergyman is enjoined to say, "And I do promise and swear true obedience to the Roman pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Jesus Christ."† Which profession was appointed in pursuance of a sanction made by the Trent council, that all such persons "should vow and swear to abide in obedience to the Roman church;"‡ and consequently, how hard soever its yoke should be, they would not shake it off: which inferreth most absolute sovereignty of that church, or of the pope, who ruleth the roast in it.

But what that *true obedience* doth import, or how far the papal authority in the pope's own sense, and according to the public spirit of that church, doth stretch, is more explicitly signified in the oath which all bishops at their consecration, and all metropolitians at their instalment, are required to take; the which, as it is extant in the Roman Pontifical,* set out by order of Pope Clement VIII. doth run in those terms:—

"*I N., elect* of the church of N., *from henceforward will be faithful* and obedient *to St. Peter* the apostle, *and to the holy Roman church, and to our lord* the Lord N. *pope N. and to his successors, canonically coming in. I will neither advise*, consent, *or do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized*, or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them, under any pretence whatsoever. *The counsel which they shall intrust me withal, by themselves*, their messengers, *or letters, I will not* knowingly *reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman papacy*, and the royalties of St. Peter, *saving my order, against all men. The legate of the apostolic see, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his necessities.* The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church, of our Lord the pope, and his foresaid successors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said lord, and the said Roman church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power; and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power; and as soon as I can will signify it to our said lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our said lord, or his foresaid successors, I will to my power persecute and oppose. *I will come to a council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the apostles every three years;* and give an account to our lord and his foresaid successors of

* Θέλει τὰ προνόμια τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἔκλητον, καὶ ποιμαίνειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥσπερ ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων· πρὸς τούτοις, ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτεῖν σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν, ὅτι δεήσεις· καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας ὑπείκειν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ. — Conc. Flor. p. 816.

† Romanoque pontifici, B. Petri successori, ac Jesu Christi vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro.—*Bull. Pii IV. super forma juram.*

‡ Provisi de beneficiis—in Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientia se permansuros spondeant ac jurent. —*Conc. Trid.* sess. xxiv. cap. 12.

* Pontif. Rom. Antwerp. anno 1626, p. 59, 86.

all my pastoral office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my church, to the discipline of my clergy and people, and lastly to the salvation of souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid *by a certain messenger* hereto specially empowered, a member of my chapter, or some other in ecclesiastical dignity, or else having a parsonage; or in default of these, by a priest of the diocese; or in default of one of the clergy [of the diocese], by some other secular or regular priest of approved integrity and religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the foresaid messenger to the cardinal proponent of the holy Roman church in the congregation of the sacred council. The possessions belonging to my table I will neither sell, nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor anywise alienate, no, not even with the consent of the chapter of my church, without consulting the Roman pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the penalties contained in a certain constitution put forth about this matter. *So help me God and these holy gospels of God.*"*

Such is the oath prescribed to bishops, the which is worth the most serious attention of all men, who would understand how miserably slavish the condition of the clergy is in that church, and how inconsistent their obligation to the pope is with their duty to their prince.

And in perusing it we may note, that the clauses in a different character are in the more ancient oath extant in the Gregorgian Decretals: by which it appeareth how the pope doth more and more enlarge his power, and straiten the bands of subjection to him.[1] And it is very remarkable that the new oath hath changed those words, "regulas sanctorum patrum" *into* "regalia Sancti Petri," *i. e.* "the rules

* Ego N. electus *ecclesiæ N.* ab hac hora in antea fidelis *et obediens* ero B. Petro *apostolo*, sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ, et domino nostro, *domino N.* papæ N. suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, *aut consensu*, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur mala captione; *aut in eos manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore.* Consilium vero quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, *aut nuncios suos*, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, *me sciente*, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum *et regalia Sancti Petri* adjutor eis ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum apostolicæ sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. *Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem sanctæ Romanae ecclesiæ, domini nostri papæ et successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et si talia a quibuscunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse, et quanto citius potero significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones et mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo.* Vocatus ad synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpepitione. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, *et domino estro ac successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastorali officio ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri, et populi disciplinam, animarum denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem quovis modo pertinentibus, et vicissim mandata apostolica humiliter recipiam et quam diligentissime exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia adimplebo* per centum nuncium *ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei capituli, aut alium in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias, personatum habentem; aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diœcesanum sacerdotem; et clero deficiente omnino per aliquem alium presbyterum secularem vel regularem spectatæ probitatis et religionis de supradictis omnibus plene instructum. De hujusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinalem proponentem in congregatione sacri concilii per supradictum nuncium transmittendas. Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capituli ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quadam super hoc edita constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo.* Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc sancta Dei evangelia.

[1] Greg. Decib. l. ii. tit. 24. cap. 4.

of the holy fathers" *into* "the royalties of St. Peter."

§ XV. I know there are within the Roman communion great store of divines, who do contract the papal sovereignity within a much narrower compass, refusing to him many of those prerogatives, yea, scarce allowing to him any of them.

There are those who affirm the pope, in doctrine and discipline, subject to the church, or to a general synod representing it. Which opinion thwarteth a proposition, in Bellarmine's opinion, *even almost an article of faith:* but to be even with him, they do hold his proposition to be quite heretical: "The pope is simply and absolutely above the universal church;—this proposition is almost an article of faith,"* saith Bellarmine: the cardinal of Lorrain on the contrary, "But I," saith he, "cannot deny but that I am a Frenchman, and bred up in the church of Paris, which teaches that the Roman pontiff is subject to a council, and they who teach the contrary are there branded as heretics."†

There are those who affirm the pope, if he undertake points of faith without assistance of a general synod, may teach heresy; (which opinion, as Bellarmine thought, doth "closely border on heresy:"‡) and those who conceive that popes may be and have been heretics; whence Christians sometimes are not obliged to admit their doctrine, or observe their pleasure.

There are those who maintain the pope, no less than other bishops, subject to the canons, or bound to observe the constitutions of the church; that he may not infringe them, or overrule against them, or dispense with them: and that to him attempting to do so, obedience is not due.

There are those who maintain, that the pope cannot subvert or violate the rights and liberties of particular churches, settled in them agreeably to the ancient canons of the church universal.

There are those who assert to general councils a power of reforming the church, without or against the pope's consent.

There are those who, as Bellarmine telleth us, do allow the pope to be no more in the ecclesiastical republic than as the Duke of Venice in his senate, or as the general of an order in his congregation; and that he therefore hath but a very limited and subordinate power.[m]

There are consequently those who conceive the pope notoriously erring, or misdemeaning himself, to the prejudice of the Christian state, may be called to an account, may be judged, may be corrected, may be discarded by a general synod.

Such notions have manifestly prevailed in a good part of the Roman communion, and are maintained by most divines in the French church; and they may be supposed every where common, where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the inquisition doth not reign.

There have been seasons wherein they have so prevailed, as to have been defined for catholic truths in great synods, and by them to have been applied to practice. For,

In the first great synod of Pisa it was declared, that councils may "reform the church sufficiently both in head and members:"[n] and accordingly that synod did assume to judge two popes (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) contending for the papacy (whereof one was the true pope; and deposing them both, did substitute Alexander V. "who for one year" (as Antoninus reporteth), "according to the common opinion, did hold the seat of Peter."*

The synod of Constance declared, that "the synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a general council representing the catholic church militant, hath immediately power from Christ; to which every one, of whatever state or dignity be be, although it be papal, is bound to obey in those things which belong to

* Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam;——hæc propositio est fere de fide.—*Bell de Conc.* ii. 17.

† Ego vero negare non possum quin Gallus sim, et Parisiensis ecclesiæ alumnus, in qua Rom. pontificem subesse concilio tenetur, et qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur.—*Card. Loth. apud Laun. Ep.* i. 1.

‡ Quæ sententia videtur omnino erronea et hæresi proxima —*Bell.* iv. 2.

* Qui anno uno sedem Petri tenuit, secundum communem opinionem.—*Anton. de Conci. Pis.* cap. v. § 3.

[m] Bell. de Conc. ii. 14.

[n] Anon 1409, Conc. Pis. Sess. 16, 17.

faith, and the extirpation of (the said) schism, and the general reformation of the church of God in head and members."*

The which doctrine they notably put in practice, exercising jurisdiction over popes, and for errors, misdemeanours, or contumacies, discarding three (of whom it is hard if one were not true pope), and choosing another, who afterwards did pass for a right pope, and himself did confirm the acts of that council. (So that this semi-heresy hath at least the authority of one pope to countenance it.) "Our most holy lord the pope said in answer thereunto, that he would maintain and inviolably observe all and every of those things that were conciliarly determined, concluded, and decreed, by the present council in matters of faith."†

The synod of Basil declared the same point, "that councils are superior to popes, to be a truth of catholic faith, which whoever doth stiffly oppose is to be accounted a heretic:‡ Nor (say they) did any skilful man ever doubt the pope to be subject to the judgment of general synods in things concerning faith.|| In virtue of which doctrine, and by its irresistible authority,"§ the synod did sentence and reject Pope Eugenius as criminal, heretical, and contumacious.

These synods, although reprobated by popes in counter-synods, are yet by many Roman Catholic divines retained in great veneration;° and their doctrine is so current in the famous Sorbonne, that (if we may believe the great Cardinal of Lorrain) the contrary is there reputed *heretical*.¶

* Primo declarat quod ipsa synodus, &c.—*Sess.* 4, 5.

† Sanctiss. Dominus noster papa dixit, respondendo ad prædicta, quod omnia et singula determinata. conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per præsens concilium conciliariter tenere, et inviolabiliter observare volebat.—*Conc. Const.* sess. xlv. p. 1119.

‡ Veritas de potestate concilii supra papam —— est veritas fidei catholicæ——cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.—*Conc. Bas.* sess. xxxiii. (p 95.)

|| Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio earundem generalium synodorum esse subjectum.—*Concil. Bas.* sess. xlv. p. 117.

§ Vigore cujus, ac ineffabili et inexpugnabili authoritate ——. Sess. xxxviii. p. 101.

¶ Ego vero negare non possum, &c.

° (Concil. Later. &c.)

§ XVI. Yet notwithstanding these oppositions, the former opinion averring the pope's absolute sovereignty, doth seem to be the genuine doctrine of the Roman church, if it hath any.

For those divines, by the pope and his intimate confidents, are looked upon as a mongrel brood, or mutinous faction; which he by politic connivance doth only *tolerate*, because he is not well able to correct or suppress them. He is afraid to be violent in reclaiming them to his sense, lest he spend his artillery in vain, and lose all his power and interest with them.*

Nor indeed do those men seem to adhere to the Roman party out of entire judgment or cordial affection; but in compliance with their princes, or upon account of their interest, or at best regard to peace and quiet. They cannot conveniently break with the pope, because his interest is twisted with their own, so as not easily to be disentangled.

For how can they heartily stick to the pope, whenas their opinion doth plainly imply him to be an usurper and a tyrant (claiming to himself, and exercising authority over the church, which doth not rightfully belong to him;) to be a rebel and traitor against the church (invading and possessing the sovereignty due to it; for such questionless the Duke of Venice would be, should he challenge and assume to himself such a power over his commonwealth, as the pope hath over Christendom;) to be an impostor and seducer, pretending to infallible conduct, which he hath not.

How can they honestly condemn those who (upon such grounds) do shake off such yokes, refusing to comply with the pope, till he correct his errors, till he desist from those usurpations and impostures, till he restore to the church its rights and liberties?

How are the doctrines of those men consistent or congruous to their practice? For they call the pope monarch of the church, and universal pastor of Christians, by God's appointment, indefectibly; yet will they not admit all his laws, and reject doctrines which he teacheth, particularly those which most nearly

* Nam adhuc videmus ab ecclesia tolerari, qui eam sententiam sequuntur ——. *Bell.* iv. 2.

touch him, concerning his own office and authority. They profess themselves his loyal subjects, yet pretend liberties which they will maintain against him. They hold that all are bound to entertain communion with him, yet confess that he may be heretical and seduce into error. They give him the name and shadow of a supremacy, but so that they can void the substance and reality thereof.*

In fine, where should we seek for the doctrine of the Roman church, but at Rome, or from Rome itself? where these doctrines are heterodoxies.

§ XVII. We shall not therefore have a distinct regard to the opinion of these semi-Romanists; nor consider them otherwise, than to confirm that part of truth which they hold, and to confute that part of error which they embrace; allowing, at least in word and semblance, more power to the pope than we can admit as due to him. Our discourse shall be levelled at him as such as he pretendeth himself to be, or as assuming to himself the forementioned powers and prerogatives.

§ XVIII. Of such vast pretences we have reason to require sufficient grounds. He that demandeth assent to such important assertions, ought to produce clear proofs of them: he that claimeth so mighty power, should be able to make out a good title to it; for, "No man may take this" (more than pontifical) "honour to himself, but he that is called by God, as was Aaron."[p] "They are worthily to be blamed, who tumultuously and disorderly fall upon curbing or restraining those who by no law are subject to them."†

We cannot well be justified from a stupid easiness, in admitting such a lieutenancy to our Lord, if we do not see exhibited to us manifest and certain patents assuring its commission to us. We should love the church better than to yield up its liberty to the will of a pretender, upon slight or no ground. Their boldly claiming such a power, their having sometime usurped such a power, will not excuse them or us.* Nor will precarious assumptions, or subtle distinctions, or blind traditions, or loose conjectures, serve for probations in such a case.

§ XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly balk: wherefore for satisfaction to them, not finding any better plea, they hook in St. Peter; affirming that on him by our Lord there was instated a primacy over his brethren, all the apostles and the disciples of our Lord, importing all the authority which they claim; and that from him this primacy was devolved by succession to the bishops of Rome, by right indefectible for all future ages.

Which plea of theirs doth involve these main suppositions:

I. *That St. Peter had a primacy over the apostles.*

II. *That St. Peter's primacy with its rights and prerogatives was not personal, but derivable to his successors.*

III. *That St. Peter was bishop of Rome.*

IV. *That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome, after his translation, and was so at his decease.*

V. *That the bishops of Rome (according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence) should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction over the Christian church.*

VI. *That in fact the Roman bishops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power.*

VII. *That this power is indefectible and unalterable.*

The truth and certainty of these propositions we shall in order discuss; so that it may competently appear, whether those who disclaim these pretences are (as they are charged) guilty of heresy and schism; or they rather are liable to the imputations of arrogancy and impiety who do obtrude and urge them.

* Manifestum autem schismatis argumentum est, cum quis se communioni subtrahit apostolicæ sedis.—*Balus. not. ad Agobard.* p. 112. It is a manifest argument of schism, when any man withdraws himself from communion with the apostolic see.

† Jure culpandi sunt, qui turbide atque inordinate in eos coercendos insiliunt, qui nulla sibi lege subjecti sunt.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 17.

[p] Heb. v. 4.

* Nemo sibi et professor et testis est.—*Tertul.* v. 1, *adv. Marc.* None can be both a claimer and a witness for himself.

A TREATISE

OF THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY.

MATT. x. 2.—*Now the names of the twelve apostles were these; the first, Simon, who is called Peter.**

AMONG the modern controversies there is scarce any of greater consequence than that about universal supremacy, which the bishop of Rome claimeth over the Christian church; the assertion whereof on his side dependeth upon divers suppositions; namely these:

I. *That St. Peter by our Lord's appointment had a primacy, implying a sovereignty of authority and jurisdiction over the apostles.*

II. *That the rights and prerogatives of this sovereignty were not personal, but derivable, and transmitted to successors.*

III. *That St. Peter was bishop of Rome.*

IV. *That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome after his translation, and was so at his decease.*

V. *That hence of right to the bishops of Rome, as St. Peter's successors, an universal jurisdiction over the whole church of Christ doth appertain.*

VI. *That in fact the said bishops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this power.*

VII. *That this power is indefectible; such as by no means can be forfeited or fail.*

In order to the discussion and resolution of the first point, I shall treat upon the primacy of St. Peter; endeavouring to shew what primacy he was capable of, or might enjoy; what he could not pretend to, nor did possess.

SUPPOSITION I.

The first supposition of those who claim universal jurisdiction to the pope over the church is, *That St. Peter had a primacy over the apostles.*

IN order to the resolution of this point, we may consider that there are several kinds of primacy, which may belong to a person in respect of others: for there are,

1. *A primacy of worth, or personal excellency.*

2. *A primacy of reputation and esteem.*

3. *A primacy of order, or bare dignity and precedence.*

4. *A primacy of power or jurisdiction.*

To each of these what title St. Peter might have, let us in order examine.

1. As for the first of these (*a primacy of worth, or merit*, as some of the ancients call it), we may well grant it to St. Peter, admitting that probably he did exceed the rest of his brethren in personal endowments and capacities (both natural and moral), qualifying him for the discharge of the apostolical office in an eminent manner; particularly that in quickness of apprehension, in boldness of spirit, in readiness of speech, in char-

* Πρῶτος Σίμων.

ity to our Lord, and zeal for his service, in resolution, activity, and industry he was transcendent, may seem to appear by the tenor of the evangelical and apostolical histories; in the which we may observe him upon all occasions ready to speak first, and to make himself *the mouth*, as the fathers speak, of the apostles, in all deliberations nimble at propounding his advice, in all undertakings forward to make the onset; being παντάχοῦ θερμὸς, *always hot* and eager, always *prompt* and vigorous, as St. Chrysostom often affirmeth concerning him: these things are apparent in his demeanour, and it may not be amiss to set down some instances.*

When our Lord, observing the different apprehensions men had concerning him, asked the apostles, "But whom say ye that I am?" up starteth he, προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνεται, "he skippeth forth, and preventeth the rest," crying, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*[a] The other apostles were not ignorant of the point; for they at their conversion did take Jesus for the Messias, which (even according to the common notion of the Jews) did imply his being the Son of God; Nathanael (that is, St. Bartholomew, as is supposed) had in terms confessed it; the whole company, upon seeing our Lord walk on the sea, had avowed it;[b] St. Peter before that in the name of them all had said, Ἡμεῖς πεπιστεύκαμεν, καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν,† *We have believed, and have known, that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*[c] They therefore had the same faith, but he, from a special alacrity of spirit, and expedition in utterance, was more forward to declare it; "He was more hot," saith St. Gregory Nazianzen, "than the rest at acknowledging Christ."*

When our Saviour walked on the sea, who but he had the faith and the courage to venture on the waters towards him?[d]

When our Lord was apprehended by the soldiers, presently up was his spirit, and out went his sword in defence of him.[e]

When our Lord predicted, that upon his coming into trouble all the disciples would be offended, and desert him, he was ready to say, *Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended;* and, *Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee;*[f] such was his natural courage and confidence.

When our Lord was discoursing about his passion, he suddenly must be advising in the case, and urging him *to spare himself;*[g] upon which St. Chrysostom biddeth us to "consider, not that his answer was unadvised, but that it came from a genuine and fervent affection."†

And at the transfiguration, he fell to proposing about making an abode there, *not knowing what he said;*[h] so brisk was he in imagination and speech.

Upon the good woman's report that our Lord was risen from the dead, he first ran to the sepulchre,[i] and so (as St. Paul implieth) did obtain the first sight of our Lord after the resurrection;‡ such was his zeal and activity upon all occasions.

At the consultation about supplying the place of Judas, he *rose up*, proposed, and pressed the matter.[j]

At the convention of the apostles and elders about resolving *the debate* concerning observance of Mosaical institutions, he first rose up, and declared his sense.[k]

In the promulgation of the gospel, and defence thereof before the Jewish rulers,

* Ἐνπερίστροφος γὰρ ἀεί πως ἦν ἄνθρωπος, κεκεντρωμένος οὐ μετρίως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν προθυμίαν.—Cyrill. in Joh. xxi. 15. He was a very active and stirring man, exceedingly spurred on with much promptness and alacrity in doing and speaking. Παντάχοῦ εὑρίσκεται ἀπὸ πάθου ὁρμῶν.—Chrys. in Joh. Or. xii. (13, 24.) Διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμφαίνει θερμότητα.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59.

† Licet cæteri apostoli sciant, Petrus tamen respondet pro cæteris.—*Ambr. in Luc.* lib. vi. cap. 9.

[a] Matt. xvi. 15, 16.

[b] John i. 42, 46; Matt. xxvi. 63; John i. 50; Matt. xiv. 33.

[c] John vi. 69.

* Θερμότερος τῶν ἄλλων εἰσ ἐκίγνωσιν Χριστοῦ.—Greg. Naz. Or. 34.

† Μὴ τοῦτο ἐξετάσωμεν, ὅτι ἀπερίσκεπτος ἡ ἀπόκρισις· ἀλλ' ὅτι γνησίου πόθου ἦν καὶ ζέοντος.—Tom. v. Or. 59.

‡ Καὶ ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκαι—1 Cor. xv. 5. And that he appeared to Cephas, after that to the twelve.

[d] Matt. xiv. 28.

[e] John xviii. 10.

[f] Matt. xxvi. 33, 35; John xiii. 37.

[g] Matt. xvi. 22.

[h] Μὴ εἰδὼς ὃ λέγει.—Mark ix. 6.

[i] Luke ix. 33; xxiv.; xii. 34; John xx. 3.

[j] Acts i. 15.

[k] Acts xv. 7.

he did assume the conduct, and constantly took upon him to be the speaker; the rest standing by him, implying assent, and ready to avow his word; *Peter*, saith St. Luke, *standing with the rest, lift up his voice, and said unto them;* so "did they utter a common voice," saith St. Chrysostom, "and he was the mouth of all."*

That in affection to our Lord, and zeal for his service, St. Peter had some advantage over the rest, that question, *Simon Peter, dost thou love me more than these?* may seem to imply: (although the words πλεῖον τούτων may bear other interpretations, whereby the seeming invidiousness of the question, according to that sense, will be removed.) However, that he had a singular zeal for promoting our Lord's service, and propagation of the gospel, therein outshining the rest, seemeth manifest in the history, and may be inferred from the peculiar regard our Lord apparently did shew to him.†

Upon these premises we may well admit that St. Peter had a primacy of worth; or that in personal accomplishments he was most eminent among the twelve apostles; (although afterward there did spring up one, who hardly in any of these respects would yield to him; who could confidently say, *that he did not come behind the very chief apostles;* and of whom St. Ambrose saith, "Neither was Paul inferior to Peter——being well to be compared even to the first, and the second to none:"‡ and St. Chrysostom, "For what was greater than Peter, and what equal to Paul?")|| This is the primacy which Eusebius attributeth to him; when he calleth him "the excellent and great apostle, who for his virtue was the prolocutor of all the rest."*

II. As to *a primacy of repute;* which St. Paul meaneth, when he speaketh of the οἱ δοκοῦντες, *those which had a special reputation*, of those *who seemed to be pillars*[m] of the ὑπερλίαν ἀποστολοι, the *supereminent apostles;*[n] this advantage cannot be refused him; being a necessary consequent of those eminent qualities resplendent in him, and of the illustrious performances achieved by him, beyond the rest.

This may be inferred from that advantageous renown which he hath had propagated from the beginning to all posterity.

This at least those elogies of the fathers (styling him the chief, prince, head of the apostles) do signify.†

This also may be collected from his being so constantly ranked in the first place, before the rest of his brethren.

III. *As to a primacy of order or bare dignity*, importing that commonly, in all meetings and proceedings, the other apostles did yield him the precedence, the προηγορία, or privilege of speaking first (whether in propounding matters for debate, or in delivering his advice), in the conduct and moderation of affairs; that this was stated on him, may be questioned; for that this were a kind of womanish privilege; and that it doth not seem to befit the gravity of such persons, or their condition and circumstances, to stand upon ceremonies of respect; for that also our Lord's rules do seem to exclude all semblance of ambition, all kinds of inequality and distance between his apostles; for that this practice doth not seem constantly and thoroughly to agree to his being endowed with this advantage; especially seeing all that practice which favoureth it may fairly be assigned to other causes; for that also the fathers' authority (if that be objected, as a main argument of such a primacy) in points of this nature, not bordering

* Καινὴν προσεβάλλοντο φωνὴν, καὶ πάντων αὐτὸς ὢν τὸ στόμα..

† Aug. in Joh. Tract. 123. Ὁ μανικὸς ἐραστὴς τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 24. An extreme lover of Christ. Sæpe diximus nimii ardoris, amorisque quam maximi fuisse Petrum in Dominum.—*Hier. in Matt.* xvi. 22. We have often said that Peter was transported with too much heat, and extraordinary great love of our Lord. Ipse enim Petrus in apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus.—*Aug. Serm.* xiii. *de verb. Dom in Matt.* i. For Peter himself being first in the order of the apostles, and most prompt and forward in the love of Christ, answered oftentimes alone for all the rest.

‡ Nec Paulus inferior Petro——cum primo quoque facile conferendus, et nulli secundus.—*Ambr. de Sp. S.* ii. 12.

|| Τί γὰρ Πέτρου μεῖζον; τί δὲ Παύλου ἴσον.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 167.

[l] 1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 23, 5; xii. 11.

* Τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων προήγορον.—Euseb. Hist. ii. 14.

† Ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρος.—Ath. Disp. cont. Arium, p. 121.

[m] Gal. ii. 2, 6, 9. [n] 2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11.

on essentials of faith, is of no great strength; they in such cases speaking out of their own ingeny and conjecture; and commonly indulging their imaginations no less freely than other men.

But yet this primacy may be granted, as probable upon divers accounts of use and convenience; it might be useful to preserve order, and to promote expedition; or to prevent confusion, distraction, and dilatory obstruction in the management of things; yea, to maintain concord, and to exclude that ambition or affectation to be foremost, which is natural to men.

For seeing all could not go, speak, or act first, all could not guide affairs, it was expedient that one should be ready to undertake it, knowing his cue: "See," saith St. Chrysostom, noting on Acts ii. 14, where St. Peter speaketh for the rest, "the concord of the Apostles; they yield unto him the speech, for they could not all speak:"* and, "One" (saith St. Jerome) "is chosen among the twelve, that a head being appointed, an occasion of schism might be removed."†

St. Cyprian hath a reason for it somewhat more subtle and mystical, supposing our Lord did confer on him a preference of this kind to his brethren (who otherwise in power and authority were equal to him), that he might intimate and recommend unity to us;° and the other African doctors (Optatus and St. Austin) do commonly harp on the same notion.‡ I can discern little solidity in this conceit, and as little harm.

However, supposing this primacy (at least in respect to the fathers, who generally seem to countenance it), divers probable reasons may be assigned why it should especially be conferred on St. Peter.||

1. It is probable that St. Peter was first in standing among the apostles; I mean not that he was the first disciple, or first converted to faith in Christ; but first called to the apostolical office;* or first nominated by our Lord, when out of all his disciples *he chose twelve, and called them apostles; Simon, whom he called Peter, and Andrew his brother.*[v] He was one of the first believers at large; he was perhaps the first that distinctly believed our Lord's divinity; he was probably the very first apostle; as the fittest person in our Lord's eye for that employment.† "He," saith St. Hilary, "did first believe, and is the prince (or first man) of the apostleship."‡ "He," saith St. Cyprian, "was the first whom the Lord chose."|| "He," saith St. Basil, "was by judgment preferred before all the disciples."§ He by other ancients is called "the first fruits of the apostles."¶ And according to this sense St. Jerome, I suppose, doth call him and his brother Andrew *principes apostolorum*, that is (according to frequent usage of the word *princeps* in Latin), *the first of the apostles.*[q]

So that as in divers churches (perhaps when time was, in all), anciently, priority in ordination did ground a right to precedence, as it is in ours, with some exception; so might St. Peter, upon this account of being first ordained apostle, obtain such a primacy.

2. St. Peter also might be the first in age; which among persons otherwise equal is a fair ground of preference; for

* Ἔχουσι τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ὁμόνοιαν, αὐτοὶ παραχωροῦσιν αὐτῷ τῆς δημηγορίας, οὐ γὰρ ἶδει πάντας φθέγγεσθαι.—Chrys. in Act. ii. 14.

† Inter duodecim unus eligitur, ut capite constituto schismatis tolleretur occasio.—*Hier. in Jovin.* i. cap. 14.

‡ In typo unitatis ——. *Aug. de Bapt.* iii. 17.

|| Petrus—natura unus homo erat, gratia unus Christianus, abundantiore gratia unus idemque primus apostolus.—*Aug. in Joh. Tract.* 123. Peter was by nature one man, by grace one Christian, by a more abundant grace one and the same prime apostle. Ipse enim Petrus in apostolorum ordine primus, in Christi amore promptissimus, sæpe unus respondet pro omnibus.—*Aug. de verbis Dom. Sup. Matt.* i. *Serm.* 13. For Peter himself being the first in the order of the apostles, the most forward in the love of Christ, he alone oftimes answers for all the rest.

° Cyp. Ep 73, de Unit. Eccl. &c.

* [Προτίθησι δὲ Πέτρον καὶ Ἀνδρέαν, διότι καὶ πρωτόκλητοι.—Theoph. in Matt. x.]

† Γινώσκων τίς ἐν πρώτοις ἄξιος τάττεσθαι, ἐξελέξατο τὸν Πέτρον ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι——. Epiph. Hær. li. 17, p. 440.

‡ Primus credidit, et apostolatus est princeps.—*Hil. in Matt. Can.* 7

|| Quem primum Dominus elegit.—*Cypr. Ep.* 71, p. 127.

§ Ὁ πάντων τῶν μαθητῶν προκριθείς.—Bas. de Judicio Dei, tom. ii. p. 268.

¶ Ἀπαρχὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων. — Modest. apud Phot. Cod 275; Clem. ad Jac.

[v] Luke vi. 14; Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16; Luke v. 3.

[q] Hier. in Jovin. 1.

he was a married man; and that before he was called, as is intimated in St. Luke;[r] and it may be inferred from hence, that he would not have married after that he *had left all*, and devoted himself to follow our Lord.[s] Upon which account of age St. Jerome did suppose that he was preferred before the beloved disciple: "Why," saith he, "was not St. John elected, being a bachelor? it was deferred to age, because Peter was elder, that a youth, and almost a boy, might not be preferred before men of good age."*

I know that Epiphanius affirmeth St. Andrew to have been the elder brother;† but it doth not appear whether he saith it from conjecture, or upon any other ground. And his authority, although we should suppose it bottomed on tradition, is not great; tradition itself in such matters being very slippery, and often one tradition crossing another.

3. The most eminent qualifications of St. Peter (such as we before described) might procure to him this advantage.

They might breed in him an honest confidence, pushing him forward on all occasions to assume the former place, and thence by custom to possess it; for *qui sibi fidit, dux regit examen*[t]——it being in all action, as in walking, where he that naturally is most vigorous and active doth go before the rest.

They might induce others to a voluntary concession thereof;‡ for to those who indisputably do excel in good qualities or abilities, honest and meek persons easily will yield precedence, especially on occasions of public concernment; wherein it is expedient that the best qualified persons should be first seen.

They probably might also move our Lord himself to settle, or at least to insinuate this order; assigning the first place to him, whom he knew most willing to serve him, and most able to lead on the rest in his service.

It is indeed observable, that upon all occasions our Lord signified a particular respect to him, before the rest of his colleagues; for to him more frequently than to any of them he directed his discourse; unto him, by a kind of anticipation, he granted or promised those gifts and privileges which he meant to confer on them all; him he did assume as spectator and witness of his glorious transfiguration; him he picked out as companion and attendant on him in his grievous agony; his feet he first washed; to him he did first discover himself after his resurrection (as St. Paul implieth), and with him then he did entertain most discourse, in especial manner recommending to him the pastoral care of his church:[u] by which manner of proceeding our Lord may seem to have constituted St. Peter the first in order among the apostles, or sufficiently to have hinted his mind for their direction, admonishing them by his example to render unto him a special deference.

4. The fathers commonly do attribute his priority to the merit of his faith and confession wherein he did outstrip his brethren.[v] "He obtained supereminent glory by the confession of his blessed faith,"* saith St. Hilary. "Because he alone of all the rest professeth his love (John xxi.), therefore he is preferred above all,"† saith St. Ambrose.

5. Constantly in all the catalogues of the apostles St. Peter's name is set in the front; and when actions are reported, in which he was concerned jointly with others, he is usually mentioned first, which seemeth not done without careful design, or special reason.[w]

Upon such grounds it may be reasonable to allow St. Peter a primacy of order; such a one as the ringleader hath in a dance, as the primipilar centurion had in the legion, or the prince of the senate

* Sed cur non Joannes electus est virgo? ætati delatum est, quia Petrus senior erat; ne adhuc adolescens et pene puer progressæ ætatis hominibus præferretur.—*Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

† Μικρωτέρου ὄντος τοῦ Πέτρου τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡλικίας.—Ep. Hær. li. 17, p. 440. Peter being the younger in age.

‡ Αὐτοὶ παραχωροῦσιν αὐτῷ, &c.—Chrys. in Act. ii. 14. They yield unto him, &c.

[r] Luke iv. 38; v. 7. [s] Matt. xix. 27.

[t] Hor. Ep. i. 19.

* Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione gloriam promeruit.—*Hil. de Trin.* lib. vi. p. 121.

† Ideo quia solus profitetur amorem suum (John xxi.) ex omnibus, omnibus antefertur.—*Ambr. in Luc.* cap. ult.

[u] Matt. xvi. 16; xvii. 1; xxvi. 37; John xiii. 6; 1 Cor. xv. 5; John xxi.

[v] Hil. in Mat. Can. xiv. p. 566.

[w] Matt. x. 2; Mark iii. 17; Luke vi. 14; Acts i. 13; John xxi. 2.

had there, in the Roman state; at least, as among earls, baronets, &c. and others co-ordinate in degree, yet one hath a precedence of the rest.

IV. As to a primacy importing superiority in power, command, or jurisdiction; this by the Roman party is asserted to St. Peter, but we have great reason to deny it, upon the following considerations.

1. For such a power (being of so great importance) it was needful that a commission from God, its founder, should be granted in downright and perspicuous terms; that no man concerned in duty grounded thereon, might have any doubt of it, or excuse for boggling at it; it was necessary, not only for the apostles, to bind and warrant their obedience, but also for us, because it is made the sole foundation of a like duty incumbent on us; which we cannot heartily discharge without being assured of our obligation thereto, by clear revelation, or promulgation of God's will in the holy scripture;* for it was of old a current, and ever will be a true rule, which St. Austin in one case thus expresseth: "I do believe that also on this side there would be most clear authority of the divine oracles, if a man could not be ignorant of it without damage of his salvation;"† and Lactantius thus: "Those things can have no foundation, or firmness, which are not sustained by any oracle of God's word."‡

But apparently no such commission is extant in scripture; the allegations for it being, as we shall hereafter shew, nowise clear, nor probably expressive of any such authority granted by God; but on the contrary divers clearer testimonies are producible derogating from it.

2. If so illustrious an office was instituted by our Saviour, it is strange that nowhere in the evangelical or apostolical history (wherein divers acts and passages of smaller moment are recorded) there should be any express mention of that institution; there being not only much reason for such a report, but many pat occasions for it; the time when St. Peter was vested with that authority; the manner and circumstances of his instalment therein; the nature, rules, and limits of such an office, had surely well deserved to have been noted, among other occurrences relating to our faith and discipline, by the holy evangelists; no one of them, in all probability, could have forborne punctually to relate a matter of so great consequence, as the settlement of a monarch in God's church, and a sovereign of the apostolical college (from whom so eminent authority was to be derived to all posterity, for compliance wherewith the whole church for ever must be accountable); particularly it is not credible that St. Luke should quite slip over so notable a passage, who "had," as he telleth us, "attained a perfect understanding of all things, and had undertaken to write in order the things that were surely believed among Christians"[x] in his time; of which things this, if any, was one of the most considerable.

3. The time of his receiving institution to such authority can hardly be assigned. For was it when he was constituted by our Lord an apostle?[y] Then indeed probably he began to obtain all the primacy and pre-eminence he ever had; but no such power doth appear then conferred on him, or at any time in our Saviour's life; at least, if it was, it was so covertly and indiscernibly, that both he himself and all the apostles must be ignorant thereof, who a little before our Lord's passion did more than once earnestly contest about superiority.[z] And it is observable, that whereas our Lord before his passion did carefully teach and press on the apostles the chief duties which they were to observe in their behaviour toward each other; the maintenance of peace, of charity, of unity, of humility toward one another; yet of paying due respect and obedience to this superior he said nothing to them.[z]

* It was a reasonable demand, which was made to our Saviour, *Tell us by what authority thou doest these things, or who is he that gave thee this authority?* (Luke xx. 2;) end the reasonableness of it our Lord did often avow, declaring that if by his doctrine and works he had not vouched the divinity of his authority, it had been no sin to disbelieve or refect him, (John v. 31, 36; x. 25, 37; xv. 22, 24.)

† Credo etihm hinc divinorum eloquiorum clarissima authoritas esset, si homo sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non posset.—*Aug. de Pec. Mer. et Rem.* ii. 36.

‡ Nullum fundamentum aut firmitatem possunt habere, quæ nullis divinarum vocum fulciuntur oraculis.—*Lact.* vii. 2.

[x] Luke i. 1.

[y] Matt. x. 1.

[z] Mark ix. 50; John xiii. 34; xv. 12; xvii. 21; xiii. 14.

The collation of that power could not well be at any time before the celebration of our Lord's Supper, because before that time St. Peter was scarce an ecclesiastical person; at least he was no priest, as the convention of Trent under a curse doth require us to believe;* for it were strange, that an unconsecrated person, or one who was not so much as a priest, should be endowed with so much spiritual power.

After his resurrection, our Lord did give divers common instructions, orders, and commissions to his apostles, but it doth not appear that he did make any peculiar grant to St. Peter; for as to the pretence of such an one drawn out of the appendix to St. John's Gospel, or grounded on the words *Pasce oves*, we shall afterward declare that to be invalid.†

4. If St. Peter had been instituted sovereign of the apostolical senate, his office and state had been in nature and kind very distinct from the common office of the other apostles; as the office of a king from the office of any subject; as an ordinary, standing, perpetual, successive office, from one that is only extraordinary, transitory, temporary, personal, and incommunicable (to speak according to distinctions now in use, and applied to this case;) whence, probably, as it was expedient to be, it would have been signified by some distinct name, or title, characterizing it, and distinguishing it from others; as that of arch-apostle, arch-pastor, high priest, sovereign pontiff, pope, his holiness, the vicar of Christ, or the like; whereby it might have appeared that there was such an officer, what the nature of his office was, what specialty of respect and obedience was due to him: but no such name or title (upon any occasion) was assumed by him, or was by the rest attributed to him, or in history is recorded concerning him; the name of an apostle being all that he took on him, or by others was given to him.

5. There was indeed no office above that of an apostle known to the apostles, or to the primitive church; this, saith St. Chrysostom, "was the greatest authority," and "the top of authorities;" there was, saith he, "none before an apostle, none superior, none equal to him:"* this he asserteth of all the apostles, this he particularly applieth to St. Paul; this he demonstrateth from St. Paul himself, who purposely enumerating the chief officers instituted by God in his church, doth place apostles in the highest rank; *Our Lord*, saith St. Paul, *gave some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers;* and God hath set some in *his church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers;* πρῶτον ἀποστόλους;[a] why not first a pope, an universal pastor, an œcumenical judge, a vicar of Christ, a head of the catholic church? Could St. Paul be so ignorant, could he be so negligent or so envious, as to pass by, without any distinction, the supreme officer, if such a one then had been? As put case, that one should undertake to recite the officers in any state, or republic, would he not do strangely, if he should pretermit the king, the duke, the consul, the major thereof? Would not any one, confiding in the skill, diligence, and integrity of such a relator, be induced from such an omission to believe there was no such officer there? St. Chrysostom therefore did hence very rationally infer, that the apostolical office was the supreme in the Christian state, having no other superior to it.

St. Peter, therefore, was no more than an apostle; and as such he could have no command over those who were in the same highest rank co-ordinate to him, and who as apostles could not be subject to any.

* Si quis dixerit, illis verbis, *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, Christum non instituisse apostolos sacerdotes——anathema sit. *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxii. can. 2. If any one shall say that in those words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, Christ did not ordain his apostles priests——let him be accursed.

† Ἐντειλάμενοις τοῖς ἀποστόλοις——. Acts i. 2; John xx. 21; Matt. xxviii. 19; Luke xxiv. 49; Mark xvi. 15.

* Ἀρχὴ μεγίστη· κορυφὴ τῶν ἀρχῶν.—Chrys. tom. viii. p. 114. Εἴδες ὑψηλὸν καθήμενον τὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ οὐδένα πρὸ ἐκείνου ὄντα, οὔτε ἀνώτερον. Ibid. Τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 33. Αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου ἀκούσαμεν ἀριθμοῦντος τὰς ἀρχὰς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑψηλοτέρῳ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθίζοντος.—Chrys. tom. viii. ubi supra. We have heard Paul himself reckoning up powers or authorities, and placing the apostolical in the highest place.

[a] Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

6. Our Lord himself, at several times, declared against this kind of primacy, instituting equality among his apostles, prohibiting them to affect, to seek, to assume, or admit a superiority of power one above another.

There was (saith St. Luke, *among the twelve*, at the participation of the holy supper) *a strife among them, who of them should be accounted the greatest*,* or who had the best pretence to superiority: this strife our Lord presently did check and quash; but how? not by telling them, that he already had decided the case in appointing them a superior, but rather by assuring them that he did intend none such to be; that he would have no monarchy, no exercise of any dominion or authority by one among them over the rest:† but that notwithstanding any advantages one might have before the other (as greater in gifts, or as preceding in any respect), they should be one as another, all humbly condescending to one another, each being ready to yield help and service to one another:‡ *The kings* (said he) *of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority over them are called benefactors; but ye shall not be so; but he that is greater among you, let him be as the younger;*|| *and he that is leader as he that doth minister;*§[b] that is, whatever privilege any of you obtaineth, let it not be employed in way of command, but rather of compliance and subserviency, as occasion shall require; let him not pretend to be a superior, but rather behave himself as an inferior: thus our Lord did smother the debate, by removing from among them whatever greatness any of them did affect or pretend to; forbidding that any of them should κυριεύειν, or ἐξουσιάζειν, exercise any dominion or authority over the rest, as worldly princes did over their subjects.

Again, upon another occasion (as the circumstances of the place do imply), when two of the apostles (of special worth and consideration with our Lord, St. James and St. John, the sons of Zebedee) did affect a pre-eminence over the rest, requesting of our Lord, *Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory* (or in *thy kingdom*,[c] as St. Matthew hath it; that is, in that new state, which they conceived our Lord was ready to introduce;) which request doth not seem to import any great matter of authority; nor probably did they desire so much, as our adversaries do give to St. Peter; yet our Lord doth not only reject their suit, but generally declareth, that none of them were capable of such a preferment in his kingdom; which therein differed from worldly dominion, because in it there was no room for such an ambition; especially in that state of things wherein the apostles were to be placed; which was a state of undergoing persecutions, not of enjoying dignity, or exercising command; all the preferment which they reasonably could aspire to being to be dispensed in the future state (whereof they were not aware), according to God's preparation, in correspondence to the patience and industry any of them should exert in God's service; (upon which account St. Chrysostom saith), "It was a clear case that St. Paul should obtain the preference."*

It was indeed (as our Lord intimateth) incongruous for those, who had forsaken all things for Christ, who had embraced a condition of disgrace, who were designed, by self-denial, humility, neglect of temporal grandeur, wealth, and honour, by undergoing persecution, and undertaking conformity to our Lord (*being baptized with the baptism with which he was baptised*), to propagate the faith of a crucified Master, to seek or take on them authoritative dignity; for among them

* Luke xxii. 14, 24.—Τίς αὐτῶν δοκεῖ εἶναι μείζων.

† So doth St. Clemens interpret μείζων, alluding to this place.

‡ Ἤτω τις πιστὸς, ἤτω δυνατὸς γνῶσιν ἐξειπεῖν, ἤτω σοφὸς ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἤτω γοργὸς ἐν ἔργοις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ταπεινοφρονεῖν ὀφείλει, ὅσῳ δοκεῖ μᾶλλον μείζων εἶναι· καὶ ζητεῖν τὸ κοινωφελὲς πᾶσιν, μὴ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ.—Clem. ad Corinth. i. 48; apud Clem. Alex. Strom. vi. p. 617. Let a man be faithful, let him be powerful in declaring knowledge, let him be wise in discovering reasons, let him be strenuous in works, by so much the more ought he to be humble-minded, by how much the more he seems to be greater than others; and to seek the common benefit of all, and not of himself.

|| ὁ μείζων. § ὁ ἡγούμενος.

[b] Luke xxii. 25, 26.

* Εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς δυνατόν ἀπολαύσεται τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 33.

[c] Mark x. 37; Matt. xx. 25.

there could not well be any need of commanding or being commanded; it was more fit, that all of them should conspire to help and serve one another, in promoting the common design and service of their Lord, with mutual condescension and compliance; which was the best way of recommending themselves to his acceptance, and obtaining from him answerable reward.* Such was the drift of our Lord's discourse; whereunto (as in the other case) he did annex the prohibition of exercising dominion: *Ye know* (saith he) *that the princes of nations exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them; but it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be first among you, let him be your servant;*[d] Ὃς ἐὰν θέλῃ, whoever among you hath a mind to special grandeur and pre-eminence, let him understand that there is no other to be attained, beside that which resulteth from the humble performance of charitable offices to his brethren: the which whoever shall best discharge, he alone will become greatest and highest in the eye of God.

Again, at another time, the apostles dreaming of a secular kingdom to be erected by our Lord, *disputed among themselves who should be the greatest*;[e] and for satisfaction presumed to inquire of our Lord about it; when, as they surely were very ignorant of St. Peter's being their head, so there was a fair occasion as could be of our Lord's instructing them in that point, and enjoining their duty towards him; but he did not so, but rather taught him, together with the rest, not to pretend to any such thing, as preferment above the rest: *He sitting down called the twelve, and said unto them, If any one desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all.*[f] How could he (considering the occasion and circumstances of that speech) in plainer terms establish equality, or discountenance any claim to superiority among them? Had St. Peter then advanced such a plea, as they now affirm of right belonging to him, would he not thereby have depressed and debased himself to the lowest degree?

To impress this rule, our Lord then *calling a little child, did set him in the midst of them, telling them, that except they were converted* (from such ambitious pretences), *and became like little children* (wholly void of such conceits) *they could not enter into the kingdom of heaven;* that is, could not in effect be so much as ordinary good Christians; adjoining, that *whosoever should humble himself as did that little child* (not affecting, or assuming more than such an innocent did), *should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven;** in real worth, and in the favour of God, transcending the rest: so that St. Peter, claiming superiority to himself, would have forfeited any title to eminency among Christians.

Again, as to the power which is now ascribed to St. Peter by the party of his pretended successors, we may argue from another place; where our Saviour prohibiting his disciples to resemble the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees in their ambitious desires and practices, their affectations of pre-eminence, their assuming places and titles importing difference of rank and authority, he saith, *But be ye not called Rabbi: for there is one master* (one Guide or Governor) *of you, even Christ; but ye are brethren.*[g] How more pregnantly could he have declared the nature of his constitution, and the relation of Christians one to another established therein, to exclude such differences of power, whereby one doth in way of domination impose his opinion or his will on others!

Ye are all fellow-scholars, fellow-servants, and fellow-children of God; it therefore doth not become you to be anywise imperious over one another; but all of you humbly and lovingly to conspire in learning and observing the pre-

* Τότε ἡ ἐπιστασία ἦν οὐ τιμή. ἀλλὰ πρόνοια τῶν ἀρχομένων, &c.—Chrys. in Act. i. 6. Then the government was not an honour, but a provident care of the governed, &c.

[d] Matt. xx. 25, 26, 27.

[e] Mark ix. 34; Luke ix. 46; Matt. xviii. 1.

[f] Mark ix. 35.

* Καὶ τοῖς περὶ πρωτείων φιλονεικοῦσι γνωρίμοις μετὰ ἁπλότητος τὴν ἰσότητα παρεγγυᾷ, λέγων ὡς τὰ παιδία αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι δεῖν.—Clem. Alex. Strom. v. (p. 660. [663].) And to those familiar friends striving for the preeminence, he commends equality together with simplicity, saying, that they ought to become as little children.

[g] Matt. xxiii. 8,—εἷς καθηγητής.

cepts of your common Lord; the doing which is backed with a promise and a threat suitable to the purpose: *He that exalteth himself shall be abased; and he that will abase himself shall be exalted;* the which sentences are to be interpreted according to the intent of the rules foregoing.

If it be said, that such discourse doth impugn all ecclesiastical jurisdiction; I answer, that indeed thereby is removed all such haughty and harsh rule, which some have exercised over Christians; that αὐθεντία (*arbitrary power*); that ἐξουσία ἀνεύθυνος (*absolute, uncontrollable authority*); that τυραννικὴ προνομία (*tyrannical prerogative*), of which the Fathers complain; that καταχυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων (*domineering over their charges*), which St. Peter forbiddeth.[h] "We" (saith St. Chrysostom) "were designed to teach the word, not to exercise empire or absolute sovereignty; we do bear the rank of advisers, exhorting to duty."*

A bishop, saith St. Jerome, differeth from a king, in that a bishop "presideth over those that are willing," the king "against their will;"† (that is, the bishop's governance should be so gentle and easy, that men hardly can be unwilling to comply with it; but should obey, as St. Peter exhorteth (οὐκ ἀναγκαστῶς, ἀλλ' ἑκουσίως, *not by constraint, but of their own accord;*)[i] and, "Let" (saith he) "the bishops be content with their honour; let them know themselves to be fathers, not lords; they should be loved, not feared."‡

And, "Thou" (saith St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius) "dost superintend, the name of *bishop* signifying to thee not dominion, but duty."||

At least those precepts of our Lord do exclude that power which is ascribed to St. Peter over the apostles themselves, the which indeed is greater than in likelihood any Pharisee did ever affect; yea in many respects doth exceed any domination which hath been claimed or usurped by the most absolute monarch upon earth; for the power of St. Peter in their opinion was the same which now the Roman bishop doth challenge to himself over the pastors and people of God's church, by virtue of succession to him (St. Peter's power being the base of the papal, and therefore not narrower than its superstructure;) but what domination comparable to that hath ever been used in the world?

What emperor did ever pretend to a rule so wide in extent (in regard either to persons or matters), or so absolute in effect?

Whoever, beside his holiness, did usurp a command, not only over the external actions, but the most inward cogitations of all mankind; subjecting the very minds and consciences of men to his dictates, his laws, his censures?

Who ever thundered curses and damnations on all those who should presume to dissent from his opinion, or to contest his pleasure?

Who ever claimed more absolute power, in making, abolishing, suspending laws, or imposing upon men what he pleased, under obligation of conscience, and upon extremest penalties?

What prince ever used a style more imperious, than is that which is usual in the papal bulls: "Let it be lawful for no man whatever to infringe this expression of our will and command, or to go against it with bold rashness."*

What Domitian more commonly did admit the appellation of *lord*, than doth the pope? "Our most holy lord,"† is the ordinary style attributed to him by the Fathers of Trent, as if they were his slaves, and intended to enslave all Christendom to him.

* Εἰς διδασκαλίαν λόγου προεχειρίσθημεν, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲ εἰς αὐθεντίαν· συμβούλων τάξιν ἐπίχομεν παραινούντων.—Chrys. in Eph. Or. 11.

† Ille enim nolentibus præest, hic volentibus.— *Hier. Ep.* 3, *ad Nepot.* Ὁ μέντοι ἑκόντων ὀφείλων ἄρχειν, &c.—Chrys. in Tit. i. 7. He ought to rule them so as they may be willing to be ruled, &c.

‡ Sed contenti sint honore suo; patres se sciant esse non dominos ——. *Hier. Ep.* 62, *ad Theoph.* cap. 3. Amari parens, et episcopus debet, non timeri.—*Ibid.* cap. 1.

|| Inde denique superintendis, sonante tibi episcopi nomine non dominium, sed officium.—*Bern. de Consid.* ii. 6.

[h] Chrys. in 1 Tim. iii. 1; in Eph. Or. 11: Isid. Pel. Ep. iv. 219; ii. 125; Greg. Naz. Or. 28; 1 Pet. v. 3.

[i] 1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

* Nulli hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ voluntatis et mandati infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire.

† Sanctissimus dominus noster. — *Concil. Trid.* sess. xxii. cap. 11, &c.

Who ever did exempt his clients and dependents in all nations from subjection to civil laws, from undergoing common burdens and taxes, from being judged or punished for their misdemeanours and crimes?

Who ever claimed a power to dispose of all things one way or other, either directly or indirectly? to dispose even of kingdoms, to judge sovereign princes, and to condemn them, to depose them from their authority, absolving their subjects from all allegiance to them, and exposing their kingdoms to rapine?

To whom but a pope were ever ascribed prerogatives like those of judging all men, and himself being liable to no judgment, no account, no reproof or blame; so that, as a papal canon assureth us, "Let a pope be so bad, as by his negligence and maladministration to carry with him innumerable people to hell, yet no mortal man whatever must presume here to reprove his faults; because he being to judge all men, is himself to be judged of no man, except he be catched swerving from the faith;"* which is a case they will hardly suffer a man to suppose possible.

To whom but to a pope was such power attributed by his followers, and admitted by himself, that he could hear those words applying to him, "all power is given to thee in heaven and in earth?"†

Such power the popes are wont to challenge, and when occasion serveth do not fail to execute, as successors of St. Peter;‡ to whom therefore consequently they ascribe it: and sometimes in express terms; as in that brave apostrophe of Pope Gregory VII. (the spirit of which pope hath possessed his successors generally:) "Go to therefore" (said he, directing his speech to St. Peter and St. Paul), "most holy princes of the apostles, and what I have said confirm by your authority; that now at length all men may understand, whether ye can bind and loose; that also ye can take away and give on earth, empires, kingdoms, and whatever mortal men can have."*

Now if the assuming and exercising such powers be not that καταχυριεύειν, and κατεξουσιάζειν, that exalting one's self, that being called rabbi, father, master, which our Lord prohibiteth, what is so? what then can those words signify? what could our Lord mean?

The authority, therefore, which they assign to St. Peter, and assume to themselves from him, is voided by those declarations and precepts of our Lord; the which it can hardly be well conceived that our Lord would have proposed, if he had designed to constitute St. Peter in such a supremacy over his disciples and church.

7. Surveying particulars, we shall not find any peculiar administration committed to St. Peter, nor any privilege conferred on him, which was not also granted to the other apostles.

Was St. Peter an ambassador, a steward, a minister, a vicar (if you please), or surrogate of Christ? so were they, by no less immediate and express warrant than he; for, *as the Father sent me, so also I send you*, said our Lord presently before his departure; by those words, as St. Cyprian remarketh, "granting an equal power to all the apostles;"† and, *We* (saith St. Paul) *are ambassadors for Christ; we pray you in Christ's stead, be reconciled to God;* and, *So let a man esteem us, as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.*‖

Was St. Peter a rock, on which the church was to be founded? Be it so; but no less were they all; for the wall of Jerusalem, which *came down from heaven*, had *twelve foundations, on which were inscribed the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb;* and, *We* (saith St. Paul) *are all built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ himself being the chief corner stone;*[k] whence "equally" (saith St. Jerome)

* Si papa suæ, &c.—*Grat. Dist.* xl. cap. 6.

† Concil. Lat. Sub Leone X. sess. xi. p. 133, (in Or. Archiep. Patrac.)

‡ Hac itaque fiducia fretus, &c.—*Excommun. Henrici R. in Concil. Rom.* iii. *sub. Greg. VII. apud Bin.* tom. vii. p. 484.

* Agite apostolorum sanctissimi principes, &c.—*Plat. in Greg. VII.* In Concil. Rom. vi. apud Bin. p. 491.

† Et quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat et dicat, Sicut, &c.—*Cypr. de Un. Eccl.* p. 195.

‖ 2 Cor. v. 20; 1 Cor. iv. 1; 2 Cor. vi. 4.

[k] Matt. xvi. 18; Rev. xxi. 10, 14; Eph. ii. 20.

"the strength of the church is settled upon them."*

Was St. Peter an architect of the *spiritual house* (as himself calleth the church?) so were also they; for *I* (saith St. Paul) *as a wise masterbuilder, have laid the foundation.*[l]

Were *the keys* of the church (or *of the kingdom of heaven*[m]) committed to him? so also were they unto them: they had a power to open and shut it by effectual instruction and persuasion, by dispensation of the sacraments, by exercise of discipline, by exclusion of scandalous and heretical persons; whatever faculty the keys did import, the apostles did use it in the foundation, guidance, and government of the church; and did (as the Fathers teach (impart it to those whom they did in their stead constitute to feed and govern the church.

Had St. Peter a power given him of binding and loosing effectually? so had they, immediately granted by our Saviour, in as full manner, and couched in in the same terms: *If thou shalt bind on earth, it shall be bound in heaven*, said our Lord to him; and, *Whatsoever things ye shall bind on earth, they shall be bound in heaven*,[n] said the same divine mouth to them.†

Had he a privilege to remit and retain sins? it was then by virtue of that common grant or promise; *Whose soever sins ye remit, they shall be remitted; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.*[o]

Had he power and obligation to feed the sheep of Christ (all or some?) so had they indefinitely and immediately: so had others by authority derived from them; who were nominated *pastor;* who had this charge laid on them: *Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood;* whom he doth himself exhort, *Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof:*[p] let feeding signify what it can, instruction, or guidance, or governance, or all of them together (*Regio more impera*, if you please, as Bellarmine will have it), it did appertain to their charge; to teach was a common duty, to lead and to rule were common functions; St. Peter could not, nor would not appropriate it to himself; it is his own exhortation, when he taketh most upon him, *Be mindful of the commandment* (or precept) *of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour.*[q]

Was his commission universal, or unlimited? so was theirs, by the same immediate authority; for, *All power* (said he to them, when he gave his last charge) *is given to me in heaven and in earth; go therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I command you;* and, *Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.*[r]

They, as St. Chrysostom speaketh, "were all in common intrusted with the whole world, and had the care of all nations."*

Was he furnished with extraordinary gifts, with special graces, with continual directions and asistance for the discharge of the apostolical office? so were they; for the *promise* was common of sending the Holy Spirit, *to lead them into all truth*, and, *clothing them with the power from on high;*[s] and of endowing them with power to perform all sorts of miraculous works; our Lord before his departure *breathed into them, and said, receive ye the Holy Ghost; All of them* (saith St. Luke) *were filled with the Holy Ghost;* all of them with confidence and truth could say, *it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us;*[t] all of them did abundantly partake of that character

* Ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur.—*Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

† Ὅτε γε καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνων τὸ ἀρχιερατικὸν κατὰ διαδοχὴν περιβεβλημένοις ἀξίωμα, τὴν αὐτὴν προστῖναι τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἐξουσίαν πιστεύομεν. —Phot. Cod. 280, p. 1600. Those who, by succession from them (viz. the apostles), were endowed with episcopal authority, we believe to have the same power of binding and loosing.

[l] 1 Peter ii. 5; 1 Cor. iii. 10.

[m] Matt. xvi. 19.

[n] Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 18.

[o] John xx. 23.

* Πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες.—Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115; tom. v. Orat. 47, in 2 Cor. xi. 28.

[p] Eph. iv. 11; Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 2.

[q] 2 Pet. iii. 2.

[r] Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15; Luke xxiv. 47.

[s] Luke xxiv. 49; John xvi. 13, 14, 26.

[t] John xx. 22; Acts ii. 4; xv. 28.

which St. Paul respected, when he did say, *The signs of an apostle were wrought among you, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds.*[u]

Did St. Peter represent the church as receiving privileges in its behalf; as the Fathers affirm?* so did they, according to the same Fathers: "If therefore" saith St. Austin, citing the famous place, *Sicut me misit Pater*) "they did bear the person of the church, and this was said to them, as if it were said to the church itself, then the peace of the church remitteth sins."†

What singular prerogative then can be imagined appertaining to St. Peter? what substantial advantage could he pretend to beyond the other apostles? Nothing surely doth appear; whatever the patrons of his supremacy do claim for him is precariously assumed, without any fair colour of proof; he for it is beholden, not to any testimony of holy scripture, but to the invention of Roman fancy: we may well infer with Cardinal Cusanus; "We know that Peter did not receive more power from Christ than the other apostles; for nothing was said to Peter which was not also said to the other: therefore" (addeth he) "we rightly say that all the apostles were equal to Peter in power."‡

8. Whereas St. Peter himself did write two Catholic Epistles, there doth not in them appear any intimation, any air or savour of pretence to this archapostolical power. It is natural for persons endowed with unquestionable authority (howsoever otherwise prudent and modest), to discover a spice thereof in the matter or in the style of their writing; their mind, conscious of such advantage, will suggest an authoritative way of expression; especially when they earnestly exhort, or seriously reprove, in which cases their very authority is a considerable motive to assent or compliance, and strongly doth impress any other arguments; but no critic perusing those Epistles would smell a pope in them. The speech of St. Peter, although pressing his doctrine with considerations of this nature, hath no tang of such authority.

The elders (saith he) *which are among you, I exhort, who also am an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed:*[v] by such excellent but common advantages of his person and office, he presseth on the clergy his advices.

Had he been what they make him, he might have said, I, the peculiar vicar of Christ, and sovereign of the apostles, do not only exhort, but require this of you: this language had been very proper, and no less forcible: but nothing like this, nothing of the spirit and majesty of a pope, is seen in his discourse; there is no "pagina nostræ voluntatis et mandati," which now is the papal style; when he speaketh highest, it is in the common name of the apostles, *Be mindful* (saith he) *of the command* (that is, of the doctrine and precepts) *of us, the apostles of the Lord and Saviour.*[w]

9. In the apostolical history, the proper place of exercising this power ("wherein," as St. Chrysostom saith, "we may see the predictions of Christ, which he uttered in the Gospels, reduced to act, and the truth of them shining in the things themselves,")* no footstep thereof doth appear.

We cannot there discern that St. Peter did assume any extraordinary authority, or that any deference by his brethren was rendered to him, as to their governor or judge. No instance there doth occur of his laying commands on any one apostle, or exercising any act of jurisdiction upon any one; but rather to the contrary divers passages are observable, which argue, that he pretended to no such thing, and that others did not understand any such thing belonging to him.

* Cui totius ecclesiæ figuram gerenti, &c.—*Aug. Ep.* 165.

† Ergo si personam gerebant ecclesiæ, et sic eis hoc dictum est, tanquam ipsi ecclesiæ diceretur, pax ecclesiæ dimittit peccata, &c.—*Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don.* iii. 18.

‡ Scimus quod Petrus nihil plus potestatis a Christo recepit aliis apostolis; nihil enim dictum est ad Petrum, quod aliis etiam dictum non est. Ideo recte dicimus omnes apostolos esse æquales cum Petro in potestate.—*Card. Cus. de Conc. Cath.* ii. 13.

[u] 2 Cor. xii. 12.

* Καὶ γὰρ τὰς προῤῥήσεις ἃς ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ὁ Χριστὸς προαναφωνεῖ, ταύτας εἰς ἔργον ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ἰδεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων διαλάμπουσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.—Chrys. in Act. 1.

[v] 1 Pet. v. 1.

[w] τῆς ἐντολῆς.—2 Pet. iii. 2.

His temper indeed and zeal commonly did prompt him to be most forward in speaking and acting upon any emergency for the propagation or maintenance of the gospel;* and the memory of the particular charge which our Lord departing had lately put on him, strongly might instigate him thereto; regard to his special gifts and sufficiency did incline the rest willingly to yield that advantage to him; and perhaps because, upon the considerations before touched, they did allow some preference in order to him; but in other respects, as to the main administration of things, he "is but one among the rest."† not taking upon him in his speech or behavior beyond others. All things are transacted by common agreement, and in the name of all concurring; no appeal in cases of difference is made singly to him; no peremptory decision or decree is made by him; no orders are issued out by him alone, or in a special way; in ecclesiastical assemblies he acteth but as one member; in deliberations he doth only propound his opinion, and passeth a single vote; his judgment and practice are sometime questioned, and he is put to render an account of them: he doth not stand upon his authority, but assigneth reasons to persuade his opinion, and justify his actions; yea sometimes he is moved by the rest, receiving orders and employment from them: these things we may discern by considering the instances which follow.‡

In the designation of a new apostle to supply the place of Judas, he did indeed suggest the matter, and lay the case before them; he first declared his sense; but the whole company did choose two, and referred the determination of one to lot, or to God's arbitration.[x]

At the institution of deacons, *the twelve did call the multitude of disciples*, and directed them *to elect* the persons; and the proposal being *acceptable* to them, it was done accordingly; *they chose Stephen*, &c.[y] whom *they set before the apostles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.*"*

In that important transaction about the observance of Mosaical institutions, *a great stir and debate being started*,† which St. Paul and St. Barnabas by disputation could not appease, what course was then taken? Did they appeal to St. Peter, as to the supreme dictator and judge of controversies? Not so; but *they sent to the apostles and elders at Jerusalem, to inquire about the question;* when those great messengers were arrived there, *they were received by the church, and the apostles, and elders;* and having made their report, *the apostles and elders did assemble to consider about that matter.*[z] In this assembly, *after much debate* passed, and that many had freely uttered their sense, St. Peter *rose up*, with apostolical gravity, declaring what his reason and experience did suggest conducing to a resolution of the point; whereto his words might indeed be much available, grounded, not only upon common reason, but upon special revelation concerning the case; whereupon St. James, alleging that revelation, and backing it with reason drawn from scripture, with much authority pronounceth his judgment: *Therefore* (saith he) *I judge* (that is, saith St. Chrysostom, *I authoritively say*‡) *that we trouble not them, who from among the Gentiles are turned to God; but that we write unto them*, &c.[a] And the result was, that according to the proposal of St. James, it was by general consent determined to send a decretal letter unto the Gentile Christians, containing a canon, or advice directive of their practice in the case: *It then seemed good to* (or was decreed by) *the apostles and elders, with the whole church, to send*—and the

* Ὡς θερμὸς, καὶ ὡς ἐμπιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ποιμνίον, καὶ ὡς τοῦ χοροῦ πρῶτος ἀεὶ πρότερος ἄρχεται τοῦ λόγου.—Chrys. in Act. i. 15. As being a man hot and earnest, and as intrusted with a flock by Christ, and as the foreman of the company, he ever begins to speak. Εἰκότως ταῦτα ἐγίνετο διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς——. In Act. i. 26. Probably so it fell out by reason of the signal virtue of the man.

† Ἕτερός τις τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χοροῦ.—Chrys. de Sacerd. Or. 4.

‡ Ὅρα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιοῦντα γνώμης· οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς.—Chrys. in Act. i. 16. Behold him doing all things by common consent; nothing authoritatively nor imperiously.

[x] Acts i. 15, 26, 23, καὶ ἔστησαν δύο.

* Acts vi. 5, καὶ ἤρεσεν ὁ λόγος ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους· καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον, &c.

† Acts xv. 2.—Γενομένης στάσεως, καὶ συζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης.

‡ Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω.—Acts. xv. 19. Τί ἐστι κρίνω ἐγώ; ἀντὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐξουσίας λέγω τοῦτο εἶναι.—Chrys.

[y] Acts vi. 2. [z] Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 7.

[a] Acts xv. 13—18.

letter ran thus: *The apostles, and elders, and brethren, to the brethren of the Gentiles,** —— Now in all this action (in this leading precedent for the management of things in ecclesiastical synods and consistories), where can the sharpest sight descry any mark of distinction or pre-eminence which St. Peter had in respect to the other apostles? Did St. Peter there anywise behave himself like his pretended successors upon such occasions? what authority did he claim or use before that assembly, or in it, or after it? Did he summon or convocate it? No; they met upon common agreement. Did he preside there? No; but rather St. James, "to whom" (saith St. Chrysostom), "as bishop of Jerusalem, the government was committed."† Did he offer to curb or check any man, or to restrain him from his liberty of discourse there? No; "there was much disputation," every man frankly speaking his sense. Did he more than use his freedom of speech becoming an apostle, in arguing the case and passing his vote? No; for in so exact a relation nothing more doth appear. Did he form the definitions, or pronounce the decree resulting? No; St. James rather did that; for (as an ancient author saith) "Peter did make an oration, but St. James did enact the law."‡ Was, beside his suffrage in the debate, any singular approbation required from him, or did he by any bull confirm the decrees? No such matter; these were devices of ambition, creeping on and growing up to the pitch where they now are. In short, doth any thing correspondent to papal pretences appear assumed by St. Peter, or deferred to him? If St. Peter was such a man as they make him, how wanting then was he to himself, how did he neglect the right and dignity of his office, in not taking more upon him, upon so illustrious an occasion, the greatest he did ever meet with? How defective also were the apostolical college, and the whole church of Jerusalem, in point of duty and decency, yielding no more deference to their sovereign, the vicar of their Lord! Whatever account may be framed of these defailances, the truth is, that St. Peter then did know his own place and duty better than men do know them now; and the rest as well understood how it became them to demean themselves. St. Chrysostom's reflections on those passages are very good; that indeed then "there was no fastuousness in the church," and "the souls of those primitive Christians were clear of vanity;"* the which dispositions did afterward spring up and grow rankly to the great prejudice of religion, begetting those exorbitant pretences which we now disprove.

Again, when St. Peter, being warned from heaven thereto, did receive Cornelius, a Gentile soldier, unto communion;[b] divers good Christians, who were ignorant of the warrantableness of that proceeding (as others commonly were, and St. Peter himself was, before he was informed by that special revelation), did not fear *διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν*, *to contest with him* about it;[c] not having any notion (as it seemeth) of his supreme unaccountable authority (not to say of that infallibility, with which the canonists and Jesuits have invested him;) unto whom St. Peter rendereth a fair account, and maketh a satisfactory apology for his proceedings;† not brow-beating those audacious contenders with his authority, but gently satisfying them with reason. But if he had known his power to be such, as now they pretend it to be, he should have done well to have asserted it, even out of good-will and charity to

* Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς, &c.—Acts xv. 22. Τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων.—Acts xvi. 4. Κρίναντες ἡμεῖς ἐπεστείλαμεν.—Acts xxi. 25.

† Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τότε ἐπεσκόπουν ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προεστήκει πάντων.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος——ἐν δυναστείᾳ ἦν. — Chrys. in loc. For he had the government committed to him—he was empowered.

‡ Πέτρος μὲν ἐμυθεῖ, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβος νομοθετεῖ.—Hesych. apud Phot. Cod. 275.

* Οὕτως οὐδεὶς τόφος ἦν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οὕτως καθαρὰ δόξης ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ ψυχή.—Chrys. ibid.

† Ὅρα τὸ ἄτυφον καὶ ἀκενόδοξον,—ὅρα πῶς ἀπολογεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιοῖ τῷ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἀξιώματι κεχρῆσθαι.—Chrys. See how free he is from pride and vain-glory; see how he excuses himself, and thinks himself not worthy to have the honour of a master.

[b] Acts x. 28. Καὶ ἐμοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξε—Acts xi. 12.

[c] Acts xi. 2; Bell. de Pont. Rom. iv. 3, 4; Acts xi. 18.

those good brethren;* correcting their error, and checking their misdemeanour; shewing them what an enormous presumption it was so to contend with their sovereign pastor and judge.

Further; so far was St. Peter from assuming command over his brethren, that he was upon occasion ready to obey their orders; as we may see by that passage, where, upon the conversion of divers persons in Samaria, it is said, that *the apostles hearing it, did send to them Peter and John, who going down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost.*[d] The apostles sent him: that, had he been their sovereign, would have been somewhat unseemly and presumptuous; for subjects are not wont to send their prince, or soldiers their captain; to be sent being a mark of inferiority, as our Lord himself did teach: *A servant* (saith he) *is not greater than his lord; nor he that is sent greater than he that sent him.*[e] St. Luke therefore should at least have so expressed this passage, that the apostles might have seemed to keep their distance, and observed good manners; if he had said, they beseeched him to go, that had sounded well; but *they sent him* is harsh, if he were *dominus noster papa*, as the modern apostles of Rome do style their Peter. The truth is, then, among Christians there was little standing upon punctilios; private considerations and pretences to power then took small place; each one was ready to comply with that which the most did approve; the community did take upon it to prescribe unto the greatest persons, as we see again in another instance, where the brethren at Antioch did *appoint Paul and Barnabas* (the most considerable persons among them) *to go up unto Jerusalem.* They were then "so generous, so merciful, so full of charity, as, rather than to cause or foment any disturbance, to recede, or go whither the multitude pleased, and do what was commanded by it."†

10. In all relations which occur in scripture, about controversies incident of doctrine or practice, there is no appeal made to St. Peter's judgment, or allegation of it as decisive; no argument is built on his authority: dissent from his opinion, or disconformity to his practice, or disobedience to his orders, are not mentioned as ground of reproof, as aggravation of any error, any misdemeanour, any disorder; which were very strange, if then he was admitted or known to be the universal prince and pastor of Christians, or the supreme judge and arbitrator of controversies among them: for then surely the most clear, compendious, and effectual way to confute any error, or check any disorder, had been to allege the authority of St. Peter against it: who then could have withstood so mighty a prejudice against his cause? If now a question doth arise about any point of doctrine, instantly the parties (at least some one of them, which hopeth to find most favour) hath recourse to the pope to define it; and his judgment, with those who admit his pretences, proveth sufficiently decisive, or at least greatly swayeth in prejudice to the opposite party. If any heresy, or any opinion disagreeing from the current sentiments, is broached, the pope presently doth roar, that his voice is heard through Christendom, and thundereth it down: if any schism or disorder springeth up, you may be sure that Rome will instantly meddle to quash it, or to settle matters as best standeth with its principles and interests: such influence hath the shadow of St. Peter's authority now: but no such regard was then had to poor Pope Peter himself; he was not so busy and stirring in such cases: the apostles did not send heretics to be knocked down by his sentence, nor schismatics to be scourged by his censure; but were fain to use the long way of disputation, striving to convince them by testimonies of scripture, and rational discourse. If they did use *authority*, it

* Ita ut Petrus quoque timens ne culparetur ab ipsis.—*Iren.* iii. 12, 15, p. 200. *N.* In the matter at Antioch, St. Peter did comply with St. James and the Judaizers, which did not beseem such authority.

† Ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν.—Acts xv. 2; xiii. 2. Τίς οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος; τίς εὔσπλαγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; εἰπάτω, εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις, καὶ ἔρις, καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ, ἄπειμι οὗ ἐὰν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προσταττόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους. Clem. ad Cor. 54. Who among you is noble and generous? who has bowels of compassion? who is full of charity? Let him say, If for my sake there be sedition, and strife, and divisions, I will depart, and go whither you would have me, and do what shall be enjoined me by the multitude.

[d] Acts viii. 14. [e] John xiii. 16.

was their own; which they *challenge as given to them by Christ for edification*, or upon account of the more than ordinary gifts and graces of the divine Spirit, conferred on them by God.[f]

11. St. Peter nowhere doth appear intermeddling as a judge or governor paramount in such cases; yea, where he doth himself deal with heretics and disorderly persons, confuting and reproving them (as he dealeth with divers notoriously such), he proceedeth not as a pope decreeing, but as an apostle warning, arguing, and persuading against them.

It is particularly remarkable how St. Paul, reproving the factions which were among Christians at Corinth, doth represent the several parties, saying, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas, I am of Christ.*[g] Now supposing the case then had been clear and certain (and if it were not so then, how can it be so now?) that St. Peter was sovereign of the apostles, is it not wonderful that any Christian should prefer any apostle or any preacher before him? as if it were now clear and generally acknowledged that the pope is truly what he pretendeth to be, would any body stand in competition with him, would any glory in a relation to any other minister before him?

It is observable how St. Clemens reflecteth on this contention: "Ye were" (saith he) "less culpable for that partiality; for ye did then incline to renowned apostles, and to a man approved by them: but now," &c.*

If it be replied, that Christ himself did come into the comparison; I answer, that probably no man was so vain as to compare him with the rest, nor indeed could any there pretend to have been baptized by him (which was the ground of the emulation in respect of the others;) but those who said they were of Christ were the wise and peaceable sort, who by saying so declined and disavowed faction; whose behaviour St. Paul himself in his discourse commendeth and confirmeth, shewing that all indeed were *of Christ*,[h] the apostles being only his ministers, to work faith and virtue in them. "None" (saith St. Austin) "of those contentious persons were good, except those who said, But I am of Christ."*

We may also here observe, that St. Paul, in reflecting upon these contentions, had a fair occasion of intimating somewhat concerning St. Peter's supremacy, and aggravating their blameable fondness, who compared others with him.

12. The consideration of the apostles proceeding in the conversion of people, in the foundation of churches, and in administration of their spiritual affairs, will exclude any probability of St. Peter's jurisdiction over them.

They went about their business, not by order or license from St. Peter, but according to special instinct and direction of God's Spirit (*being sent forth by the Holy Ghost; going by revelation*), or according to their ordinary prudence, and the habitual *wisdom given unto them*;[i] by those aids (without troubling St. Peter or themselves more) they founded societies, they ordained pastors, they framed rules and orders requisite for the edification and good government of churches, reserving to themselves a kind of paramount inspection and jurisdiction over them; which in effect was only πατρικὴ ἐπιμέλεια, *a paternal care* over them; which they particularly claimed to themselves upon account of spiritual parentage, for that they had begotten them to Christ: *If* (saith St. Paul to the Corinthians) *I am not an apostle to others, I am however so to you*:[j] why so? because he had converted them, and could say, *As my beloved sons I warn you: for though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet ye have not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel.*[k] This paternal charge they did exercise without any dependence or regard to St. Peter, none

* Ἀλλ' ἡ πρόσκλισις ἐκείνη ἧττον ἡμαρτίαν ὑμῖν προσήνεγκεν· προσεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις, καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ' αὐτοῖς· νυνὶ δὲ, &c.—Clem. ad Corinth. 47.

[f] 2 Cor. xiii. 10; x. 8; xii. 21; 1 Cor. iv. 2; 2 Thess. iii. 14; 1 Cor. vii. 25, 40; 1 Thess. iv. 8.

[g] 1 Cor. i. 12; iii. 21.

* Falsum est quod illi boni erant, exceptis eis qui dicebant, Ego autem Christi.—*Aug. Cont. Crescon.* i. 27.

[h] 1 Cor. iii. 5.

[i] Ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύμ. ἁγ.—Acts xiii. 4, 2; xvi. 6, 9; Gal. ii. 2, κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν.—2 Pet. iii. 5; 1 Cor. vii. 17; xi. 34; xvi. 1; Tit. i. 5; Isid. Pel.; 1 Thess. ii. 7, 11.

[j] 1 Cor. ix. 2; Acts xviii. 1.

[k] 1 Cor. iv. 14, 15; Gal. iv. 19.

such appearing, it not being mentioned that they did ever consult his pleasure, or render him an account of their proceedings; but it rather being implied in the reports of their actions, that they proceeded absolutely, by virtue of their universal office and commission of our Lord.

If it be alleged, that St. Paul went to Jerusalem to St. Peter; I answer, that it was *to visit him* out of respect and love;[l] or to confer with him for mutual edification and comfort; or at most to obtain approbation from him and the other apostles, which might satisfy some doubters, but not to receive his commands or authoritative instructions from him; it being, as we shall afterwards see, the design of St. Paul's discourse to disavow any such dependence on any man whatever. So doth St. Chrysostom note; "What" (saith he) "can be more humble than this soul? after so many and so great exploits, having no need at all of Peter, or of his discourse, but being in dignity equal to him (for I will now say no more), he yet doth go up to him, as to one greater and ancienter; and a sight alone of Peter is the cause of his journey thither." And, "He went" (saith he again) "not to learn any thing of him, nor to receive any correction from him, but for this only, that he might see him, and honour him with his presence."*

And indeed, that there was no such deference of the apostles to St. Peter, we may hence reasonably presume, because it would then have been not only impertinent and needless, but inconvenient and troublesome. For,

13. If we consider the nature of the apostolical office, the state of things at that time, and the manner of St. Peter's life; in correspondence to those things, he will appear uncapable, or unfit, to manage such a jurisdiction over the apostles as they assign him.

The nature of the apostolical ministry was such, that the apostles were not fixed in one place of residence, but were continually moving about the world, or *in procinctu*,[m] ready in their gears to move whither divine suggestions did call them, or fair occasion did invite them, for the propagation or furtherance of the gospel.*

The state of things was not favourable to the apostles, who were discountenanced and disgraced, persecuted, and driven from one place to another (as our Lord foretold of them;[n]) Christians lay scattered about at distant places, so that opportunities of despatch for conveyance of instructions from him, or of accounts to him, were not easily found.

St. Thomas preaching in Parthia, St. Andrew in Scythia, St. John in Asia, Simon Zelotes in Britain, St. Paul in many places;[o] other apostles and apostolical men in Arabia, in Ethiopia, in India, in Spain, in Gaul, in Germany, *in the whole world, and in all the creation under heaven*,[p] as St. Paul speaketh, could not well maintain correspondence with St. Peter;† especially considering the manner of his life, which was not settled in any one known place, but moveable and uncertain; for he continually roved over the wide world, preaching the gospel, converting, confirming, and comforting Christian people, as occasion starting up did induce: how then could he conveniently dispense all about his ruling and judging influence? how in cases incident could direction be fetched from him, or reference be made to him by those subordinate governors, who could not easily

* Τί ταύτης ταπεινοφρονέστερον γένοιτ' ἂν τῆς ψυχῆς; μετὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα κατορθώματα μηδὲν Πέτρου δεόμενος, μηδὲ τῆς ἐκείνου φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ἰσότιμος ὢν αὐτῷ (πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως) ὅμως ἀνέρχεται ὡς πρὸς μείζονα, καὶ πρεσβύτερον· καὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας αὐτῷ τῆς ἐκεῖ γίνεται αἰτίας ἡ ἱστορία Πέτρου μόνη.——οὐχ ὡς μαθησόμενός τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς διόρθωσίν τινα δεξάμενος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο μόνον, ὥστε ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τιμῆσαι τῇ παρουσίᾳ.—Chrys. in Gal. i. 18.

[l] Gal. i. 18,—ἱστορῆσαι.

* Ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἤμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἦ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία.—Chrys. in Joh. xxi. 23. For seeing they were to take upon them the inspection and superintendency of all the world, it behoved them not any longer to be mixed or conjoined together, for this had been a great loss and hinderance to the world.

† Ὁ τὴν οἰκουμένην σταδιεύσας, καὶ τῷ περὶ πίστεως δρόμῳ τὸν κόσμον μικρὸν ἀποφήνας.—Bas. Seleuc. Or. 2. He that run his race through the whole universe, and by his so eager running for the faith made the world, as it were, too narrow for him.

[m] 2 Cor. xi. 25.

[n] 1 Cor. iv. 9; 2 Cor. iv. 8; vi 4; xi. 25; Matt. xxiv. 9; Luke xxi. 12.

[o] Euseb. iii. 1; Niceph. ii. 38, 39, 40; Tertul. ad Jud. cap. 7.

[p] Col. i. 6, 33; Rom. x. 18.

know where to come at him, or whence to hear from him in any competent time? To send to him had been to shoot at rovers; affairs, therefore, which should depend on his resolution and orders, must have had great stops; he could but very lamely have executed such an office; so that his jurisdiction must have been rather an extreme inconvenience and encumbrance, than anywise beneficial or useful to the church.

Gold and silver he had none, or a very small purse, to maintain dependants and officers to help him (nuncios, legates *a latere*, secretaries, auditors, &c.), infinity of affairs would have oppressed a poor helpless man; and to bear such a burden as they lay on him no one could be sufficient.

14. It was indeed most requisite, that every apostle should have a complete, absolute, independent authority in managing the concerns and duties of his office; that he might not anywise be obstructed in the discharge of them; not clogged with a need to consult others, not hampered with orders from those who were at distance, and could not well descry what was fit in every place to be done.

The direction of him who had promised to be *perpetually present with them*,[q] and by his Holy Spirit to guide, to instruct, to admonish them upon all occasions, was abundantly sufficient; they did not want any other conduct or aid beside that special light and powerful influence of grace, which they received from him; the which *ἱκάνωσεν αὐτοὺς did* (as St. Paul speaketh) *render them sufficient ministers of the New Testament.*[r]

Accordingly their discourse and practice do thoroughly savour of such an independence; nor in them is there any appearance of that being true, which Bellarmine dictateth, that "the apostles depended on St. Peter, as on their head and commander."*

15. Particularly the discourse and behaviour of St. Paul toward St. Peter doth evidence, that he did not acknowledge any dependence on him, any subjection to him.

St. Paul doth often purposely assert to himself an independent and absolute power, inferior or subordinate to none other, insisting thereon for the enforcement or necessary defence of his doctrine and practice (*I have become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me*,[s] saith he;) alleging divers pregnant arguments, to prove and confirm it, drawn from the manner of his call, the characters and warrants of his office, the tenor of his proceedings in the discharge of it, the success of his endeavours, the approbation and demeanour toward him of other apostles.

As for his call and commission to the apostolical office, he maintaineth (as if he meant designedly to exclude those pretences, that other apostles were only called *in partem solicitudinis* with St. Peter), that he was *an apostle, not from men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*;* that is, that he derived not his office immediately or mediately from men, or by the ministry of any man, but immediately had received the grant and charge thereof from our Lord; as indeed the history plainly sheweth, in which our Lord telleth him, that he did "constitute him an officer, and a chosen instrument to him, to bear his name to the Gentiles."†

Hence he so often is careful and cautious to express himself an apostle by *the will* and special *grace*, or favour and appointment, and command of God; and particularly telleth the Romans, that *by Christ he had received grace and apostleship.*[t]

For the warrant of his office, he doth not allege the allowance of St. Peter, or any other, but those special gifts and graces which were conspicuous in him, and exerted in miraculous performances: *Truly* (saith he) *the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds*; and *I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by*

* ——a quo illi tanquam a capite et imperatore suo pendebant.—*Bellarm. de Pont.* i. 16.

[q] Matt. xxviii. 20; John xvi. 13; xiv. 26.

[r] 2 Cor. iii. 5; Rom. xv. 15.

* Bell. i. 9, 14, 16.—Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου.—Gal. i. 1.

† Προχειρίσασθαί σε ὑπηρέτην, &c.—Acts ix. 15; xxii. 21; xxvi. 16.

[s] 2 Cor. xii. 11: Rom. xi. 13.

[t] Διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ, 1 Cor. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 1; Eph. i. 1, Col. i. 1; 2 Tim. i. 1.—Χάριτι, Rom. i. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 10; Eph. iii. 7; 1 Tim. i. 12.—Κατ' ἐπιταγήν, 1 Tim. i. 1.

me, to make the Gentiles obedient, by word and deed, through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God.[u]

To the same purpose he allegeth his successful industry in converting men to the gospel: *Am I not an apostle?* (saith he) *are ye not my work in the Lord? If I am not an apostle to others, I am surely one to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord.* And, *By the grace of God I am what I am: and his grace which was on me became not in vain: but I laboured more abundantly than they all.*[v]

In the discharge of his office, he immediately (after that he had received his call and charge from our Saviour), without consulting or taking license from any man, did vigorously apply himself to the work: *Immediately* (saith he) *I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that before me were apostles:*[w] so little did he take himself to be accountable to any man.

In settling order, and correcting irregularities in the church, he professed to act merely by his own authority, conferred on him by our Lord: *Therefore* (saith he) *being absent*, I write these things, *that being present, I may not use severity, according to the authority which the Lord hath given me for edification, not for destruction.*[x]

Such being the privileges which he did assert to himself with all confidence, he did not receive for it any check from other apostles; but the chief of them, *knowing the grace that was given unto him, gave unto him the right hand of fellowship;*[y] in token of their acknowledgement and allowance of his proceedings.

Upon these considerations (plainly signifying his absolute independence in the reception and execution of his office) he doth more than once affirm (and in a manner *boast*) himself *to be inferior in nothing to the very chief apostles:*[z] in nothing; that is, in nothing pertinent to the authority or substantial dignity of his place; for as to his personal merit, he professeth himself *much less than the least of the apostles;*[a] but as to the authenticness and authority of his office, he deemed himself equal to the greatest; *being by the grace of God what he was, a minister of the gospel, according to the gift of the grace of God, which was given him according to the effectual working of his power.*[b]

When he said he was *behind none,*[c] he could not forget St. Peter; when he said *none of the chief*, he could not but especially mean him (he did indeed, as St. Chrysostom saith, intend "to compare himself with St. Peter;")* when he said *in nothing*, he could not but design that which was most considerable, the authority of his place; which in the context he did expressly mention.[d] For when he objected to himself the semblance of fondness or arrogance in speaking after that manner, he declared that he did not speak rashly or vainly, but upon serious consideration, and with full assurance, finding it very needful or useful to maintain his authority, or to *magnify his office,*[e] as he otherwhere speaketh.

If things had been as now we are taught from the Roman school, it is strange that St. Paul should compare himself so generally, not excepting St. Peter; that he should express (nor by the least touch intimate) no special consideration for his, as they tell us, "ordinary pastor;"[f] that he should not consider how liable such words were to be interpreted in derogation to St. Peter's due prerogatives.

But it is no wonder that St. Paul, in St. Peter's absence, should thus stand on his own legs, not seeming to mind him, whenas in immediate transactions with him he demeaned himself as his fellow, yielding to him no respect or deference, as to his superior. For,

When St. Paul went to Jerusalem, to have conference with St. Peter and other apostles, who were chief in repute, he professeth that *they did not confer any thing to him,*[g] so as to change his opinion, or divert him from his ordinary

[u] 2 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xv. 18, 19; 1 Cor. ii. 4.
[v] 1 Cor. ix. 1, 2; xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 23.
[w] Gal. i. 16, 17.
[x] 2 Cor. xiii. 10; x. 8.
[y] Gal. ii. 9.
[z] 2 Cor. xi. 5; xii. 11.

* Πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ποιούμενος τὴν σύγκρισιν.
[a] 1 Cor. xv. 9; Eph. iii. 8.
[b] 1 Cor. xv. 10; Eph. iii. 7.
[c] 2 Cor. xi. 5.
[d] Κατὰ προσδιορθώσιν, 2 Cor. xii. 11; i. 16, 17.
[e] Rom. xi. 13.
[f] Bell. de Pont. i. 11.
[g] Gal. ii. 2.

course of practice, which was different from theirs: this was (it seemeth) hardly proper or seemly for him to say, if St. Peter had been his sovereign: but he seemeth to say it on very purpose to exclude any prejudice that might arise to his doctrine from their authority or repute; their authority being none over him, their repute being impertinent to the case; for *whatsoever* (addeth he) *they were, it maketh no matter to me; God respecteth no man's person:*[h] the which might well be said of persons greater in common esteem, but not so well of one who was his superior in office; to whose opinion and conduct, as of his judge and pastor by God's appointment, he did owe a special regard.

Again, St. Paul at Antioch *observing St. Peter, out of fear*[i] and policy, to act otherwise than became the simplicity and sincerity of Christians, to the prejudice of *evangelical truth*, charity, and liberty, against his own judgment and former practice, drawing others by his pattern into the same unwarrantable course of behaviour, did *withstand him to the face*, did *openly reprove him before all, because he was blameable;*[j] did, as Pope Gelasius I. affirmeth (to excuse another pope misbehaving himself), "worthily confute him;"* did (as St. Augustine often doth affirm and argue, in proof that greatest persons may sometimes err and fail) "correct him, rebuke him, chide him."†

Which behaviour of St. Paul doth not well consist with the "supposition, that St. Peter was his superior in office;"[h] If that had been, Porphyrius with good colour of reason might have objected procacity to St. Paul in taxing his betters; for he then indeed shewed us no commendable pattern of demeanour towards our governors, in so boldly opposing St. Peter, in so openly censuring him, in so smartly confuting him.

More unseemly also it had been to report the business as he doth in writing to the Galatians; for to divulge the miscarriages of superiors, to revive the memory of them, to register them, and transmit them down to all posterity, to set forth our clashing and contests with them, is hardly allowable; if it may consist with justice and honesty, it doth yet little savour of gravity and modesty: it would have been more seemly for St. Paul to have privately and humbly remonstrated to St. Peter, than openly and downrightly to have reprehended him; at least it would have become him in cold blood to have represented his carriage more respectfully, consulting the honour of the universal pastor, whose reputation was like to suffer by such a representation of his proceedings. Pope Pelagius II. would have taught St. Paul better manners; who saith, that "they are not to be approved, but reprobated, who do reprove or accuse their prelates;"* and Pope Gregory would have taught him another lesson, namely, that "the evils of their superiors do so displease good subjects, that however they do conceal them from others;"† and, "subjects are to be admonished, that they do not rashly judge the life of their superiors, if perhaps they see them do blameably," &c.‡

It is plain, that St. Paul was more bold with St. Peter, than any man now must

* (*Vide* P. Pelag. II. apud Bin. tom. iv. p. 365. in Epist. ad Eliam.) Nunquid ideo aut ea ejus sequenda sunt, quæ merito ejus coapostolus ejus facta redarguit.—*Gelas. I. de Anath.* (*apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 645.)

† Apostolo Paulo monstrante et. corrigente. —*Aug. cont. Crescon.* i. 32; ii. 32; *Ep.* 19, *de Bapt. Cont. Don.* ii. 1, 2; correptus, *cont. Don.* ii. 1; objurgavit, *Ep.* 8; ——qui de minore causa conversationis ambiguæ Petro ipsi non pepercit.—*Tert.* v. 3, (*contra Marc.*) —— who for a smaller matter of doubtful conversation spared not Peter himself. Cum laudetur etiam Pauli minimi apostolorum sana ratio atque libertas, quod Petrum apostolorum primum adductum in hypocrisin, et non recta via incedentem ad veritatem evangelii fidenter improbans, in faciem illi restitit, eumque coram omnibus coram objurgavit.—*Fac. Her.* viii. 6. Whereas the sound reason and freedom even of Paul, the least of the apostles, is commended, in that when Peter, the chief of the apostles, was carried away with dissimulation, and walked not in a right way, according to the truth of the gospel, he boldly disliked, and withstood him to the face, and reproved him openly before all.

* Non sunt consentiendi, sed reprobandi, qui prælatos suos, reprehendunt vel accusant.—*Pelag. II. Ep.* 2.

† Bonis subditis sic præpositorum suorum mala displicent, ut tamen hæc ab aliis occultent.—*Greg. M. Moral.* xxv. 15.

‡ Admonendi sunt subditi, ne præpositorum suorum vitam temere judicent, siquid eos fortasse agere reprehensibiliter vident, &c.—*Greg. Past.* part iii. cap. 1, *Admon.* 5.

[h] Gal. ii. 6. [i] Gal. ii. 12–14.

[j] Gal. ii. 11, 14.

[h] Hier. ad Aug. Ep. 11, in Prol. ad Gal.

be with the pope; for let the pope commit never so great crimes, yet should "no mortal" (saith the canon law) "presume to reprove his faults."[k]

But if St. Peter were not in office superior to St. Paul, but his colleague, and equal in authority, although preceding him in standing, repute, and other advantages; then St. Paul's free proceeding toward him was not only warrantable, but wholesome, and deserving for edification to be recited and recorded; as implying an example how colleagues upon occasion should with freedom and sincerity admonish their brethren of their errors and faults; St. Peter's carriage in patiently bearing that correption also affording another good pattern of equanimity, in such cases; to which purpose St. Cyprian (alleged and approved by St. Austin)[l] doth apply this passage: "for" (saith he) "neither Peter, whom the Lord first chose, and upon whom he built his church, when Paul afterward contested with him about circumcision, did insolently challenge, or arrogantly assume any thing to himself, so as to say, that he did hold the primacy, and that rather those who were newer and later apostles ought to obey him; neither despised he St. Paul, because he was before a persecutor of the church; but he admitted the counsel of truth, and easily consented to the lawful course which St. Paul did maintain; yielding indeed to us a document both of concord and patience, that we should not pertinaciously love our own things, but should rather take those things for ours which sometimes are profitably and wholesomely suggested by our brethren and colleagues, if they are true and lawful:"* this St. Cyprian speaketh, upon supposition that St. Peter and St. Paul were equals, or (as he calleth them) colleagues and brethren, in rank co-ordinate; otherwise St. Cyprian would not have approved the action; for he often severely doth inveigh against inferiors taking upon them to censure their superiors: "What tumour" (saith he) "of pride, what arrogance of mind, what inflation of heart, is it, to call our superiors and bishops to our cognizance?"* St. Cyprian, therefore, could not conceive St. Peter to be St. Paul's governor, or superior in power; he doth indeed plainly enough in the forecited words signify, that in his judgment St. Peter had done "insolently and arrogantly," if he had assumed any "obedience" from St. Paul. St. Austin also doth in several places of his writings make the like application of this passage.[m]

The ancient writer contemporary to St. Ambrose, and passing under his name, doth argue in this manner: "Who dared resist Peter the first apostle, to whom the Lord did give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but another such a one; who in assurance of his election knowing himself to be not unequal to him, might constantly disprove what he had unadvisedly done?"†

It is indeed well known, that Origen, and after him St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome, and divers of the ancients beside, did conceive that St. Paul did not seriously oppose or tax St. Peter, but did only do it seemingly, upon confederacy with him, for promoting a good design.[n]

This interpretation, however strained and earnestly impugned by St. Austin, I will not discuss; but only shall observe, that it being admitted, doth rather strengthen than weaken our discourse: for, if St. Peter were St. Paul's governor, it maketh St. Peter to have consented to an act in all appearance indecent, irregular, and scandalous; and how can we imagine that St. Peter would have complotted to the impairing his own just authority in the eye of a great church? doth not such a condescension imply in him a disavow-

* Nam nec Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, &c.—*Cypr. Ep.* 71. (*ad Quint.*)

[k] Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 6.

[l] Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don ii. 2.

* Quis enim hic est superbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio ad cognitionem suam præpositos et sacerdotes vocare?—*Cypr. Ep.* 69.

† Nam quis eorum auderet Petro primo apostolo, cui claves regni cœlorum Dominus dedit, resistere, nisi alius talis, qui fiducia electionis suæ, sciens se non imparem, constanter improbaret quod ille sine consilio fecerat?—*Ambr. in Gal.* ii. 9. Paulus Petrum reprehendit, quod non auderet, nisi se non imparem sciret.—(*Hieron. vel alius quis ad Gal. citatus a Grat. Caus.* ii. qu. 7. cap. 33.) Paul reprehended Peter, which he would not have dared to do, had he not known himself to be equal to him.

[m] Aug. cont. Don. de Bapt. ii. 1, 2 Ep. 19.

[n] S. Cyril. cont. Jul. lib. ix. (p. 325,) Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59, οὐκ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς.—Aug. Ep. 11, &c.

ing of superiority over St. Paul, or a conspiracy with him to overthrow good order?

To which purpose we may observe, that St. Chrysostom,* in a large and very elaborate discourse, wherein he professeth to endeavour "an aggravation" of the irregularity of St. Paul's demeanour, if it were serious; doth not lay the stress of that aggravation upon St. Paul's opposing his lawful governor, but his only so treating a co-apostle of such eminency? neither when to that end he designeth to reckon all the advantages of St. Peter beyond St. Paul, or any other apostle, doth he mention this, which was chiefly material to his purpose, that he was St. Paul's governor; which observations if we do carefully weigh, we can hardly imagine that St. Chrysostom had any notion of St. Peter's supremacy in relation to the apostles.†

In fine, the drift of St. Paul, in reporting those passages concerning himself, was not to disparage the other apostles, nor merely to command himself, but to fence the truth of his doctrine, and maintain the liberty of his disciples, against any prejudice that might arise from any authority that might be pretended in any considerable respects superior to his, and alleged against them; to which purpose he declareth by arguments and matters of fact, that his authority was perfectly apostolical, and equal to the greatest; even to that of St. Peter, the prime apostle; of St. John, the beloved disciple; of St. James, the bishop of Jerusalem; the judgment or practice of whom was no law to him, nor should be to them, further than it did consist with that doctrine which he, by an independent authority, and by special *revelation from Christ*, did preach unto them: he might, as St. Chrysostom noteth, have pretended "to some advantage over them," in regard that he "had laboured more abundantly than they all;" but he forbeareth to do so, "being contented to obtain equal advantages."*

Well, therefore, considering the disadvantage which this passage bringeth to the Roman pretence, might this history be called by Baronius "a history hard to be understood, a stone of offence, a rock of scandal, a rugged place, which St. Austin himself, under favour, could not pass over without stumbling."[p]

It may also be considered,[q] that St. Paul particularly doth assert to himself an independent authority over the gentiles, coordinate to that which St. Peter had over the Jews;† the which might engage him so earnestly to contest with St. Peter, as by his practice seducing those who belonged to his charge; the which also probably moved him thus to assert his authority to the Galatians, as being Gentiles under his care, and thence obliged especially to regard his authority. *They* (saith St. Paul) *knowing that I was intrusted with the gospel of uncircumcision as Peter* was intrusted *with that of circumcision,—gave unto me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship:*[r] the which words do clearly enough signify that he took himself, and that the other apostles took him to have, under Christ, an absolute charge, subordinate to no man, over the Gentiles; whence he claimeth to himself, as his burden, *the care of all the churches:*[s] he therefore might well contest for their liberty, he might well insist upon his authority among them.

Thus did St. Chrysostom understand the case; for "Christ" (saith he) "committed the Jews to Peter, but set Paul over the Gentiles;"‡ and, "He" (saith that great father) "further doth shew himself to be equal to them in dignity,

* Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59.—Καὶ γὰρ αὔξω τὴν κατηγορίαν, καὶ μείζονα ποιῶ, &c.

† Ὡς οὐδέν μοι δφελος ἂν Πέτρον τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀνασκευασαμένου, ὁ Παῦλος φαίνηται θαρσαλέως καὶ ἀντιφιλοτίμως τοῦ συναποστόλου κατηγορῶν ——. So that it is no advantage to me, if, when Peter has confuted the charge, Paul appear to accuse his fellow apostle boldly and inconsiderately.

* Gal. i. 12.

* Καὶ ταύτῃ μάλιστα τῶν ἀποστόλων πλεονεκτήσας, περισσότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκοπίασα, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τέως οὐ κατασκευάζει τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾷ τὰ ἴσα φέρων. —Chrys. in Gal. i. 1.

† Plena authoritas Petro in Judaismi prædicatione data dignoscitur, et Pauli perfecta authoritas in prædicatione Gentium invenitur.—*Ambr.* There is discerned a full authority given to Peter of preaching to the Jews, and in Paul there is found a perfect power and authority of preaching to the Gentiles.

‡ Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουδαίους ἐπέτρεψε τῷ Πέτρῳ, τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι τὸν Παῦλον ἐπέστησεν ὁ Χριστός.—Chrys. tom. 5, Or. 59.

[p] Baron. An. li. § 32-34, 35, &c.

[q] Rom. xi. 13.

[r] Gal. ii. 7.

[s] 2 Cor. xi. 28.

and compareth himself, not only to the others, but even to the ringleader; shewing that each did enjoy equal dignity."*

It may also by any prudent considerer easily be discerned, that if St. Peter had really been as they assert him, so in authority superior to the other apostles, it is hardly possible that St. Paul should upon these occasions express nothing of it.

16. If St. Peter had been appointed sovereign of the church, it seemeth that it should have been requisite that he should have outlived all the apostles; for then either the church must have wanted a head, or there must have been an inextricable controversy about who that head was. St. Peter died long before St. John (as all agree), and perhaps before divers others of the apostles. Now, after his departure did the church want a head? (then it might before and after have none; and our adversaries lose the main ground of their pretence.) Did one of the apostles become head? (which of them was it; upon what ground did he assume the headship, or who conferred it on him; who ever did acknowledge any such thing, or where is there any report about it?) Was any other person made head? (suppose the bishop of Rome, who only pretendeth thereto;) then did St. John and other apostles become subject to one in degree inferior to them? then what becometh of St. Paul's *first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers*?[t] What do all the apostolical privileges come to, when St. John must be at the command of Linus, and Cletus, and Clemens, and of I know not who beside? Was it not a great absurdity for the apostles to truckle under the *pastors and teachers of Rome*?[u]

The like may be said for St. James, if he (as the Roman church doth in its liturgies suppose) were an apostle who in many respects might claim the pre-eminence; who therefore, in the Apostolical Constitutions, is preferred before Clement bishop of Rome.

17. Upon the same grounds, on which a supremacy of power is claimed to St. Peter, other apostles might also challenge a superiority therein over their brethren; but to suppose such a difference of power among the rest is absonous; and therefore the grounds are not valid upon which St. Peter's supremacy is built.

I instance in St. James and St. John, who upon the same probabilities had (after St. Peter) a preference to the other apostles. For to them our Saviour declared a special regard; to them the apostles afterwards may seem to have yielded a particular deference; they, in merit and performances, seem to have surpassed; they (after St. Peter and his brother) were first called to the apostolical office; they (as St. Peter) were by our Lord new christened (as it were), and nominated *Boanerges*, by a name signifying the efficacy of their endeavour in their master's service; they, together with St. Peter, were assumed to behold the transfiguration; they were culled out to wait on our Lord in his agony; they also, with St. Peter (others being excluded, were taken to attest our Lord's performance of that great miracle of restoring the ruler's daughter to life; they, presuming on their special favour with our Lord, did pretend to the chief places in his kingdom.[v]

To one of them it is expressed that our Saviour did bear a peculiar affection, he being *the disciple whom Jesus loved*, and *who leaned on his bosom*:[w] to the other he particularly discovered himself after his resurrection, and first honoured him with the crown of martyrdom.

They in blood and cognation did nearest touch our Lord; being his cousin-germans (which was esteemed by the ancients a ground of preferment;) as Hegesippus reporteth.*

Their industry and activity in propagation of the gospel was most eminently conspicuous.

To them it was peculiar, that St. James did first suffer for it, and St. John did

* Δείκνυσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμότιμον ὄντα λοιπόν, καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ κορυφαίῳ συγκρίνει, δεικνὺς ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας.—Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8.

[t] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

[u] Eph. iv. 11.

* Τοὺς δὲ ἀπολυθέντας ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὡς ἂν ὂν μάρτυρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γένους ὄντας τοῦ Κυρίου.—Hegesipp. apud Euseb. iii 20. They being dismissed, and sent away to govern the churches, as being both witnesses, and also kinsmen of our Lord.

[v] Matt. iv. 21; Luke v. 10; Mark iii. 17; Matt. xvii. 1, 2; 2 Pet. i. 16; Matt. xxvi. 37; Mark xiv. 33; Matt. xx. 20, 21; Mark x. 35, 37.

[w] John xiii. 23; xxi. 7. 20; 1 Cor. xv. 7.

longest persist in the faithful confession of it;[x] whose writings in several kinds do remain as the richest magazines of Christian doctrine, furnishing us with the fullest testimonies concerning the divinity of our Lord, with special histories of his life, and with his divinest discourses; with most lively incitements to piety and charity; with prophetical revelations concerning the state of the church. He therefore was one of the *στύλοι*, chief pillars and props, of the Christian profession; one of *ὑπὲρ λίαν ἀπόστολοι*, *the superlative apostles.*[y]

Accordingly in the rolls of the apostles, and in reports concerning them, their names usually are placed after St. Peter.[z]

Hence also some of the fathers do take them, as St. Peter was, to have been preferred by our Lord:* "Peter" (saith St. Gregory Nazianzen) "and James and John, who both were indeed, and were reckoned, before the others—so indeed did Christ himself prefer them;" and, "Peter, James, and John," saith Clemens Alexandrinus, "did not, as being preferred by the Lord himself, contest for honour, but did choose James the Just, bishop of Jerusalem" (or, as Ruffinus reads, "bishop of the apostles.")

Hence if by designation of Christ, by the concession of the apostolical college, by the profulgency of his excellent worth and merit, or upon any other ground, St. Peter had the *πρωτεῖα*, or first place; the *δευτερεῖα*, or next place, in the same kind, by like means, upon the same grounds, seems to have belonged unto them; and if their advantage did imply difference, not in power, but in order only (not authoritative superiority, but honorary precedence), then can no more be allowed or concluded due to him.

18. The fathers, both in express terms, and implicitly or by consequence, do assert the apostles to have been equal or co-ordinate in power and authority.

What can be more express than that of St. Cyprian? "The other apostles were indeed that which Peter was, endowed with equal consortship of honour and power;"* and again, "although our Lord giveth to all the apostles after his resurrection an equal power, and saith, As the Father sent me, so I send you."†

What can be more plain than that of St. Chrysostom? "St. Paul sheweth, that each apostle did enjoy equal dignity?"‡

How again could St. Chrysostom[a] more clearly signify his opinion, than when comparing St. Paul to St. Peter, he calleth St. Paul *ἰσότιμον αὐτῷ*, *equal in honour to him;* adding, *πλέον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐρῶ τέως*, *for I will not as yet say anything more*,[b] as if he thought St. Paul indeed the more honourable?

How also could St. Cyril more plainly declare his sense to be the same, than when he called St. Peter and St. John *ἰσοτίμους ἀλλήλοις*, *equal to one another in honour?*||

Did not St. Jerome also sufficiently declare his mind in the case, when he saith of the apostles, that "the strength of the church is equally settled upon them?"§

* Λαβὼν τοίνυν τοὺς κορυφαίους.—Chrys. in Matt. xvii. 1. Taking therefore the chief and principal. Διὰ τί τούτους παραλαμβάνει μόνους; ὅτι οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν ὑπερέχοντες.—Chrys. ibid. Wherefore taketh he these only with him? Because these were the chief and principal above the others. Πέτρος, καὶ Ἰάκωβος, καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ὄντες καὶ ἀριθμούμενοι——αὕτη μὲν ἡ Χριστοῦ προτίμησις.—Greg. Naz. Or. 26. Πέτρον φησὶ καὶ Ἰάκωβον, καὶ Ἰωάννην ὡς ὄν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους μὴ ἐπιδιαιτᾶσθαι δόξης, ἀλλὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων εἱλέσθαι. (Ruffinus reddit *apostolorum episcopum.*)—*Clem. Alex. apud Euseb.* ii. 1.

[x] Acts xii. 2.

[y] Gal. ii. 9; 2 Cor. xii. 11; xi. 5.

[z] Mark iii. 17; Acts i. 13.

* Hoc erant utique et cæteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis.

† —— quamvis apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, ac dicat, &c.—*Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

‡ Δεικνὺς, ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ἕκαστος ἀπέλαυσεν ἀξίας. —Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8.

|| Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἰσότιμοι ἀλλήλοις, καθὰ καὶ ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἅγιοι μαθηταί.—Act. Con. Eph. part i. p. 209. Peter and John were equal in honour one to another, as were also the apostles and holy disciples. Did Tertullian think St. Paul inferior to St. Peter, when he said, "It is well that Peter is even in martyrdom equalled to Paul?" *Bene quod Petrus Paulo et in martyrio adæquatur.*—Tert. de Præscr. 24.

§ At dicis super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et ex æquo super eos ecclesiæ fortitudo solidetur.—*Hieron. in Jovin.* i. 14. But you will say the church is founded upon Peter,

[a] Chrys. in Gal. ii. 8.

[b] *Vide* Tert. de Præscr. cap. 20.

Doth not Dionysius (the supposed Areopagite) call "the decade of the apostles co-ordinate with their foreman,"* St. Peter? in conformity, I suppose, to the current judgment of his age.

What can be more full than that of Isidore (whose words shew how long this sense continued in the church:) "The other apostles did receive an equal share of honour and power; who also being dispersed in the whole world, did preach the gospel; and to whom departing, the bishops did succeed, who are constituted through the whole world in the sees of the apostles?"†

By consequence the Fathers do assert this equality, when they affirm (as we before did shew) the apostolical office to be absolutely supreme; when also they affirm (as afterwards we shall shew) all the apostles' successors to be equal as such; and particularly that the Roman bishop, upon account of his succeeding St. Peter, hath no pre-eminence above his brethren; for, "wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome, or at Eugubium; at Constantinople, or at Rhegium; at Alexandria, or at Thanis; he is of the same worth, and of the same priesthood: the, force of wealth, and lowness of poverty doth not render a bishop more high or more low; for that all of them are successors of the apostles."‡

19. Neither is it to prudential esteem a despicable consideration, that the most ancient of the Fathers, having occasion sometimes largely to discourse of St. Peter, do not mention any such prerogatives belonging to him.

20. The last argument which I shall use against this primacy, shall be the insufficiency of those arguments and testimonies which they allege to warrant and prove it.

If this point be of so great consequence as they make it; if, as they would persuade us, the subsistence, order, unity, and peace of the church, together with the salvation of Christians, do depend on it;* if, as they suppose, many great points of truth do hang on this pin; if it be, as they declare, a main article of faith, and "not only a simple error, but a pernicious heresy, to deny this primacy;"† then it is requisite, that a clear revelation from God should be producible in favour of it (for upon that ground only such points can firmly stand;) then it is most probable, that God (to prevent controversies, occasions of doubt, and excuses for error about so grand a matter) would not have failed to have declared it so plainly, as might serve to satisfy any reasonable man, and to convince any froward gainsayer: but no such revelation doth appear; for the places of scripture which they allege do not plainly express it, nor pregnantly imply it, nor can it by fair consequence be inferred from them: no man unprepossessed with affection to their side would descry it in them; without thwarting St. Peter's order, and *wresting the scriptures*,[e] they cannot deduce it from them. This by examining their allegations will appear.

I. They allege those words of our Saviour, uttered by him upon occasion of St. Peter's confessing him to be the Son of God, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church.*[d] Here, say they, St. Peter is declared the foundation, that is, the sole supreme governor of the church.‡

To this I answer:

1. Those words do not clearly signify any thing to their purpose; for they are metaphorical, and thence ambiguous, or capable of divers interpretations; whence they cannot suffice to ground so main a

though the same thing in another place is affirmed of all the apostles, and that, &c.

* Ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖος, μετὰ τῆς ὁμοταγοῦς αὐτῷ καὶ ἱεραρχικῆς δεκάδος.—Dionys. de Eccl. Hier. cap. 5.

† Cæteri apostoli cum Petro par consortium honoris et potestatis acceperunt, qui etiam in toto orbe dispersi evangelium prædicaverunt, quibusque decedentibus successerunt episcopi, qui sunt constituti per totum mundum in sedibus apostolorum. *Isid. Hisp. de Off.* ii. 5.

‡ Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c.—*Hier. ad Evagr.* Ep. 85; Clem. ad Corinth. Iren. iii. 12; iii. 1, 3.

* Agitur de summa rei Christianæ, &c.—*Bell. præf. ad lib. de Pontif. R.*

† Est enim revera non simplex error, sed perniciosa hæresis negare B. Petri primatum a Christo institutum.—*Bell. de Pont. R.* i. 10.

‡ S. Romana ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis cæteris ecclesiis prælata est, sed evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit; *Tu es Petrus* (inquiens) &c.—*P. Gelas.* i. Dist. 21, cap. 3. The holy church of Rome is not preferred before other churches by any synodical decrees, but has obtained the primacy by the voice of our Lord and Saviour in the gospel, saying, *Thou art Peter*, &c.

[e] 2 Pet. iii. 16. [d] Matt. xvi. 18.

point of doctrine, or to warrant so huge a pretence; these ought to stand upon downright, evident, and indubitable testimony.

It is pretty to observe how Bellarmine proposeth this testimony: "Of which words" (saith he) "the sense is plain and obvious, that it be understood, that under two metaphors the principate of the whole church was promised;"* as if that sense could be so plain and obvious, which is couched under two metaphors, and those not very pat or clear in application to their sense.

2. This is manifestly confirmed from that the Fathers and divines, both ancient and modern, have much differed in exposition of these words.

["Some" (saith Abulensis) "say that this rock is Peter——others say, and better, that it is Christ——others say, and yet better, that it is the confession which Peter maketh."[e]]

For some interpret *this rock* to be Christ himself, of whom St. Paul saith, *Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*[f]

St. Austin telleth us in his Retractations, that he often had expounded the words to this purpose, although he did not absolutely reject that interpretation which made St. Peter the rock; leaving it to the reader's choice which is the most probable.†

Others (and those most eminent Fathers) do take the rock to be St. Peter's faith, or profession: "Upon the rock" (saith the prince of interpreters) "that is, upon the faith of his profession;‡ and again, "Christ saith that he would build his church on Peter's confession;"* and again (he, or another ancient writer under his name), "Upon this rock, he said not upon Peter; for he did not build his church upon the man, but upon his faith."†

Our Lord" (saith Theodoret) "did permit the first of the apostles, whose confession he did fix as a prop or foundation of the church, to be shaken."‡

[Whence Origen saith, that "every disciple of Christ is the rock,"|| in virtue of his agreement with Peter in that holy confession.]

This sense even popes have embraced.§

Others say,¶ that as St. Peter did not speak for himself, but in the name of all the apostles, and of all faithful people, representing the pastors and people of the church; so correspondently our Lord did declare, that he would build his church upon such faithful pastors and confessors.

Others do indeed by the rock understand St. Peter's person, but do not thereby expound to be meant his being supreme governor of the apostles, or of the whole church.[s]

* Quorum verborum planus et obvius sensus est, ut intelligatur sub duabus metaphoris promissum Petro totius ecclesiæ principatum. —*Bell. de Pont.* i. 10.

† Scio me postea sæpissime exposuisse, ut super hanc Petram intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus; harum autem duarum sententiarum quæ sit probabilior eligat lector.—*Aug. Retr.* i. 21. *Vide* Aug. in Joh. tr. 124, de Verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 13. Super hanc. inquit, Petram quam confessus es, ædificabo ecclesiam meam.—*Aug. in Joh.* tr. 124, et de Verb. Dom. in Matt. Serm. 13 (tom. 10.) Super hanc Petram, id est, super me ædificabo ecclesiam meam.—*Ans. in Matt.* xvi. 18.

‡ Τῇ Πέτρᾳ —— τουτέστι τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας.—Chrys. in Matt. xvi. 18.

* Tostat. in Matth. xvi. qu. 67.

[f] 1 Cor. iii. 11.

* —— τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἰκοδομήσειν τὴν ἐκείνου.—Chrys. in Joh. i. 50.

† Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ Πέτρᾳ οὐκ εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν ὠκοδόμησε.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 163. Super hanc igitur confessionis Petram ecclesiæ ædificatio est.—*Hil. de Trin.* 6.

‡ —— ἀποστόλων τὸν πρῶτον, οὗ τὴν ὁμολογίαν οἷον τίνα κρηπῖδα, καὶ θεμέλιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατέπηξε, συνεχώρησε σαλευθῆναι.—Theod. Ep. 77.

|| Πέτρα γὰρ πᾶς ὁ Χριστοῦ μαθητής, &c.—Orig. in Matt. xvi. p. 275.

§ In vera fide persistite, et vitam vestram in petra ecclesiæ, hoc est in confessione B. Petri apostolorum principis solidate.—*Greg. M. Ep.* iii. 33. Persist in the true faith, and establish and fix your life upon the rock of the church, that is, upon the confession of blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles. Super ista confessione ædificabo ecclesiam meam.—*Felix III. Ep.* 5. *Vide* Nic. I. Ep. ii. 6; Joh. VIII. Ep. 76.

¶ Unus pro omnibus loquens, et ecclesiæ voce respondens.—*Cypr. Ep.* 55. One speaking for all, and answering in the name of the church. Cui ecclesiæ figuram gerenti Dominus ait, *Super hanc.* ——. *Aug. Ep.* 165.—To whom, representing the whole church, our Lord saith, *Upon this rock*, &c. Petrus ex persona omnium apostolorum profitetur.—*Hier. in loc.* Peter professes in the person of all the apostles.

[s] *Vide* Rigalt. in Cypr. Ep. 27, 40, 70, 71, 73, 69.

The divines, schoolmen, and canonists of the Roman communion, do not also agree in exposition of the words; and diverse of the most learned among them do approve the interpretation of St. Chrysostom.

Now then, how can so great a point of doctrine be firmly grounded on a place of so doubtful interpretation? How can any one be obliged to understand the words according to their interpretation, which persons of so good sense and so great authority do understand otherwise? With what modesty can they pretend that meaning to be clear, which so perspicacious eyes could not discern therein? Why may not I excusably agree with St. Chrysostom, or St. Austin, in understanding the place? May I not reasonably oppose their judgment to the opinion of any modern doctors, deeming Bellarmine as fallible in his conceptions as one of them? Why consequently may I not without blame refuse their doctrine, as built upon this place, or disavow the goodness of this proof?

3. It is very evident, that the apostles themselves did not understand those words of our Lord to signify any grant or promise to St. Peter of supremacy over them; for would they have *contended* for the chief place, if they had understood whose it of right was by our Lord's own positive determination? would they have *disputed* about a question, which to their knowledge by their Master was already stated? Would they have troubled our Lord to inquire of him who should be the greatest in his kingdom, when they knew that our Lord had declared his will to make St. Peter viceroy? Would the sons of Zebedee have been so foolish and presumptuous as to beg the place, which they knew by our Lord's word and promise fixed on St. Peter?[h] Would St. Peter among the rest have fretted at that idle overture, whenas he knew the place by our Lord's immutable purpose and infallible declaration assured to him?* And if none of the apostles did understand the words to imply this Roman sense, who can be obliged so to understand them? Yea who can wisely, who can safely so understand them? for surely they had common sense, as any man living now? they had as much advantage as we can have to know our Lord's meaning; their ignorance therefore of this sense being so apparent, is not only a just excuse for not admitting this interpretation, but a strong bar against it.

4. This interpretation also doth not well consist with our Lord's answers to the contests, inquiries, and petitions of his disciples, concerning the point of superiority: for doth he not (if the Roman expositions be good) seem upon those occasions, not only to dissemble his own word and promise, but to disavow them, or thwart them? Can we conceive, that he would in such a case of doubt forbear to resolve them, clearly to instruct them, and admonish them of their duty?

5. Taking the rock, as they would have it, to be the person of St. Peter, and that on him the church should be built; yet do not the words *being a rock* probably denote government? for what resemblance is there between being a rock and a governor? at least, what assurance can there be that this metaphor precisely doth import that sense; seeing in other respects, upon as fair similitudes, he might be called so?

St. Austin saith, "the apostles were foundations, because their authority doth support our weakness."*

St. Jerome saith, that they "were foundations, because the faith of the church was first laid in them."†

St. Basil saith, that "St. Peter's soul was called the rock, because it was firmly rooted in the faith, and did hold stiff, without giving way against the blows of temptation."‡

Chrysologus saith, that "Peter had his name from a rock, because he first mer-

* Matth. xx. 24,—Ἀκούσαντες οἱ δέκα ἠγανάκτουν. And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation.

[h] Luke xxii. 14; Mark ix. 33; Matt. xviii. 1.

* Quare sunt fundamenta apostoli et prophetæ, quia eorum auctoritas portat infirmitatem nostram.—*Aug. in Psal.* lxxxvi.

† In illis erant fundamenta, ibi primum posita est fides ecclesiæ.—*Hier. in Psal.* lxxxvi.

‡ Πέτρα δὲ ὑψηλὴ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου ὠνόμασται, διὰ τὸ παγίως ἐνερριζῶσθαι τῇ πίστει, καὶ στερρῶς καὶ ἐνεδότως ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἐκ πειρασμῶν ἐναγομένας πληγάς.—Bas. in Is. ii. p. 869.

ited to found the church by firmness of faith."*

These are fair explications of the metaphor, without any reference to St. Peter's government.

But, however, also admitting this, that being such a rock doth imply government and pastoral charge; yet do they (notwithstanding these grants and suppositions) effect nothing; for they cannot prove the words spoken exclusively in regard to other apostles, or to import any thing singular to him above or beside them: he might be a governing rock, so might others be; the church might be built on him, so it might be on other apostles; he might be designed a governor, a great governor, a principal governor, so might they also be; this might be without any violence done to those words.

And this indeed was; for all the other apostles in holy scripture are called foundations, and the church is said to be built on them.

"If" (saith Origen, the father of interpreters) "you think the whole church to be only built on Peter alone, what will you say of John the son of thunder, and of each of the apostles?"† &c. largely to this purpose.

"Christ" (as St. Jerome saith) "was the Rock,[1] and he bestowed it upon the apostles, that they should be called rocks."‡ And "You say," (saith he again), "that the church is founded on Peter; but the same in another place is done upon all the apostles."||

The twelve apostles, saith another ancient author, "were the immutable pillars of orthodoxy, the rock of the church."

"The church" (saith St. Basil) "is built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles; Peter also was one of the mountains; upon which rock the Lord did promise to build his church."*

St. Cyprian[1] in his disputes with Pope Stephen, did more than once allege this place, yet could he not take them in their sense to signify exclusively; for he did not acknowledge any imparity of power among the apostles or their successors. He indeed plainly took these words to respect all the apostles and their successors; our Lord taking occasion to promise that to one, which he intended to impart to all for themselves and their successors: "Our Lord," saith he, "ordering the honour of a bishop, and the order of his church, saith to Peter, *I say to thee*, &c. Hence, through the turns of times and successions, the ordination of bishops and the manner of the church doth run on, that the church should be settled upon the bishops, and every act of the church should be governed by the same prelates:"† as therefore he did conceive the church to be built, not on the pope singularly, but on all the bishops; so he thought our Lord did intend to build his church, not upon St. Peter only, but on all his apostles.

6. It is not said that the apostles, or the apostolical office, should be built on him; for that could not be, seeing the apostles were constituted, and the apostolical office was founded, before that promise; the words only therefore can import, that according to some meaning he was a rock, upon which the church, afterward to be collected, should be built; he was "a rock of the church to be built,"‡ as Tertullian speaketh: the words therefore cannot signify any thing available to their purpose, in relation to the apostles.

7. If we take St. Peter himself for the rock, then (as I take it) the best

* Petrus a petra nomen adeptus est. quia primus meruit ecclesiam fidei firmitate fundare. —*Chrys.* Serm. 53.

† Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕνα ἐκεῖνον Πέτρον νομίζεις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν μόνον, τί ἂν φήσαις περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ τῆς βροντῆς υἱοῦ, ἢ ἑκάστου τῶν ἀποστόλων, &c.—Orig. in Matth. xvi. p. 275.

‡ Petra Christus est, qui donavit apostolis, ut ipsi quoque Petræ vocentur.—*Hier. in Amos*, ix. 12.

|| Dicis super Petrum fundatur ecclesia, licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat.—*Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

[1] Eph. ii. 20.

* Ἐκκλησία—ᾠκοδόμηται ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν· ἓν τῶν ὄρεων ἦν καὶ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ πέτρας ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—Basil. in Isa. ii. p. 869.

† Dominus noster episcopi honorem, et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens, dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico —— Inde, per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. *Cypr. Ep.* 27. *et de Unit. Eccl.*

‡ Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ ecclesiæ Petram dictum. *Tertull. de Præscr.* cap. 22.

[1] Cypr. Ep. 71, 73.

meaning of the words doth import, that our Lord designed St. Peter for a prime instrument, (the first mover,* the most diligent and active at the beginning, the most constant, stiff, and firm) in the support of his truth, and propagation of his doctrine, or conversion of men to the belief of the gospel; the which is called building of the church; according to that of St. Ambrose, or some ancient homilist under his name, "He is called a rock, because he first did lay in the nations the foundations of faith:"† in which regard, as the other apostles are called foundations of the church (the church being founded on their labours), so might St. Peter signally be so called; who, as St. Basil saith, allusively interpreting our Saviour's words, "for the excellency of his faith did take on him the edifying of the church."‡

Both he and they also might be so termed, for that upon their testimonies concerning the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, the faith of Christians was grounded; as also it stands upon their convincing discourses, their holy practice, their miraculous performances; in all which St. Peter was most eminent; and in the beginning of Christianity displayed them to the edification of the church.

This interpretation plainly doth agree with matter of fact and history; which is the best interpreter of right or privilege in such cases; for we may reasonably understand our Saviour to have promised that, which in effect we see performed; so "the event sheweth, the church was built on him, that is by him."|| saith Tertullian.

But this sense doth not imply any superiority of power or dignity granted to St. Peter above his brethren; however it may signify an advantage belonging to him, and deserving especial respect; as St. Chrysostom notably doth set out in these words: "Although John, although James, although Paul, although any other whoever may appear performing great matters; he yet doth surpass them all, who did precede them in liberty of speech, and opened the entrance, and gave to them, as to a river carried with a huge stream, to enter with great ease:"* doing this, as, I say, it might signify his being a rock of the church, so it denoteth an excellency of merit, but not a superiority in power.

8. It may also be observed, that St. Peter before the speaking of those words by our Lord, may seem to have had a primacy, intimated by the evangelists, when they report his call to the apostolical office;[k] and by his behaviour, when in this confession, and before in the like, he undertook to be their mouth and spokesman; when, "not being unmindful of his place" (saith St. Ambrose) "he did act a primacy; a primacy" (adeth that father) "of confession, not of honour; of faith, not of order:"† his primacy therefore (such as he had) cannot well be founded on this place, he being afore possessed of it, and, as St. Ambrose conceived, exercising it at that time.

II. They allege the next words of our Lord, spoken in sequel upon the same occasion: "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" that is, say they, "the supreme power over all the church;"‡ for he, say they, that hath the keys is master of the house.

To this testimony we may apply divers of the same answers which were given to the former. For,

1. These words are figurative, and therefore not clear enough to prove their assertion.

* Πέτρος ἐν ἀπόστολοις πρῶτος ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χριστον.—Chrys. Peter first of all the apostles preached Christ.

† Petra dicitur eo quod primus in nationibus fidei fundamenta posuerit.—*Ambr. de Sanctis. Serm.* 2.

‡ Ὁ διὰ πίστεως ὑπεροχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενος.—Bas. contra Eunom. lib. 2. Petra ædificandæ ecclesiæ.—*Tertull. de Præscr.* cap. 22.

|| Sic enim. exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extructa est, id est per ipsum, &c.—*Tert. de Pudic.* cap. 21.

* Κἂν Ἰωάννης, κἂν Ἰάκωβος, κἂν Παῦλος, κἂν ἄλλος ὁστισοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα μέγα τι ποιῶν φαίνηται, ἁπάντων οὗτος πλεονεκτεῖ, ὁ προῴδοποιήσας αὐτῶν τῇ παῤῥησίᾳ, καὶ διανοίξας τὴν εἴσοδον, καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς καθάπερ ποταμῷ πολλῷ φερομένῳ ῥεύματι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας εἰσιέναι, &c.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59.

† Loci non immemor sui primatum egit;—primatum confessionis, non honoris; fidei, non ordinis.—*Ambr. de Incarn.* cap. 4.

‡ Per claves datas Petro intelligimus summam potestatem in omnem ecclesiam.—*Bell. de Pont.* i. 3.

[k] Matt. x. 2; John vi. 69.

2. They do admit, and have received, various interpretations.

3. It is evident, that the apostles themselves did not understand these words as importing a supremacy over them; that St. Peter himself did not apprehend this sense; that our Lord, upon occasion inviting to it, did not take notice of his promise according thereto.

4. The words, "I will give thee," cannot anywise be assured to have been exclusive of others, or appropriated to him. "He said" (as a very learned man of the Roman communion noteth) "to Peter, *I will give thee the keys;* but he said not, *I will give them to thee alone:*"* nothing therefore can be concluded from them to their purpose.

5. The fathers do affirm that all the apostles did receive the same keys.

"Are" (saith Origen) "the keys of the kingdom of heaven given by the Lord to Peter alone, and shall none other of the blessed ones receive them? But if this, *I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, be common, how also are not all the things common which were spoken before, or are added as spoken to Peter?"†

St. Jerome says in express words, that all "the apostles did receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven."‡

"He" (saith Optatus) "did alone receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven," (which were) "to be communicated to the rest;" that is (as Rigaltius well expoundeth those words), "which Christ himself would also communicate to the rest."||

Theophylact. "Although it be spoken to Peter alone, *I will give thee*, yet it is given to all the apostles."*

It is part of St. John's character in St. Chrysostom, "He that hath the keys of the heavens."†

6. Indeed, whatever (according to any tolerable exposition, or according to the current expositions of the Fathers) those keys of the kingdom of heaven do import‡ (whether it be a faculty of opening it by doctrine, of admitting into it by dispensation of baptism and absolution, of excluding from it by ecclesiastical censure, or any such faculty signified by that metaphorical expression), it plainly did belong to all the apostles, and was effectually conferred on them; yea, after them, upon all the pastors of the church in their several precincts and degrees; who in all ages have claimed to themselves the power of the keys; to be (as the *Council of Compeigne* calleth all bishops) *clavigeri*, the "keybearers of the kingdom of heaven."||

So that in these words nothing singular was promised or granted to St. Peter; although it well may be deemed a singular mark of favour, that what our Lord did intend to bestow on all pastors, *that* he did anticipately promise to him; or, as the Fathers say, to the church and its pastors in him. In which respect we may admit those words of Pope Leo I.§

7. Indeed divers of the Fathers do conceive the words spoken to St. Peter, not as a single person, but as a representative of the church, or as standing in the

* Dixit Petro, Dabo tibi claves; at non dixit, Dabo tibi soli.—*Rigalt. in Epist. firmil.*

† Ἄρα δὲ τῷ Πέτρῳ μόνῳ δίδονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου αἱ κλεῖδες τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος τῶν μακαρίων αὐτὰς λήψεται; εἰ δὲ κοινόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρους, τὸ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ πάντα τάτε προειρημένα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα ὡς πρὸς Πέτρον λελεγμένα;—Orig. in Matt. xvi. p. 275.

‡ Quod Petro dicitur, apostolis dicitur.—*Ambr. in Psal.* xxxviii. What is said to Peter, is said to the apostles. Licet id ipsum in alio loco super omnes apostolos fiat, et cuncti claves regni cœlorum accipiant.—*Hier. in Jov.* i. 14. Though the same thing in another place is done upon all the apostles, and all receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

|| Claves regni cœlorum communicandas cæteris solus accepit.—*Opt.* lib. 7. Communicandas cæteris dixit, quas ipse Christus communicaturus erat et cæteris.—*Rigalt. in Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

* Εἰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τὸ δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται.—Theoph in loc.

† Ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν.—Chrys. in Præf. Evang. Joh.

‡ Clavis intelligit verbum Dei, evangelium Christi.—*Rigalt. in Cyp. Ep.* 73.

|| Episcopi——quos constat esse vicarios Christi, et clavigeros regni cœlorum.—*Conc. Comp. apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 361.

§ Transivit quidem in apostolos alios vis istius potestatis, sed non frustra uni commendatur quod omnibus intimetur. Petro ergo singulariter hoc creditur, quia cunctis ecclesiæ rectoribus Petri forma proponitur.—*Leo I. in Nat. Petri et Pauli, Serm.* 2. The efficacy of this power passed indeed upon all the apostles; yet was it not in vain, that what was intimated to all, was commended to one. Therefore this is committed singly to Peter, because Peter's pattern and example is propounded to all the governors of the church.

room of each pastor therein; unto whom our Lord designed to impart the power of the keys.

"All we bishops" (saith St. Ambrose) "have in St. Peter received the keys of the kingdom of heaven."*

8. These answers are confirmed by the words immediately adjoined, equivalent to these, and interpretative of them: *And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;*[k]—the which doth import a power or privilege, soon after expressly, and in the very same words, promised or granted to all the apostles; as also the same power in other words was by our Lord conferred on them all after the resurrection.[l]

If therefore the keys of the kingdom of heaven do import supreme power, then each apostle had supreme power.

9. If we should grant (that which nowise can be proved) that something peculiarly belonging to St. Peter is implied in those words, it can only be this, that he should be a prime man in the work of preaching and propagating the gospel, and conveying the heavenly benefits of it to believers; which is an opening of the kingdom of heaven; according to what Tertullian excellently saith of him: "So" (saith he) "the event teacheth, the church was built in him, that is, by him; he did initiate the key; see which, *Ye men of Israel, hear these words, Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you,*" &c. "He, in fine, in the baptism of Christ, did unlock the entrance to the kingdom of heaven,"* &c.

10. It seemeth absurd, that St. Peter should exercise the power of the keys in respect to the apostles: for did he open the kingdom of heaven to them, who were by our Lord long before admitted into it?

11. In fine, our Lord (as St. Luke relateth it) did say to St. Peter, and probably to him first, *Fear not, from henceforth thou shalt catch men:*[m] might it hence be inferred, that St. Peter had a peculiar or sole faculty of catching men? why might it not by as good a consequence as this, whereby they would appropriate to him this opening faculty? Many such instances might in like manner be used.

III. They produce those words of our Saviour to St. Peter, *Feed my sheep;* that is, in the Roman interpretation, "Be thou universal governor of my church."

To this allegation I answer:

1. From words which truly and properly might have been said to any other apostle, yea, to any Christian pastor whatever, nothing can be concluded to their purpose, importing a peculiar duty or singular privilege of St. Peter.

2. From indefinite words a definite conclusion (especially in matters of this kind) may not be inferred: it is said, *Do thou feed my sheep;* it is not said, Do thou alone feed all my sheep: this is their arbitrary gloss, or presumptuous improvement of the text; without succour whereof the words signify nothing to their purpose, so far are they from sufficiently assuring so vast a pretence: for instance, when St. Paul doth exhort the bishops at Ephesus *to feed the church of God;* may it thence be collected, that each of them was an universal go-

* In B. Petro claves regni cœlorum cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes.—*Ambr. de Dign. Sac.* 1. Ecclesia quæ fundatur in Christo, claves ab eo regni cœlorum accepit, id est, potestatem ligandi solvendique peccata.—*Aug.* Tract. 124, *in Joh.: vide* Tract. 50. The church, which is founded upon Christ, received from him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, *i. e.* the power of binding and loosing sins. In typo unitatis Petro Dominus dedit potestatem ——. *Aug. de Bapt.* iii. 17. Our Lord gave the power to Peter, as a type of unity. Ἐν προσώπῳ τοῦ κορυφαίου καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς τῶν μαθητῶν ἡ τοιαύτη ἐξουσία δέδοται.—Phot. Cod. 280. Such authority was given to the rest of the apostles in the person of him who was the chief. Non sine causa inter omnes apostolos ecclesiæ catholicæ per sonas sustinet Petrus; huic enim ecclesiæ claves regni cœlorum datæ sunt, cum Petro datæ sunt ——. *Aug. de Ag. Chr.* cap. xxx. in Ps. cviii. Not without cause does Peter among the rest of the apostles sustain the person of the catholic church; for to this church are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given, when they are given unto Peter.

[k] Aug. supr. Matt. xviii. 18.

[l] John xx. 23.

* Sic enim exitus docet, in ipso ecclesia extructa est, id est, per ipsum; ipse clavem imbuit; vide quam, Viri Israelitæ, auribus mandate quæ dico, Jesum Nazarenum virum a Deo vobis destinatum, &c. Ipse denique primus in Christi baptismo reseravit aditum cœlestis regni, &c.—*Tert. de Pud.* 21.

[m] Luke v. 10; Matt. iv. 19.

vernor of the whole church, *which Christ had purchased with his own blood?*[n]

3. By these words no new power is (assuredly at least) granted or instituted by our Lord;* for the apostles before this had their warrant and authority consigned to them, when our Lord did inspire them, and solemnly commissionate them, saying, *As the Father did send me, so I send you:*[o] to which commission, these words (spoken occasionally, before a few of the disciples) did not add or derogate. At most, the words do only, as St. Cyril saith, "renew the former grant of apostleship," after his great offence of denying our Lord.†

4. These words do not seem institutive or collative of power, but rather only admonitive or exhortative to duty; implying no more, but the pressing a common duty, before incumbent on St. Peter, upon a special occasion, in an advantageous season, that he should effectually discharge the office which our Lord had committed to him.

Our Lord, I say, presently before his departure, when his words were like to have a strong impression on St. Peter, doth earnestly direct and warn him to express that special ardency of affection which he observed in him, in an answerable care to perform his duty of feeding; that is, of instructing, guiding, edifying, in faith and obedience, those sheep of his; that is, those believers who should be converted to embrace his religion, as ever he should find opportunity.‡

5. The same office certainly did belong to all the apostles, who, as St. Jerome speaketh, "were the princes of our discipline, and chieftains of the Christian doctrine;"|| they at their first vocation had a commission and command *to go unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel, that were scattered abroad like sheep not having a shepherd;*[p] they before our Lord's ascension were enjoined *to teach all nations*[q] the doctrines and precepts of Christ; to receive them into the fold, to feed them with good instruction, to guide and govern their converts with good discipline; hence, "all of them," as St. Cyprian saith, "were shepherds; but the flock did appear one, which was fed by the apostles with unanimous agreement."*

6. Neither could St. Peter's charge be more extensive, than was that of the other apostles; for they had a general and unlimited care of the whole church; that is, according to their capacity and opportunity, none being exempted from it, who needed or came into the way of their discharging pastoral offices for them.

"They were œcumenical rulers," as St. Chrysostom saith, "appointed by God, who did not receive several nations or cities, but all of them in common were entrusted with the world."†

Hence particularly St. Chrysostom calleth St. John, "a pillar of the churches over the world;" and St. Paul, "an apostle of the world," who "had the care, not of one house, but of cities and nations, and of the whole earth:" who "undertook the world, and governed the churches;" on whom "the whole world did look," and "on whose soul the care of all the churches every where did hang; into whose hands were delivered the earth, and the sea, the inhabited and uninhabited parts of the world."‡

* Κεχειροτόνητο μὲν ἤδη πρὸς τὴν θείαν ἀποστολὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑτέροις μαθηταῖς Πέτρος.—Cyril. in loc. Peter was ordained to the holy apostleship together with the rest of the disciples.

† Διὰ δὲ τοῦ φᾶναι τὸν Κύριον βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου, ἀνανέωσις ὥσπερ τις τῆς ἤδη δοθείσης ἀποστολῆς αὐτῷ γενέσθαι νοεῖται.—Cyril. ibid.

‡ Paulus apostolus boni pastoris implebat officium, quando Christum prædicabat.—*Aug. in Joh.* tr. 47. Paul fulfilled the office of a good pastor, when he preached Christ.

|| Principes disciplinæ nostræ, et Christiani dogmatis duces.—*Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14.

* Pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur, qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur.—*Cypr. de Un. Eccl.*

† Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες.—Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115.

‡ Ὁ στόλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν. —Chrys. Præf. Comment. ad Joh. Καὶ γὰρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπόστολος ἦν.—Chrys. in 1 Cor. ix. 2. Οὗτος ὁ οὐκ οἰκίας μιᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέων, καὶ δήμων, καὶ ἐθνῶν, καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς οἰκουμένης φροντίδα ἔχων.—Chrys. in 2 Cor. xi. 28. Τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀντιλαμβάνετο πάσης, καὶ διεκυβέρνα τὰς ἐκκλησίας.—Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115. Ἡ οἰκουμένη πᾶσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπεν, αἱ φροντίδες τῶν πανταχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς ἦν ἐξηρτημέναι——. Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59. Ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἐπεχειρίσθη· Παῦλος δὲ γῆν, καὶ θάλατταν, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον.—Chrys. tom. viii. p. 39.

[n] Acts xx. 28. [o] John xx. 21. [p] Matt. x. 6; ix. 36. [q] Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

And could St. Peter have a larger flock committed to him? could this charge, *Feed my sheep*, more agree to him, than to those who no less than he were obliged to feed all Christian people every where?

7. The words indeed are applicable to all Christian bishops and governors of the church; according to that of St. Cyprian to Pope Stephen himself: "We being many shepherds, do feed one flock, and all the sheep of Christ:"* for they are styled pastors; they, in terms as indefinite as those in this text, are exhorted *to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood;*' to them (as the Fathers commonly suppose) this injunction doth reach; our Lord, when he spake thus to St. Peter, intending to lay a charge on them all to express their love and piety toward him in this way, by feeding his sheep and people.†

"Which sheep" (saith St. Ambrose) "and which flock, not only then St. Peter did receive, but also with him all we priests did receive it."‡

"Our Lord" (saith St. Chrysostom) "did commit his sheep to Peter, and to those which came after him;"|| that is, to all Christian pastors, as the scope of his discourse sheweth.

"When it is said to Peter" (saith St. Austin) "it is said to all, *Feed my sheep*."§

"And we" (saith St. Basil) "are taught this" (obedience to superiors) "by Christ himself constituting St. Peter pastor after himself of the church (for *Peter, saith he, dost thou love me more than these? Feed my sheep;*) and conferring to all pastors and teachers continually afterward an equal power" (of doing so;) "whereof it is a sign, that all do in like manner bind and do loose as he."*

St. Austin compriseth all these considerations in those words.†

How could these great masters more clearly express their mind, that our Lord in those words to St. Peter did inculcate a duty nowise peculiar to him, but equally together with him belonging to all guides of the church; in such manner, as when a master doth press a duty on one servant, he doth thereby admonish all his servants of the like duty? whence St. Austin saith, that St. Peter in that case "did sustain the person of the church;"‡ that which was spoken to him belonging to all its members, especially to his brethren the clergy.

"It was" (saith Cyril) "a lesson to teachers, that they cannot otherwise please the Arch-pastor of all, than by taking care of the welfare of the rational sheep."||

8. Hence it followeth, that the sheep, which our Saviour biddeth St. Peter to feed, were not the apostles, who were his fellow-shepherds, designed to feed others, and needing not to be fed by him; but the common believers, or people of God, which St. Peter himself doth call *the flock of God: Feed* (saith he to his

* Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem, et oves Christi universas pascimus.—*Cypr. Ep.* 67, *ad P. Steph.*

† Quanto magis debent usque ad mortem pro veritate certare, et usque ad sanguinem adversus peccatum, quibus oves ipsas pascendas, hoc est docendas regendasque committit.—*Aug. in Joh.* Tract. 123. How much more ought they to contend for the truth even unto death, and against sin even unto blood, to whom he committeth his sheep to be fed, that is, to be taught and governed.

‡ Quas oves, et quem gregem non solum tunc B. suscepit Petrus, sed et cum eo nos suscepimus omnes.—*Ambr. de Sacerd.* 2.

|| Τὰ πρόβατα, ἃ τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε.—Chrys. de Sacerd. 1.

§ Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Pasce oves meas.—*Aug. de Agone Christ.* 30.

' Acts xx. 28.

* Καὶ τούτου παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ παιδευόμεθα, Πέτρον ποιμένα μεθ' ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καθιστῶντος, Πέτρε, γάρ φησι, φιλεῖς με πλέον τούτων; ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις τὴν ἴσην παρέχοντος ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τούτου σημεῖον τὸ δεσμεῖν ἅπαντας ὁμοίως,, καὶ λύειν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος.—Bas. Const. Mon. cap. 22.

† Et quidem, fratres, quod pastor est, dedit et membris suis; nam et Petrus pastor, et Paulus pastor, et cæteri apostoli pastores, et boni episcopi pastores.—*Aug. in Joh.* Tract. 47. And indeed, brethren, that which a pastor is, he gave also to his members; for both Peter was a pastor, and Paul a pastor, and the rest of the apostles were pastors, and good bishops are pastors.

‡ Ut ergo Petrus quando ei dictum est, Tibi dabo claves, in figura personam gestabat ecclesiæ, sic et quando ei dictum est, Pasce oves meas, ecclesiæ quoque personam in figura gestabat.—*Aug. in Ps.* cviii. Οὐ πρὸς ἱερίας δὲ τοῦτο μόνον εἴρηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν καὶ μικρὸν ἐμπεπιστευμένων ποιμνίον.—Chrys. in Matt. xxiv. Or. 77. This was not spoken to those priests only, but to every one of us, who have the care even of a little flock committed to us.

|| Διδασκάλοις δὲ γνῶσις διὰ τῆς τῶν προκειμένων εἰσβέβηκε θεωρίας, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἑτέρως εὐαρεστήσειεν τῷ πάντων ἀρχιποιμένι, εἰ μὴ τῆς τῶν λογικῶν προβάτων εὐρωστίας, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ εὖ εἶναι διαμονῆς ποιοῖντο φροντίδα.—Cyril. ibid.

fellow-elders) *the flock of God which is among you;* and St. Paul: *Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.*[a]

9. Take feeding for what you please; for teaching, for guiding; the apostles were not fit objects of it, who were immediately taught and guided by God himself.

Hence we may interpret that saying of St. Chrysostom, which is the most plausible argument they can allege for them, that our Lord, in saying this, did commit to St. Peter "a charge" (or presidency) "over his brethren;"* that is, he made him a pastor of Christian people, as he did others; at least, if *προστασία τῶν ἀδελφῶν* be referred to the apostles, it must not signify authority over them, but at most a primacy of order among them; for that St. Peter otherwise should feed them, St. Chrysostom could hardly think, who presently after saith, that "seeing the apostles were to receive the administration of the whole world, they ought not afterward to converse with one another; for that would surely have been a great damage to the world."†

10. But they, forsooth, must have St. Peter solely obliged to feed all Christ's sheep; so they did impose upon him a vast and crabbed province; a task very incommodious, or rather impossible for him to undergo. How could he in duty be obliged, how could he in effect be able, to feed so many flocks of Christian people scattered about in distant regions, through all nations under heaven? He, poor man, that had so few helps, that had no officers or dependents, nor wealth to maintain them, would have been much put to it to feed the sheep in Britain and in Parthia; unto infinite distraction of thoughts such a charge must needs have engaged him.

But for this their great champion hath a fine expedient: "St. Peter" (saith he) "did feed Christ's whole flock, partly by himself, partly by others;"* so that, it seemeth, the other apostles were St. Peter's curates, or vicars and deputies. This indeed were an easy way of feeding; thus, although he had slept all his time, he might have fed all the sheep under heaven; thus any man as well might have fed them. But this manner of feeding is, I fear, a later invention, not known so soon in the church; and it might then seem near as absurd to be a shepherd, as it is now (in his own account) to be a just man by imputation; that would be a kind of *putative* pastorage, as this *a putative righteousness.* However, the apostles, I dare say, did not take themselves to be St. Peter's surrogates, but challenged to themselves to be accounted *the ministers, the stewards, the ambassadors of Christ himself;*[t] from whom immediately they received their orders, in whose name they acted, to whom they constantly refer their authority, without taking the least notice of St. Peter, or intimating any dependence on him.

It was therefore enough for St. Peter that he had authority restrained to no place; but might, as he found occasion, preach the gospel, convert, confirm, guide Christians every where to truth and duty: nor can our Saviour's words be forced to signify more.

In fine, this (together with the precedent testimonies) must not be interpreted so as to thwart practice and history; according, to which it appeareth, that St. Peter did not exercise such a power, and therefore our Lord did not intend to confer such an one upon him.

IV. Further, in confirmation of their doctrine, they do draw forth a whole shoal of testimonies, containing divers prerogatives, as they call them, of St. Peter, which do, as they suppose, imply this primacy;† so very sharpsighted indeed they are, that in every remarkable accident befalling him, in every action performed by him, or to him, or about

* Ἐγχειρίζει τὴν προστασίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν.—Chrys. in Joh. xxi. 15. Τὴν προστασίαν ἐνεστιστεύθη τῶν ἀδελφῶν. In ver. 21.

† Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἔμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, οὐκ ἔδει συμπεπλέχθαι λοιπὸν ἀλλήλοις· ἢ γὰρ ἂν μεγάλη τοῦτο τῇ οἰκουμένῃ γέγονε ζημία.—Ibid. ver. 23.

[a] 1 Pet. v. 2; Acts xx. 28.

* Respondeo, S. Petrum partim per se, partim per alios, universum Dominicum gregem ut sibi imperatum erat pavisse ——. *Bell. de Pont. R.* i. 16.

† P. Leo IX. Ep. 1.—Ad ejusdem primatus confirmationem, &c.—*Bell.* i. 17.

[t] 1 Cor. iv. 1; 2 Cor. v. 20; x. 8; Gal. i. 1; Tit. i. 3, &c.

him, they can descry some argument or shrewd insinuation of his pre-eminence; especially being aided by the glosses of some fanciful expositor. From the change of his name; from his walking on the sea; from his miraculous draught of fish; from our Lord's praying for him that his faith should not fail, and bidding him to confirm his brethren; from our Lord's ordering him to pay the tribute for them both; from our Lord's first washing his feet, and his first appearing to him after the resurrection; from the prediction of his martyrdom; from sick persons being cured by his shadow; from his sentencing Ananias and Sapphira to death; from his preaching to Cornelius; from its being said *that he passed through all;*[t] from his being prayed for by the church; from St. Paul's going to visit him: from these passages, I say, they deduce or confirm his authority. Now in earnest, is not this stout argument? Is it not egregious modesty for such a point to allege such proofs? What cause may not be countenanced by such rare fetches? Who would not suspect the weakness of that opinion, which is fain to use such forces in its maintenance? In fine, is it honest or conscionable dealing, so to wrest or play with the holy scripture, pretending to derive thence proofs, where there is no show of consequence?

To be even with them, I might assert the primacy of St. John, and to that purpose might allege his prerogatives (which indeed may seem greater than those of St. Peter;) namely, that he was *the beloved disciple*,[u] that he leaned on our Lord's breast; that St. Peter, not presuming to ask our Lord a question, desired *him* to do it, as having a more special confidence with our Lord; that St. John did higher service to the church, and all posterity, by writing not only more Epistles, but also a most divine Gospel, and a sublime prophecy* concerning the state of the church; that St. John did *outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre*[v] (in which passage such acute devisers would find out marvellous significancy;) that St. John was a virgin; that he did outlive all the apostles (and thence was most fit to be universal pastor;) that St. Jerome, comparing Peter and John, doth seem to prefer the latter; for "Peter" (saith he) "was an apostle, and John was an apostle; but Peter was only an apostle; John both an apostle and an evangelist; and also a prophet;—and" (saith he) "that I may in brief speech comprehend many things, and shew what privilege belongeth to John—yea, virginity in John; by our Lord a virgin, his mother the virgin, is commended to the virgin disciple."* Thus I might by prerogatives and passages very notable infer the superiority of St. John to St. Peter, in imitation of their reasoning; but I am afraid they would scarce be at the trouble to answer me seriously, but would think it enough to say I trifled: wherefore let it suffice for me in the same manner to put off those levities of discourse.

V. They argue this primacy from the constant placing St. Peter's name before the other apostles, in the catalogues and narrations concerning him and them.

To this I answer:

I. That this order is not so strictly observed, as not to admit some exceptions; for St. Paul saith, that *James, Cephas, and John, knowing the grace given unto him*—so it is commonly read in the ordinary copies, in the text of ancient commentators, and in old translations; and, *Whether Paul, whether Apollos, whether Cephas*, (saith St. Paul again;) and, *As the other apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas;* and, *Philip* (saith St. John) *was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter;*[w] and Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius saith, that "the Lord, after his resurrection, delivered the special knowledge to James the just, and to John, and to Peter;"† post-

* Infinita futurorum mysteria continentem. —*Hier.* Containing infinite mysteries of future things.

[t] Acts ix. 32.

[u] John xiii. 24.

[v] John xx. 4.

* Petrus apostolus est, et Joannes apostolus, maritus et virgo; sed Petrus apostolus tantum, Joannes et apostolus et evangelista et propheta, &c.—*Hier. in Jovin.* i. 14. Et ut brevi sermone multa comprehendam, doceamque cujus privilegii sit Joannes,——imo in Joanne virginitas; a Domino virgine mater virgo virgini discipulo commendatur.—*Hier.* ibid.

† Ἰακώβῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γνῶσιν ὁ Κύριος.—Eus. Hist. ii. 1.

[w] Gal. ii. 9; 1 Cor. iii. 22; ix. 5; John i. 45.

poning St. Peter, as perhaps conceiving him to have less of sublime revelations imparted to him: that order therefore is not so punctually constant.

In the Apostolical Constitutions, St. Paul and St. Peter being induced jointly prescribing orders, they begin, "I Paul, and I Peter, do appoint:"* so little ambitious or curious of precedence are they represented.

2. But it being indeed so constant, as not to seem casual, I further say, that position of names doth not argue difference of degree, or superiority in power; any small advantage of age, standing, merit, or wealth, serving to ground such precedence, as common experince doth shew.

3. We formerly did assign other sufficient and probable causes why St. Peter had this place. So that this is no cogent reason.

VI. Further (and this indeed is far their most plausible argumentation), they allege the titles and elogies given to St. Peter by the Fathers; who call him ἔξαρχον (the prince), κορυφαῖον (the ringleader), κεφαλὴν (the head), πρόεδρον (the president), ἀρχηγὸν (the captain), προήγορον (the prolocutor), πρωτοστάτην (the foreman), προστάτην (the warden), ἔκκριτον τῶν ἀποστόλων (the choice, or egregious apostle), *majorem* (the greater, or grandee among them), *primum* (the first, or prime apostle.)[x]

To these and the like allegations I answer:

1. If we should say, that we are not accountable for everv hyperbolical flash or flourish occurring in the Fathers (it being well known that they in their encomiastic speeches, as orators are wont, following the heat and gayety of fancy, do sometimes overlash), we should have the pattern of their greatest controvertists to warrant us;† for Bellarmine doth put off their testimonies by saying, that they do "sometimes speak in way of excess, less properly, less warily, so as to need benign exposition," &c.‡ as Bishop Andrews sheweth; and it is a common shift of Cardinal Perron, whereof you may see divers instances alleged by M. Daille.[y]

Which observation is especially applicable to this case; for that eloquent men do never more exceed in their indulgence to fancy, than in the demonstrative kind, in panegyrics, in their commendations of persons; and I hope they will embrace this way of reckoning for those expressions of Pope Leo, sounding so exorbitantly, that St. Peter was by our Lord "assumed into consortship of his individual unity;" and that "nothing did pass upon any from God, the fountain of good things, without the participation of Peter.*

2. We may observe, that such turgid elogies of St. Peter are not found in the more ancient Fathers; for Clemens Romanus, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Firmillian——when they mention St. Peter, do speak more temperately and simply, according to the current notions and traditions of the church in their time; using indeed fair terms of respect, but not such high strains of courtship, about him. But they are found in the latter Fathers, who being men of wit and eloquence, and affecting in their discourses to vent those faculties, did speak more out of their own invention and fancy.

Whence, according to a prudent estimation of things in such a case, the silence or sparingness of the first sort is of more consideration on the one hand, than the speech, how free soever, of the latter is on the other hand: and we may rather suppose those titles do not belong to St. Peter, because the first do not give them, than that they do, because the other are so liberal in doing it.

Indeed if we consult the testimonies of this kind alleged by the Romanists, who with their utmost diligence have raked all ancient writings for them, it is strange that they cannot find any very ancient ones; that they can find so few plausible ones; that they are fain (to make up the

* Ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ ἐγὼ Πέτρος διατασσόμεθα.—Const. Apost. viii. 33.

† The truth is, the best arguments of the papists in other questions are some flourishes of orators, speaking hyperbolically and heedlessly.

‡ Per excessum loqui.—*Bell. de Miss.* ii. 10; minus proprie, iii. 4; benigna expositione opus habere.—*de Amiss. Gr.* iv. 12; minus caute; *de Purg.* i. 11.

* Nunc enim in consortium individuæ unitatis assumptum id quod ipse erat voluit nominari.—*P. Leo I. Ep.* 89. Nihil a bonorum fonte Deo in quenquam sine Petri participatione transire.—*P. Leo de Assumpt. sua. Serm.* 3.

[x] Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59; Chrys. in Joh. xxi.; Cypr. cont. Jul. ix. (p. 325;) Aug. Ep. xi. 19.

[y] Tort. Tort. p. 338; Daill. de Us. P. lib. i. cap. 6, p. 158, (et p. 314.)

number) to produce so many, which evidently have no force or pertinency; being only commendations of his apostolical office, or of his personal merits, without relation to others.

3. We say, that all those terms or titles, which they urge, are ambiguous, and applicable to any sort of primacy or pre-eminency; to that which we admit, no less than to that which we refuse; as by instances from good authors, and from common use, might easily be demonstrated; so that from them nothing can be inferred advantageous to their cause.

Cicero calleth Socrates "prince of the philosophers;"[a] and Sulpitius, "prince of all lawyers:" would it not be ridiculous thence to infer that Socrates was a sovereign governor of the philosophers, or Sulpitius of the lawyers? The same great speaker calleth Pompey "prince of the city in all men's judgment:"* doth he mean, that he did exercise jurisdiction over the city.

Tertullus calleth St. Paul πρωτοστάτην, *a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes;*[a] and St. Basil calleth Eustathius Sebastenus "foreman of the sect of the Pneumatomachi:"† did Tertullus mean that St. Paul had universal jurisdiction over Christians? or St. Basil, that Eustathius was sovereign of those heretics?

So neither did "prince of the apostles," or any equivalent term, in the sense of those who assigned it to St. Peter, import authority over the apostles, but eminency among them in worth, in merit, in apostolical performances, or at most in order of precedence.

Such words are to be interpreted by the state of things, not the state of things to be inferred from them; and in understanding them we should observe the rule of Tertullian.‡

4. Accordingly the Fathers sometimes do explain those elogies signifying them to import the special gifts and virtues of St. Peter, wherein he did excel; so Eusebius calleth St. Peter "the most excellent and great apostle, who for his virtue was prolocutor of the rest."[b]

5. This answer is thoroughly confirmed from hence; that even those who give those titles to St. Peter, do yet expressly affirm other apostles in power and dignity equal to him.

Who doth give higher elogies to him than St. Chrysostom? yet doth he assert all the apostles to be supreme, and "equal in dignity;" and particularly he doth often affirm St. Paul to be ἰσότιμον, equal in honour to St. Peter, as we before shewed.

The like we declared of St. Jerome, St. Cyril, &c. And as for St. Cyprian, who did allow a primacy to St. Peter, nothing can be more evident than that he took the other apostles to be "equal to him in power and honour."

The like we may conceive of St. Austin, who, having carefully perused those writings of St. Cyprian, and frequently alleging them, doth never contradict that his sentiment.

Even Pope Gregory himself acknowledgeth St. Peter not to have been properly the head, but only "the first member of the universal church; all being members of the church under one head."*

6. If Pope Leo I. or any other ancient pope, do seem to mean further, we may reasonably except against their opinion as being singular, and proceeding from partial affection to their See; such affection having influence on the mind of the wisest men; according to that certain maxim of Aristotle, "Every man is a bad judge in his own case."

7. The ancients, when their subject doth allure them, do adorn other apostles with the like titles, equalling those of St. Peter, and not well consistent with them,

* Quem omnium judicio longe principem esse civitatis videbat. —— principem orbis terræ virum ——. *Cic. pro. Domo sua.*

† Πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως. —Bas. Ep. 74.

‡ Malo te ad sensum rei quam ad sonum vocabuli exerceas.—*Tert. adv. Prax.* cap. 3. I had rather you would apply yourself to the sense of the thing, than to the sound of the word. Οὐ γὰρ αἱ λέξεις τὴν φύσιν παραιροῦνται· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ φύσις τὰς λέξεις εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἕλκουσα μεταβάλλει.—Athan. Orat. iii. adv. Ar (p. 373.) For words do not take away the nature of things, but the nature rather changes the words, and draws them to itself.

[a] Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Cic. de clar. Orat.

[a] Acts xxiv. 5.

* Certe Petrus apostolus primum membrum S. et universalis ecclesiæ —— sub uno capite omnes membra sunt ecclesiæ.—*Greg. 1. Ep.* iv. 38.

[b] Euseb. Hist. ii. 14.

according to that rigour of sense which our adversaries affix to the commendations of St. Peter.

The Epistle of Clemens Romanus to St. James (an apocryphal but ancient writing), calleth St. James our Lord's brother, "the bishop of bishops;" the Clementine Recognitions call him "the prince of bishops;" Ruffinus, in his translation of Eusebius, "the bishop of the apostles;"* St. Chrysostom saith of him, that he "did preside over all the Jewish believers;"† Hesychius, presbyter of Jerusalem, calleth him "the chief captain of the new Jerusalem, the captain of priests, the prince of the apostles, the top among the heads," &c.‡

The same Hesychius calleth St. Andrew "the first-born of the apostolical choir, the first settled pillar of the church, the Peter before Peter, the foundation of the foundation, the first fruits of the beginning," &c.||

St. Chrysostom saith of St. John, that he was "a pillar of the churches through the world, he that had the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c.§

But as occasion of speaking about St. Paul was more frequent, so the elogies of him are more copious, and indeed so high as not to yield to those of St. Peter.

"He was" (saith St. Chrysostom) "the ringleader and guardian of the choir of all the saints."¶

"He was the tongue, the teacher, the apostle of the world. He had the whole world put into his hands, and took care thereof, and had committed to him all men dwelling upon earth."*

"He was the light of the churches, the foundation of faith, the pillar and ground of truth."

"He had the patronage of the world committed into his hands."†

"He was better than all men, greater than the apostles, and surpassing them all."‡

"Nothing was more bright, nothing more illustrious than he."||

"None was greater than he, yea none equal to him."§

Pope Gregory I. saith of St. Paul, that "he was made head of the nations, because he obtained the principate of the whole church."¶

These characters of St. Paul I leave

* Κλήμης Ἰακώβῳ —— ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπῳ. Jacobum episcoporum principem sacerdotum princeps orabat. *Clem. Rec.* i. 68. Apostolorum episcopus.—*Ruf. Euseb.* ii. 1.

† It is likely that Ruffinus did call him so, by mistaking that in the Apostolical Constitutions: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου.—Apost. Const. viii. 10. Τῶν ἐξ Ἰουδαίων πιστευσάντων προεστῆκει πάντων.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 59.

‡ Τὸν τῆς νέας Ἱεροσαλὴμ ἀρχιστράτηγον, τῶν ἱερέων ἡγήτορα, τῶν ἀποστόλων τὸν ἔξαρχον, τὸν ἐν κεφαλαῖς κορυφὴν, &c.—Hesych. Presb. apud Phot. Cod. 275. (p. 1525.)

|| Ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρωτότοκος, ὁ πρωτοστάτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας στύλος, ὁ πρὸ Πέτρου Πέτρος, ὁ τοῦ θεμελίου θεμέλιος, ὁ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπαρχὴ ——. Hesych. apud Phot. Cod. 269.

§ Ὁ στύλος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς ἔχων τῶν οὐρανῶν, &c.—Chrys. in Joh. i. 1.

¶ Ὁ τῶν ἁγίων χοροῦ κορυφαῖος καὶ προστάτης —— Chrys. in Rom. xvi. 24. Ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπόστολος.—Chrys. in 1 Cor. ix. 2.

* Ἡ γλῶττα τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ φῶς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς πίστεως, ὁ στύλος καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἀληθείας. Τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. He had the whole habitable world committed to his charge. Τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος ἂν τοὺς τὴν γῆν οἰκοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐπιτραπείς. He was the teacher of the world, and had all the inhabitants of the earth committed to his trust.

† Τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης προστασίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος. —In Jud. Or. 6. Τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιδέξασθαι.—In 1 Cor. Or. 22. Οὐ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ φέρων ἔθηκεν ὁ Θεός; Tom. vii. p. 2. Did not God put into his hands the whole world? Ὁ πάσης οἰκουμένης κρατήσας. —In 2 Tim. ii. 1. He had the charge of the whole world.

‡ Πάντων ἀνθρώπων κρείττων.—De Sacerd. 4. Τίς οὖν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμείνων; τίς δὲ ἕτερος, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ σκηνοποιὸς ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης διδάσκαλος——εἰ τοίνυν μείζονα τῶν ἀποστόλων λαμβάνει στέφανον, τῶν δὲ ἀποστόλων ἴσος οὐδεὶς γέγονεν, οὗτος δὲ κἀκείνων μείζων, εὔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀνωτάτω ἀπολαύσεται τιμῆς καὶ προεδρίας.—Tom. v. Or. 33. Who then was better than all other men? who else but that tent-maker, the teacher of the world?——If therefore he receive a greater crown than the apostles, and none perhaps was equal to the apostles, and yet he greater than they, it is manifest, that he shall enjoy the highest honour and pre-eminence.

|| Παύλου λαμπρότερον οὐδὲν ἦν, οὐδὲ περιφανέστερον.—Tom. v. Or. 47.

§ Οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐκείνου μείζων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἴσος ἐστί.—Tom. vi. Or. 9. Οὐδεὶς Παύλου ἴσος ἦν.—2 Tim. iii. 15. Ὁ πάνσοφος, ὁ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἄριστος ἀρχιτέκτων.—Theod. Ep. 146. The most wise, and best architect, or chief builder of the churches. Ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος, ὁ τῶν πατέρων πατήρ.—Just. M. Resp. ad Orthod Qu. 119. The blessed apostle, the father of the fathers.

¶ Caput effectus est nationum, quia obtinuit totius ecclesiæ principatum.—*Greg. M. in* 1 *Reg.* lib. 4. Videsis. Paulus apostolorum princeps.—*Ep. Spalat. in Lat. Syn. sub. P. Jul. II.* Sess. i. p. 25.

them to interpret, and reconcile with those of St. Peter.

8. That the Fathers, by calling St. Peter prince, chieftain, &c. of the apostles, do not mean authority over them, may be argued from their joining St. Paul with him in the same appellations; who yet surely could have no jurisdiction over them; and his having any would destroy the pretended ecclesiastical monarchy.

St. Cyril calleth them together, "patrons, or presidents of the church."*

St. Austin (or St. Ambrose or Maximus) calleth them "princes of the churches."†

The Popes Agatho and Adrian (in their general synods) call them "the ringleading apostles."‡

The Popes Nicholas I. and Gregory VII., &c. call them "princes of the apostles."[e]

St. Ambrose, or St. Austin, or St. Maximus Taur. (choose you which), doth thus speak of them: "Blessed Peter and Paul are most eminent among all the apostles, excelling the rest by a kind of peculiar prerogative: but whether of the two be preferred before the other is uncertain; for I count them to be equal in merit, because they are equal in suffering," &c.||

To all this discourse I shall only add, that if any of the apostles, or apostolical men, might claim a presidency or authoritative headship over the rest, St. James seemeth to have the best title thereto;§ for "Jerusalem was the mother of all churches,"[d] the fountain of the Christian law and doctrine, the "See" of our Lord himself, the chief Pastor.*

He, therefore, who, as the Fathers tell us, was by our Lord himself constituted bishop of that city, and the "first" of all bishops, might best pretend to be in special manner our Lord's vicar or successor:† "He," saith Epiphanius, "did first receive the episcopal chair, and to him our Lord first did intrust his own throne upon earth."‡

He accordingly did first exercise the authority of presiding and moderating in the first ecclesiastical synod, as St. Chrysostom in his notes thereon doth remark.

He therefore probably by St. Paul is first named in his report concerning the passages at Jerusalem; and to his orders it seemeth that St. Peter himself did conform; for it is said there, that *before certain came from St. James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew.*[e]

Hence in the Apostolical Constitutions, in the prayer prescribed for the church, and for all the governors of it, the bishops of the principal churches being specified by name, St. James is put in the first place, before the bishops of Rome and of Antioch: "Let us pray for the whole episcopacy under heaven, of those who rightly dispense the word of thy truth; and let us pray for our bishop James, with all his parishes; let us pray for our bishop Clemens, and all his parishes; let us pray for Euodius, and all his parishes."||—

Hereto consenteth the tradition of

* Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται. —Cyril. Cat. 6.

† Ecclesiarum principes.—*Aug. de Sanct.* 27.

‡ Κορυφαῖοι ἀποστόλων.—P. Agatho, in 6 Syn. Act. iv. p. 35; P. Adrian in 7 Syn. Act. ii. p. 554.

|| Beati Petrus et Paulus eminent inter universos apostolos, et peculiari quadam prærogativa præcellunt; verum inter ipsos quis cui præponatur incertum est, puto enim illos æquales esse meritis, quia æquales sunt passione, &c.—*Ambr.* Serm. 66; *Aug. de Sanct.* 27. *Max. Taur.* Serm 54.

§ Hæ voces ecclesiæ, ex qua habuit omnis ecclesia initium.—*Iren.* iii. 12. These are the words of the church, from whence every church had its beginning.

[e] Nicol. I. Ep. 7; Plat. in Greg. VII. &c.

[d] Isa. ii. 3; Luke xiv. 47.

* Ecclesia in Hierusalem fundata totius orbis ecclesias seminavit.—*Hieron. in Isa.* ii. The church founded in Jerusalem was the seminary of the churches throughout the whole world.—Theod. v. 9; *vide* Tert. de Præscr. cap. 20.

† Ἔπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν λέγεται κεχειροτονηκέναι, καὶ ἐπίσκοπον ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πεποιηκέναι πρῶτον.—Chrys. in 1 Cor. Or. 11. After that he was seen of James, I suppose to his brother; for he is said to have ordained him, and made him the first bishop of Jerusalem.

‡ Πρῶτος οὗτος εἴληφε τὴν καθέδραν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾧ πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πρώτῳ.—Epiph. Hær. 78.

|| Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας δεηθῶμεν· καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου, καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος, &c.—Const. Ap. viii. 10.

[e] Gal. ii. 9, 12.

those ancient writers afore cited, who call St. James "the bishop of bishops, the bishop of the apostles," &c.

SUPPOSITION II.

I proceed to examine the next supposition of the church monarchists, which is, *That St. Peter's primacy, with its rights and prerogatives, was not personal, but derivable to his successors.*

AGAINST which supposition I do assert, that admitting a primacy of St. Peter, of what kind or to what purpose soever, we yet have reason to deem it merely personal, and not (according to its grounds and its design) communicable to any successors, nor indeed in effect conveyed to any such.

It is a rule in the canon law, that "a personal privilege doth follow the person, and is extinguished with the person;"* and such we affirm that of St. Peter; for,

1. His primacy was grounded upon personal acts (such as his cheerful following of Christ, his faithful confessing of Christ, his resolute adherence to Christ, his embracing special revelations from God;) or upon personal graces, (his great faith, his special love to our Lord, his singular zeal for Christ's service;) or upon personal gifts and endowments, (his courage, resolution, activity, forwardness in apprehension and in speech;) the which advantages are not transient, and consequently a pre-eminency built on them is not in its nature such.

2. All the pretence of primacy granted to St. Peter is grounded upon words directed to St. Peter's person, characterized by most personal adjuncts, as name, parentage, and which exactly were accomplished in St. Peter's personal actings;[r] which therefore it is unreasonable to extend further.

Our Lord promised to *Simon, son of Jonas*, to build his church on him:[s] accordingly in eminent manner the church was founded upon his ministry, or by his first preaching, testimony, performances.

Our Lord promised to give him the keys of the heavenly kingdom: this power St. Peter signally did execute in converting Christians, and receiving them by baptism into the church, by conferring the Holy Ghost, and the like administrations.

Our Lord charged *Simon, son of Jonas*, to feed his sheep:[t] this he performed by preaching, writing, guiding, and governing Christians, as he found opportunity: wherefore, if any thing was couched under those promises or orders singularly pertinent to St. Peter, for the same reason that they were singular, they were personal; for,

These things being in a conspicuous manner accomplished in St. Peter's person, the sense of those words is exhausted; there may not with any probability, there cannot with any assurance, be any more grounded on them; whatever more is inferred must be by precarious assumption; and justly we may cast at those who shall infer it that expostulation of Tertullian, "What art thou, who dost overturn and change the manifest intention of our Lord, personally conferring this on Peter?"*

3. Particularly the grand promise to St. Peter of founding the church on him, cannot reach beyond his person; because there can be no other foundations of a society, than such as are first laid; the successors of those who first did erect a society, and establish it, are themselves but superstructures.

4. The apostolical office, as such, was personal and temporary; and therefore, according to its nature and design, not successive or communicable to others in perpetual descendence from them.

It was, as such, in all respects extraordinary, conferred in a special manner, designed for special purposes, discharged by special aids, endowed with special privileges, as was needful for the propagation of Christianity and founding of churches.

To that office it was requisite that the person should have an immediate designation and commission from God; such

* Privilegium personale personam sequitur, et cum persona extinguitur.—*Reg. Juris*, 7 *in Sexto.*

[r] Matt. xvi. 17; John xxi. 15-17.

[s] Matt. xvi. 17.

* Qualis es evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem personaliter hoc Petro conferentem?—*Tertul. de Pud.* 21.

[t] John xxi. 15.

as St. Paul so often doth insist upon for asserting his title to the office: *Paul, an apostle, not from men, or by man*[i]—"Not by men" (saith St. Chrysostom;) "this is a property of the apostles."*

It was requisite that an apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord's resurrection or ascension, either immediately, as the twelve, or by evident consequence, as St. Paul; thus St. Peter implied, at the choice of Matthias: *Wherefore of those men which have companied with us——must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the resurrection;* and, *Am I not* (saith St. Paul) *an apostle? have I not seen the Lord?* according to that of Ananias, *The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt bear witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.*[j]

It was needful also that an apostle should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him both to assure his authority and to execute his office; wherefore St. Paul calleth these *the marks of an apostle*, the *which were wrought by him among the Corinthians in all patience* (or perseveringly), *in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.*[k]

It was also, in St. Chrysostom's opinion, proper to an apostle, that he should be able, according to his discretion, in a certain and conspicuous manner to impart spiritual gifts; as St. Peter and St. John did at Samaria; which to do, according to that Father, was "the peculiar gift and privilege of the apostles."†

It was also a privilege of an apostle, by virtue of his commission from Christ, *to instruct all nations* in the doctrine and law of Christ; he had right and warrant to exercise his function every where: "His charge was universal and indefinite; the whole world was his province;"* he was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any; he was (as St. Cyril calleth him) an œcumenical judge," and "an instructor of all the subcelestial world."†

Apostles also did govern in an absolute manner, according to discretion, as being guided by infallible assistance, to the which they might upon occasion appeal, and affirm, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us.*[l] Whence their writings have passed for inspired, and therefore canonical, or certain rules of faith and practice.

It did belong to them to found churches, to constitute pastors, to settle orders, to correct offences, to perform all such acts of sovereign spiritual power, in virtue of the same divine assistance, *according to the authority which the Lord had given them for edification;* as we see practised by St. Paul.

In fine, the "apostleship was" (as St. Chrysostom telleth us) "a business fraught with ten thousand good things; both greater than all privileges of grace, and comprehensive of them."‡

Now such an office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requisite for the foundation of the church, and the diffusion of Christianity, against the manifold difficulties and disadvantages which it then needs must encounter, was not designed to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it divers things, which apparently were not communicated, and which no man without gross imposture and hypocrisy could challenge to himself.

Neither did the apostles pretend to communicate it; they did indeed appoint standing pastors and teachers in each church; they did assume fellow-labourers or assistants in the work of preaching and governance: but they did not

* Τὸ δὲ οὐ δι' ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο ἴδιον τῶν ἀποστόλων.—Chrys in Gal. i. 1.

† Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δῶρον μόνων τῶν δώδεκα τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐξαίρετον.—Chrys. in Act. viii. 18. De solis apostolis legitur, quorum vicem tenent episcopi, quod per manus impositionem Spiritum S. dabant.—*P. Eugenius IV. in Instit. Arm.* It is recorded of the apostles alone, in whose room the bishops succeed, that they gave the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.

[i] Gal. i. 1.

[j] Acts i. 21, 22; 1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8; Acts xxii. 14, 15.

[k] 2 Cor. xii. 12; Rom. xv. 18.

* Ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἐπιδέξασθαι.—Chrys. in Joh. xxi.

† Κριταὶ οἰκουμενικοὶ, καὶ τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ καθηγηταί. —Cyril. γλαφ. in Gen. vii.

‡ Τὴν ἀποστολὴν, πρᾶγμα μυρίων ἀγαθῶν γέμον, τῶν χαρισμάτων ἁπάντων καὶ μεῖζον, καὶ περιεκτικόν. —Chrys. in Rom. i. Or. 1, tom. viii. p. 114.

[l] Acts xv. 28.

constitute apostles, equal to themselves in authority, privileges, or gifts; for, "Who knoweth not" (saith St. Austin) "that principate of apostleship to be preferred before any episcopacy?"* and "the bishops" (saith Bellarmine†) "have no part of the true apostolical authority?"‡

Wherefore St. Peter, who had no other office mentioned in scripture, or known to antiquity, beside that of an apostle, could not have properly and adequately any successor to his office; but it naturally did expire with his person, as did that of the other apostles.

5. Accordingly, whereas the other apostles, as such, had no successors, the apostolical office not being propagated, the primacy of St. Peter (whatever it were, whether of order or jurisdiction, in regard to his brethren) did cease with him; for when there were no apostles extant, there could be "no head or prince of the apostles" in any sense.

6. If some privileges of St. Peter were derived to popes, why were not all? why was not Pope Alexander VI. as holy as St. Peter? why was not Pope Honorius as sound in his private judgment? why is not every pope inspired? why is not every papal epistle to be reputed canonical? why are not all popes endowed with power of doing miracles? why doth not the pope by a sermon convert thousands? (why indeed do popes never preach?) why doth not he cure men by his shadow? (he is, say they, himself his shadow:) what ground is there of distinguishing the privileges, so that he shall have some, not others? where is the ground to be found?

7. If it be objected, that the Fathers commonly do call bishops successors of the apostles; to assoil that objection we may consider, that whereas the apostolical office virtually did contain the functions of teaching and ruling God's people; the which, for preservation of Christian doctrine and edification of the church, were requisite to be continued perpetually in ordinary standing offices, these indeed were derived from the apostles, but not properly in way of succession, as by univocal propagation, but by ordination, imparting all the power needful for such offices; which therefore were exercised by persons during the apostles' lives concurrently, or in subordination to them; even as a dictator at Rome might create inferior magistrates, who derived from him, but not as his successors; for, as Bellarmine himself telleth us, "there can be no proper succession, but in respect of one preceding; but apostles and bishops were together in the church."*

The Fathers therefore so in a large sense call all bishops successors of the apostles; not meaning that any one of them did succeed into the whole apostolical office, but that each did receive his power from some one (immediately or mediately) whom some apostle did constitute bishop, vesting him with authority to feed the particular flock committed to him in way of ordinary charge; according to the sayings of that apostolical person, Clemens Romanus: "The apostles preaching in regions and cities, did constitute their first converts, having approved them by the Spirit, for bishops and deacons of those who should afterward believe," and "having constituted the foresaid" (bishops and deacons), "they withal gave them further charge, that if they should die, other approved men successively should receive their office:"† thus did the bishops supply the room of the apostles, "each in guiding his particular charge,"‡ all of them together, by mutual aid, conspiring to govern the whole body of the church.

8. In which regard it may be said, that not one single bishop, but all bishops together through the whole church, do

* Quis nescit illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet episcopatui præferendum?—*Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don.* ii. 1.

† Episcopi nullam habent partem veræ apostolicæ auctoritatis.—*Bell.* iv. 25.

‡ The apostoles themselves do make the apostolate a distinct office from pastors and teachers, which are the standing offices in the church.—Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

* Non succeditur proprie nisi præcedenti, at simul fuerunt in ecclesia apostoli et episcopi ——. *Bell. de Pont. R.* iv. 25.

† Κατὰ χώρας καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν.—Clem. ad Corinth. i. p. 54. Κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομὴν ἐπιδεδώκασι, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.—Ibid. p. 57.

‡ Singulis pastoribus portio gregis adscripta est, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

succeed St. Peter, or any other apostle; for that all of them, in union together, have an universal sovereign authority, commensurate to an apostle.

9. This is the notion which St. Cyprian doth so much insist upon, affirming that the bishops do succeed St. Peter and the other apostles, "by vicarious ordinations;"* that "the bishops are apostles;"† that there is but "one chair by the Lord's word built upon one Peter;‡ one undivided bishopric, diffused in the peaceful numerosity of may bishops, whereof each bishop doth hold his share;|| one flock, whom the apostles by unanimous agreement did feed," and "which afterwards the bishops do feed;" having "a portion thereof allotted to each, which he should govern."§

So the synod of Carthage, with St. Cyprian.¶

So also St. Chrysostom saith, that "the sheep of Christ were committed by him to Peter, and to those after him,"** that is, in his meaning to all bishops.

10. Such, and no other power, St. Peter might devolve on any bishop ordained by him in any church which he did constitute or inspect; as in that of Antioch, of Alexandria, of Babylon, of Rome.

The like did the other apostles communicate, who had the same power with St. Peter in founding and settling churches;= whose successors of this kind were equal to those of the same kind, whom St. Peter did constitute; enjoying in their several precincts an equal part of the apostolical power, as St. Cyprian often doth assert.

11. It is in consequence observable, that in those churches, whereof the apostles themselves were never accounted bishops, yet the bishops are called successors of the apostles; which cannot otherwise be understood, than according to the sense which we have proposed; that is, because they succeeded those who were constituted by the apostles; according to those sayings of Irenæus and Tertullian, "We can number those who were instituted bishops by the apostles and their successors;"* and, "All the churches do shew those, whom, being by the apostles constituted in the episcopal office, they have as continuers of the apostolical seed."†

So, although St. Peter was never reckoned bishop of Alexandria, yet because it is reported that he placed St. Mark there, the bishop of Alexandria is said to succeed the apostles.‡

And because St. John did abide at Ephesus, inspecting that church, and "appointing bishops there," the bishops of that see did "refer their origin to him."||

So many bishops did claim from St. Paul.

So St. Cyprian and Firmillian do assert themselves "successors of the apostles,"§ who yet perhaps never were at Carthage or Cæsarea.

* Præpositos, qui apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt ——. *Ep.* 69, 42, 75.

† Apostolos, id est, episcopos et præpositos Dominus elegit.—*Ep.* 65.

‡ Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata ——. *Ep.* 40, et *Ep.* 73, et *de Unit. Eccl.*

|| Episcopatus unus, episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus.—*Ep.* 52. Episcopatus unus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.—*De Unit. Eccl.*

§ Et pastores sunt omnes, sed grex unus ostenditur qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione pascatur—*De Unit. Eccl.* Nam etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas, &c.—*Ep.* 67. For though we are many pastors, yet we feed one flock, and all the sheep, &c.

¶ Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a patre sibi datam permittentis quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes. The mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ is manifest in sending his apostles, and allowing the power given him of the Father to them alone, whose successors we are, governing the church of God by the same power.

** Τὰ πρόβατα——ἀ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνεχείρισε.—Chrys. de Sacerd. 1.

* Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi, et successores eorum usque ad nos ——. *Iren.* iii. 3

† Proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habent. *Tert. de Præscr.* 32.

‡ Τέταρτος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν τῶν αὐτόθι λειτουργίαν κληροῦται Πρῖμος.—Eus. Hist. iv. 1. Primus is the fourth from the apostles who was the bishop of that place, or obtained the ministry there.

|| Ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, &c.—Clem. Alex. apud Eus. iii. 23. Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit autorem.—*Tert. in Marc.* iv. 5; Tert. de Præs. xxxii.

§ Unitatem a Domino et per apostoles nobis successoribus traditam.—*Cypr.* Ep. 42. Adversarii nostri qui apostolis successimus.—*Firmil. In Cypr.* Ep. 75.

= Hier. ad Evagr.

So the church of Constantinople is often, in the Acts of the Sixth General Council, called "this great apostolic church," being such churches as those of whom Tertullian saith, that "although they do not produce any of the apostles or apostolical men for their author, yet conspiring in the same faith, are no less, for the consanguinity of doctrine, reputed apostolical."[o]

Yea, hence St. Jerome doth assert a parity of merit and dignity sacerdotal to all bishops; because, saith he, "all of them are successors to the apostles,"[n] having all alike power by their ordination conferred on them.

12. Whereas our adversaries do pretend that indeed the other apostles had an extraordinary charge as legates of Christ,[o] which had no succession, but was extinct in their persons; but that St. Peter had a peculiar charge, as ordinary pastor of the whole church, which surviveth:

To this it is enough to rejoin, that it is a mere figment, devised for a shift, and affirmed precariously: having no ground either in holy scripture or in ancient tradition; there being no such distinction in the sacred or ecclesiastical writings; no mention occuring there of any office which he did assume, or which was attributed to him, distinct from that extraordinary one of an apostle; and all the pastoral charge imaginable being ascribed by the ancients to all the apostles in regard to the whole church, as hath been sufficiently declared.

13. In fine, if any such conveyance of power (of power so great, so momentous, so mightily concerning the perpetual state of the church, and of each person therein) had been made, it had been (for general direction and satisfaction, for voiding all doubt and debate about it, for stifling these pretended heresies and schisms) very requisite that it should have been expressed in some authentic record, that a particular law should have been extant concerning it, that all posterity should be warned to yield the submission grounded thereon.

Indeed a matter of so great consequence to the being and welfare of the church could scarce have scaped from being clearly mentioned somewhere or other in scripture, wherein so much is spoken touching ecclesiastical discipline; it could scarce have avoided the pen of the first Fathers (Clemens, Ignatius, the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions, Tertullian, &c.), who also so much treat concerning the function and authority of Christian governors.

Nothing can be more strange, than that in the Statute-book of the New Jerusalem, and in all the original monuments concerning it, there should be such a dead silence concerning the succession of its chief magistrate.

Wherefore, no such thing appearing, we may reasonably conclude no such thing to have been, and that our adversaries' assertion of it is wholly arbitrary, imaginary, and groundless.

14. I might add, as a very convincing argument, that if such a succession had been designed, and known in old times, it is morally impossible that none of the Fathers (Origen, Chrysostom, Augustine, Cyril, Jerome, Theodoret, &c.), in their exposition of the places alleged by the Romanists for the primacy of St. Peter, should declare that primacy to have been derived and settled on St. Peter's successor: a point of that moment, if they had been aware of it, they could not but have touched, as a most useful application, and direction for duty.

SUPPOSITION III.

They affirm, "That St. Peter was Bishop of Rome."

CONCERNING which assertion we say, that it may with great reason be denied, and that it cannot anywise be assured; as will appear by the following considerations.

1. St. Peter's being bishop of Rome would confound the offices which God made distinct; for *God did appoint first apostles, then prophets, then pastors and teachers;*[p] wherefore St. Peter, after he was an apostle, could not well become a

[o] —— ab illis ecclesiis, quæ licet nullum ex apostolis, vel apostolicis auctorem suum proferant, ut multo posteriores, quæ denique quotidie instituuntur, tamen in eadem fide conspirantes, non minus apostolicæ deputantur, pro consanguinitate doctrinæ.—*Tert. de Præscr.* 32.

[n] Hier. ad Evagr. [o] Bell. iv. 25, &c.

[p] 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11.

bishop; it would be such an irregularity as if a bishop should be made a deacon.

2. The offices of an apostle and of a bishop are not in their nature well consistent; for the apostleship is an extraordinary office, charged with instruction and government of the whole world, and calling for an answerable care ("the apostles being rulers," as St. Chrysostom saith, "ordained by God; rulers not taking several nations and cities, but all of them in common intrusted with the whole world;)* but episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge, affixed to one place, and requiring a special attendance there; bishops being pastors, who, as St. Chrysostom saith, "do sit, and are employed in one place."† Now he that hath such a general care can hardly discharge such a particular office; and he that is fixed to so particular attendance can hardly look well after so general a charge: either of those offices alone would suffice to take up a whole man, as those tell us who have considered the burden incumbent on the meanest of them; the which we may see described in St. Chrysostom's discourses concerning the priesthood.

Baronius saith of St. Peter, that it was his office not to stay in one place, but, as much as it was possible for one man, to travel over the whole world, and to bring those who did not yet believe to the faith, but thoroughly to establish believers:"‡ if so, how could he be bishop of Rome, which was an office inconsistent with such vagrancy?

3. It would not have beseemed St. Peter, the prime apostle, to assume the charge of a particular bishop; it had been a degradation of himself, and a disparagement to the apostolical majesty, for him to take upon him the bishopric of Rome; as if the king should become mayor of London; as if the bishop of London should be vicar of Pancras.

4. Wherefore it is not likely that St. Peter, being sensible of that superior charge belonging to him, which did exact a more extensive care, would vouchsafe to undertake an inferior charge.

We cannot conceive that St. Peter did affect the name of a bishop, as now men do, allured by the baits of wealth and power, which then were none: if he did affect the title, why did he not in either of his Epistles (one of which, as they would persuade us, was written from Rome) inscribe himself bishop of Rome?

Especially considering that, being an apostle, he did not need any particular authority, that involving all power, and enabling him in any particular place to execute all kinds of ecclesiastical administrations: there was no reason that an apostle (or universal bishop) should become a particular bishop.

5. Also St. Peter's general charge of converting and inspecting the Jews, dispersed over the world (*his apostleship*, as St. Paul calleth it, *of the circumcision*),* which required much travel, and his presence in divers places, doth not well agree to his assuming the episcopal office at Rome.

Especially at that time, when they first make him to assume it; which was in the time of Claudius, who, as St. Luke and other histories do report,[q] did banish all the Jews from Rome, as Tiberius also had done before him: he was too skilful a fisherman to cast his net there, where there were no fish.

6. If we consider St. Peter's life, we may well deem him uncapable of this office, which he could not conveniently discharge; for it, as history doth represent it, and may be collected from divers circumstances of it, was very unsettled; he went much about the world, and therefore could seldom reside at Rome.

Many have argued him to have never been at Rome; which opinion I shall not avow, as bearing a more civil respect to ancient testimonies and traditions; although many false and fabulous relations of that kind having crept into history and common vogue, many doubtful reports having passed concerning him,[r]

* Ἄρχοντές εἰσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ ἀπόστολοι· ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις διαφόρους λαμβάνοντες ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐμπιστευθέντες.—Chrys. tom. viii. p. 115.

† Οἱ καθήμενοι καὶ περὶ ἕνα τόπον ἠσχολημένοι.—Chrys. in Eph. iv. 11.

‡ Non erat ejus officii in uno loco consistere, sed quantum homini licuisset universum peragrare orbem, et nondum credentes ad fidem perducere, credentes vero in fide penitus stabilire.—*Baron.* ann. lviii. § 51.

* Ἀποστολὴ περιτομῆς,—Gal. ii. 8.

[q] Acts xviii. 2; Sueton. in Claud. 25, in Tib. 36.

[r] Euseb. iii. 3.

many notorious forgeries having been vented about his travels and acts (all that is reported of him out of scripture having a smack of the legend), would tempt a man to suspect any thing touching him which is grounded only upon human tradition; so that the forger of his Epistle to St. James might well induce him saying, "If while I do yet survive, men dare to feign such things of me, how much more will they dare to do so after my decease?"*

But at least the discourses of those men have evinced, that it is hard to assign the time when he was at Rome; and that he could never long abide there; for,

The time which old tradition assigneth of his going to Rome is rejected by divers learned men, even of the Roman party.[s]

He was often in other places; sometimes at Jerusalem, sometimes at Antioch, sometimes at Babylon, sometimes at Corinth, sometimes probably at each of those places unto which he directeth his catholic Epistles;[t] among which Epiphanius saith, that "Peter did often visit Pontus and Bithynia."†

And that he seldom was at Rome, may well be collected from St. Paul's writings; for he writing at different times one Epistle to Rome, and divers Epistles from Rome (that to the Galatians, that to the Ephesians, that to the Philippians, that to the Colossians, and the second to Timothy), doth never mention him, sending any salutation to him, or from him.

Particularly St. Peter was not there when St. Paul mentioning Tychicus, Onesimus, Aristarchus, Marcus, and Justus, addeth, *These alone my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort unto me.*[u]

He was not there when St. Paul said, *At my first defence no man stood with me, but all men forsook me.*[v]

He was not there immediately before St. Paul's death (*when the time of his departure was at hand,*) when he telleth Timothy, that *all the brethren did salute him*, and naming divers of them, he omitteth Peter.[w]

Which things being considered, it is not probable that St. Peter would assume the episcopal chair of Rome, he being little capable to reside there, and for that other needful affairs would have forced him to leave so great a church destitute of their pastor.

7. It was needless that he should be bishop, for that by virtue of his apostleship (involving all the power of inferior degrees) he might, whenever he should be at Rome, exercise episcopal functions and authority. What need a sovereign prince to be made a justice of peace?

8. Had he done so, he must have given a bad example of non-residence;[x] a practice that would have been very ill relished in the primitive church, as we may see by several canons interdicting offences of kin to it* (it being, I think, then not so known as nominally to be censured), and culpable upon the same ground; and by the savings of Fathers condemning practices approaching to it.

Even later synods, in more corrupt times and in the declension of good order, yet did prohibit this practice.†

* Εἰ δὲ ἐμοῦ ἔτι περίοντος τοιαῦτα τολμῶσιν κατεψεύδεσθαι, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμὲ ποιεῖν οἵ μετ' ἐμὲ τολμήσουσι;—Petr. ad Jacob.

† Πέτρος πολλάκις Πόντον καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπεσκέψατο.—Epiph. Hær. 27.

[s] Scal in Euseb. p. 189; Onuph. apud Bell. ii. 6; Vales in Euseb. ii. 15.

[t] Acts xi. 2; xv. 7; Gal. i. 18; ii. 9, 11; 1 Pet. v. 13; 1 Cor. i. 12; Euseb. ii. 25; 2 Pet. iii. 2; 1 Pet. i. 1.

[u] Col. iv. 11.

* Ὁ δὲ ἀναγνοὺς τὰς γραφὰς, ἡλίκον ἐστὶ δὴ ἔγκλημα καταλιμπάνειν ἐπίσκοπον τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀμελεῖν τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ποιμνίων.—Athan. Apol. 1. Having read the scriptures you know how great an offence it is for a bishop to forsake his church, and to neglect the flocks of God. Oportet enim episcopos curis secularibus expeditos curam suorum agere populorum, nec ecclesiis suis abesse diutius.—*P. Paschal. II. Ep.* 22. For bishops ought to be disentangled from secular cares, and to take charge of their people, and not to be long absent from their churches.

† Præcipimus ne conductitiis ministris ecclesiæ committantur, et unaquæque ecclesia, cui facultas suppetit, proprium habeat sacerdotem. —*Conc. Lat.* 2, (*sub. Innoc. II.*) can. 10. We enjoin that churches be not committed to hired ministers, but that every church, that is of ability, have its proper priest. Cum igitur ecclesia vel ecclesiasticum ministerium committi debuerit, talis ad hoc persona quæratur, quæ residere in loco, et curam ejus per seipsum valet exercere; quod si aliter fuerit actum, et qui

[v] 2 Tim iv. 16. [w] 2 Tim. iv. 6, 21.

[x] Conc. Nic. can. 16; Conc. Ant. can. 3; Conc. Sard. can. 11, 12; Conc. Trul. can. 80.

Epiphanius, therefore, did well infer, that it was needful the apostles should constitute bishops resident at Rome: "It was" (saith he) "possible, that, the apostles Peter and Paul yet surviving, other bishops should be constituted; because the apostles often did take journeys into other countries, for preaching Christ: but the city of Rome could not be without a bishop."*

9. If St. Peter were bishop of Rome, he thereby did offend against divers other good ecclesiastical rules, which either were in practice from the beginning, or at least the reason of them was always good, upon which the church did afterward enact them; so that either he did ill in thwarting them, or the church had done it in establishing them, so as to condemn his practice.

10. It was against rule,[7] that any bishop should desert one church, and transfer himself to another; and indeed against reason, such a relation and endearment being contracted between a bishop and his church, which cannot well be dissolved.

But St. Peter is by ecclesiastical historians reported (and by Romanists admitted) to have been bishop of Antioch for seven years together.†

He therefore did ill to relinquish that church, "that most ancient and truly apostolic church of Antioch"‡ (as the Constantinopolitan Fathers called it), and to place his See at Rome.

This practice was esteemed bad, and of very mischievous consequence; earnestly reproved, as heinously criminal, by great Fathers; severely condemned by divers synods.

Particularly a transmigration from a lesser and poorer to a greater and more wealthy bishopric (which is the present case), was checked by them, as rankly savouring of selfish ambition or avarice.

The synod of Alexandria (in Athanasius), in its Epistle to all catholic bishops, doth say, that Eusebius, by passing from Berytus to Nicomedia, "had annulled his episcopacy," making it "an adultery," worse than that which is committed by marriage upon divorce:* "Eusebius" (say they) "did not consider the apostle's admonition, *Art thou bound to a wife? do not seek to be loosed:* for if it be said of a woman, how much more of a church; of the same bishopric; to which one being tied, ought not to seek another, that he may not be found also *an adulterer*, according to the holy scripture?"† Surely when they said this, they did forget what St. Peter was said to have done in that kind; as did also the Sardican Fathers in their synodical letter, extant in the same Apology of Athanasius, condemning "translations from lesser cities unto greater dioceses."‡

The same practice is forbidden by the synods of Nice I., of Chalcedon, of Antioch, of Sardica, of Arles I., &c.[8]

In the synod under Mennas, it was laid to the charge of Anthimus, that having been bishop of Trabisond, he had "adulterously snatched the see of Constantinople, against all ecclesiastical laws and canons."||

Yea, great popes of Rome (little con-

receperit, quod contra canctos canones accepit, amittat.—*Conc. Lat.* 3, (*sub Alexandro III.*) cap, 13. Therefore when a church, or the ecclesiastical ministry, be to be committed to any man, let such a person be found out for this purpose, who can reside upon the place, and discharge the cure by himself: but if it prove otherwise, then let him who has received lose that which he has taken contrary to the holy canons.

* Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἠδύνατο ἔτι περιόντων τῶν ἀποστόλων, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Πέτρον καὶ Παῦλον, ἐπισκόπους ἄλλους καθίστασθαι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀποστόλους πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας πατρίδας τὴν πορείαν στέλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἄνευ ἐπισκόπου εἶναι.—Epiph. Hær. 27.

† Τοῦ μεγάλου Πέτρου θρόνον ἡ Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλόποχις ἔχει.—Theodor. Ep. 86. The great city of the Antiochians hath the throne of the great St. Peter.

‡ Τὴν πρεσβυτάτην καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.—Theod. v. 6.

[7] Apost. Can. 14.

* Ἀκυρώσας αὐτήν.—Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 726.

† Οὐ συνορῶν τὸ παράγγελμα, δέδεσαι γυναικί, μὴ ζήτει λύσιν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὸς τὸ ῥητὸν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, ᾗ ὁ συνδεθεὶς ἄλλην οὐκ ὀφείλει ζητεῖν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ μοιχὸς παρὰ ταῖς θείαις εὑρίσκεται γραφαῖς.—Syn. Alex. apud Athan. p. 727.

‡ Τὰς μεταθέσεις ἀπὸ μικρῶν πόλεων εἰς μείζονας παροικίας.—Ibid. p. 765.

|| —— ἠδυνήθη μοιχικῶς τὸν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερατικὸν ὀφαρπάσαι θρόνον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ κανόνας.—Conc. sub. Menn. p. 9.

[8] Syn. Nic. can. 15; Syn. Chalc. can. 5; Syn. Ant. can. 21; Syn. Sard. can. 1; Syn. Arel. can. 22; Grat. Caus. viii. qu. 1, cap. 4; P. Jul. I. apud Athan. in Apol. ii. p. 744.

sidering how peccant therein their predecessor Pope Peter was), Pope Julius and Pope Damasus, did greatly tax this practice; whereof the latter, in his synod at Rome, did excommunicate all those who should commit it.*

In like manner Pope Leo I.†

These laws were so indispensable, that in respect to them Constantine M., who much loved and honoured Eusebius, (acknowledging him in the common judgment of the world deserving to be bishop of the whole church), did not like that he should accept the bishopric of Antioch, to which he was invited; and commended his waving it, as an act not only "consonant to the ecclesiastical canons," but "acceptable to God, and agreeable to apostolical tradition:"[a] so little aware was the good emperor of St. Peter being translated from Antioch to Rome.

In regard to the same law, Gregory Nazianzen (a person of so great worth, and who had deserved so highly of the church at Constantinople) could not be permitted to retain his bishopric of that church, to which he had been called from that small one of Sasima. "The synod," (saith Sozomen), "observing the ancient laws and the ecclesiastical rule, did receive his bishopric from him, being willingly offered, nowise regarding the great merits of the person;"‡ the which synod surely would have excluded St. Peter from the bishopric of Rome: and it is observable that Pope Damascus did approve and exhort those Fathers to that proceeding.*

We may indeed observe that Pope Pelagius II. did excuse the translation of bishops by the example of St. Peter: "For who ever dareth to say," argueth he, "that St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, did not act well, when he changed his see from Antioch to Rome?"†

But I think it more advisable to excuse St. Peter from being author of a practice judged so irregular, by denying the matter of fact laid to his charge.

11. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing, "contrary" (saith St. Cyprian) "to the ecclesiastical disposition, contrary to the evangelical law, contrary to the unity of catholic institution;"‡ "a symbol" (saith another ancient writer) "of dissension, and disagreeable to ecclesiastical law;"|| which therefore was condemned by the synod of Nice by Pope Cornelius, by Pope Innocent I., and others, that two bishops preside together in one city.[b]

This was condemned with good reason; for this on the church's part would be a kind of spiritual polygamy; this would render a church a monster with two heads; this would destroy the end of episcopacy, which is unity and "prevention of schisms."§

But if St. Peter was bishop of Rome,

* Τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ ἐκκλησιῶν εἰς ἑτέρας ἐκκλησίας μετελθόντας ἄχρι τοσούτου ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀλλοτρίους ἔχομεν, ἄχρι οὗ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπανέλθωσι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς πρῶτον ἐχειροτονήθησαν.—Theod. v. 11. Those that pass from their own churches to other churches, we esteem so long excommunicate (or strangers from our communion), till such time as they return to the same cities where they were first ordained.

† Si quis episcopus, mediocritate civitatis suæ despecta, administrationem loci celebrioris ambierit, et ad majorem se plebem quacunque occasione transtulerit, non solum a cathedra quidem pellatur aliena, sed carebit et propria, &c.—*P. Leo. I.* Ep. lxxxiv. cap. 4. If any bishop, despising the meanness of this city, seeks for the administration of a more eminent place, and upon any occasion whatsoever transfers himself to a greater People, he shall not only be driven out of another's see, but also lose his own, &c.

‡ Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ σύνοδος καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους, καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν τάξιν φυλάττουσα, ὁ δέδωκε παρ' ἑκόντος ἀπέλαβε, μηδὲν αἰδεσθεῖσα τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πλεονεκτημάτων.—Sozom. vii. 7.

[a] Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 61.

* Illud præterea commoneo dilectionem vestram, ne patiamini aliquem contra statuta majorum nostrorum de civitate alia ad aliam transduci, et deserere plebem sibi commissam, &c.—*P. Damasi Epist. apud Holsten.* p. 41, et *R. Marc.* v. 21. Moreover this I advise you, that out of your charity you would not suffer any one, against the decrees of our ancestors, to be removed from one city to another, and to forsake the people committed to his charge, &c.

† Quis enim unquam audet dicere S. Petrum apostolorum principem non bene egisse, quando mutavit sedem de Antiochia in Romam?—*Pelag. II.* Ep. 1.

‡ Contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra institutionis catholicæ unitatem ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 44, (ut et Ep. 46, 52, 55, 58.)

|| Ὁ διχονοίας σύμβολόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ θεσμοῦ ἀλλότριον.—Soz. iv. 15.

§ In remedium schismatis.—*Hier.*

[b] Syn. Nic. can. 8; Corn. ap. Eus. vi. 43; Cypr. Ep. 46; P. Innoc. ap. Sozom. viii. 26; Opt. I. Cathedra una.

this irregularity was committed: for the same authority upon which St. Peter's episcopacy of Rome is built, doth also reckon St. Paul bishop of the same; the same writers do make both founders and planters of the Roman church, and the same call both bishops of it: wherefore if episcopacy be taken in a strict and proper sense, agreeable to this controversy, that rule must needs be infringed thereby.

Irenæus saith, "that the Roman church was founded and constituted by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul;"* Dionysius of Corinth calleth it "the plantation of Peter and Paul;"† Epiphanius saith, that "Peter and Paul were first at Rome both apostles and bishops;"‡ so Eusebius implieth, saying, that Pope Alexander "derived a succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul."||

Wherefore both of them were Roman bishops, or neither of them: in reason and rule neither of them may be called so in a strict, and proper sense; but in a larger and improper sense, both might be so styled.

Indeed, that St. Paul was in some acception bishop of Rome (that is, had a supreme superintendence or inspection of it) is reasonable to affirm; because he did for a good time reside there, and during that residence could not but have the chief place, could be subject to no other: *He*, saith St. Luke) *did abide two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that entered in unto him preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ with all confidence, no man forbidding him.*•

It may be inquired, if St. Peter was bishop of Rome, how he did become such? Did our Lord appoint him such? did the apostles all or any constitute him? did the people elect him? did he put himself into it? Of none of these things there is any appearance, nor any probability: *non constat.*

SUPPOSITION IV.

They affirm, "That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome after his translation, and was so at his decease."

AGAINST which assertions we may consider:

1. Ecclesiastical writers do affirm, that St. Peter (either alone, or together with St. Paul) did constitute other bishops; wherefore St. Peter was never bishop, or did not continue bishop there.

Irenæus saith, that "the apostles, founding and rearing that church, delivered the episcopal office into the hands of Linus;"* if so, how did they retain it in ther own hands, or persons? could they give, and have?

Tertullian saith, that "St. Peter did ordain Clement."†

In the Apostolical Constitutions (a very ancient book, and setting forth the most ancient traditions of the church), the apostles ordering prayers to be made for all bishops, and naming the principal, do reckon, not St. Peter, but Clement: "Let us pray for our bishop James, for our bishop Clemens, for our bishop Euodius," &c.

These reports are consistent, and reconciled by that which the Apostolical Constitutions affirm, that "Linus was first ordained bishop of the Roman church by Paul; but Clemens after the death of Linus by Peter in the second place."‡

Others between Linus and Clemens do interpose Cletus, or Anacletus (some taking these for one, others for two persons), which doth not alter the case.||

* —— a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundata et constituta ecclesia.—*Iren.* iii. 3. iii. 1.

† Τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν——. Dionys. Corinth. apud Euseb. ii. 25.

‡ Ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγένασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι.—Epiph. Hær. 27.

|| Πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν.—Euseb. iv. 1.

• Acts xxviii. 30.

* Θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. Iren. apud Euseb. v. 6.

† Romanorum ecclesiæ Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit.—*Tert. de Præscr.* 32.

Ex quibus electum magnum plebique probatum,
Hac cathedra, Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum
Maxima Roma Linum primum considere jussit.
Tert. in Marc. iii. 9.

‡ Τῆς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας Λίνος μὲν ὁ Κλαυδίας πρῶτος ὑπὸ Παύλου, Κλήμης δὲ μετὰ τὸν Λίνου θάνατον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου δεύτερος κεχειροτόνηται.—Const. Ap. vii. 46.

|| Euseb. iii. 4, 13; Aug. Ep. 165; Epiph. Hær. 27; Opt. 2; Tertull. poem. in Marc. iii. 9; Phot. Cod. 112, (p. 290.) N. Eusebius (iii. 2.) saith, that Linus did sit bishop *after the*

Now hence we may infer, both that St. Peter never was bishop; and upon supposition that he was, that he did not continue so. For,

2. If he had ever been bishop, he could not well lay down his office, or subrogate another, either to preside with him, or to succeed him; according to the ancient rules of discipline, and that which passed for right in the primitive church.

This practice Pope Innocent I. condemned as irregular, and never known before his time: "We" (saith he in his Epistle to the clergy and people of Constantinople) "never have known these things to have been adventured by our fathers, but rather to have been hindered; for that none hath power given him to ordain another in the place of one living*:" he did not (it seems) consider, that St. Peter had used such a power.

Accordingly the synod of Antioch (to secure the tradition and practice of the church, which began by some to be infringed) did make this sanction, that "it should not be lawful for any bishop to constitute another in his room to succeed him; although it were at the point of death."†

3. But supposing St. Peter were bishop once, yet, by constituting Linus or Clemens in his place, he ceased to be so, and divested himself of that place; for it had been a great irregularity for him to continue bishop together with another.

That being, in St. Cyprian's judgment, the ordination of Linus had been void and null; for, "Seeing" (saith that holy martyr) "there cannot after the first be any second, whoever is after one, who ought to be sole bishop, he is not now second, but none."‡

Upon this ground, when the Emperor Constantius would have procured Felix to sit bishop of Rome together with Pope Liberius, at his return from banishment (after his compliance with the Arians), the people of Rome would not admit it, exclaming, "One God, one Christ, one bishop;" and whereas Felix soon after that died, the historian remarketh it as "a special providence of God, that Peter's throne might not suffer infamy, being governed under two prelates;"* he never considered that St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Peter and Linus, had thus governed that same church.

Upon this account St. Austin, being assumed by Valerius with him to be bishop of Hippo, did afterwards discern and acknowledge his error.†

In fine, to obviate this practice, so many canons of councils (both general and particular) were made, which we before did mention.

4. In sum, when St. Peter did ordain others (as story doth accord in affirming), either he did retain the episcopacy, and then (beside need, reason, and rule) there were concurrently divers bishops of Rome, at one time; or he did quite relinquish, and finally divorce himself from the office, so that he did not die bishop of Rome, the which overturneth the main ground of the Romish pretence.‡ Or will they say that St. Peter, having laid aside the office for a time, did afterward before his death resume it? Then what became of Linus, of Cletus, of Clemens? were they dispossessed of their function? would St. Peter "succeed them in it?"

martyrdom of St. Peter: but this is not so probable, as that which the author of the Constitutions doth affirm, which reconcileth the dissonancies of writers.

* Οὐδὲ γὰρ πώποτε παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ταῦτα τετολμῆσθαι ἐγνώκαμεν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κεκωλύσθαι, τῷ μηδενὶ εἰς τόπον ζῶντος χειροτονεῖν ἄλλον δεδόσθαι ἐξουσίαν.—P. Inn I. apud Soz. viii. 26.

† Ἐπισκόπῳ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ καθίστασθαι ἕτερον, κἂν περὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου τυγχάνῃ.—Syn. Ant. Can. 23.

‡ Cum post primum secundus esse non possit; quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, non jam secundus ille, sed nullus est.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52.

* Theod. Hist. ii. 17.—Τούτῳ πῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσαντος, ὥστε τὸν Πέτρου θρόνον μὴ δόξειν ὑπὸ δύο ἡγεμόσιν ἰθυνόμενον.

† Adhuc in corpore posito beatæ memoriæ patre et episcopo meo sene Valerio episcopus ordinatus sum, et sedi cum illo; quod concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam, nec ipse sciebat.—*Aug. Ep.* 110. While my father and bishop of blessed memory, old Valerius, was yet living, I was ordained bishop, and held the see with him; which I knew not, nor did he know, to be forbidden by the council of Nice.

‡ Ipse sublimavit sedem, in qua etiam quiescere, et præsentem vitam finire dignatus est. —*Greg. I.* Ep. vi. 37; *Innoc. I.* Ep. 21; *P. Nic. I.* Ep. ix. p. 509; *Grat. Caus.* viii. q. i. cap. 1. He advanced that see, wherein he vouchsafed both to set up his rest, and also to end this present life.—Bell. ii. 12, § At vero.—

This in Bellarmine's own judgment "had been plainly intolerable."*

5. To avoid all which difficulties in the case, and perplexities in story, it is reasonable to understand those of the ancients who call Peter bishop of Rome, and Rome the place, the chair, the see of Peter, as meaning that he was bishop or superintendent of that church, in a large sense; because he did found the church by converting men to the Christian faith; because he did erect the chair by ordaining the first bishops; because he did, in virtue both of his apostolical office and his special parental relation to that church, maintain a particular inspection over it, when he was there: which notion is not new; for of old Ruffinus affirmeth that he had it, not from his own invention, but from tradition of others: "Some" (saith he) "inquire how, seeing Linus and Cletus were bishops in the city of Rome before Clement, Clement himself, writing to James, could say, that the see was delivered to him by Peter: whereof this reason has been given us; viz. that Linus and Cletus were indeed bishops of Rome before Clement, but Peter being yet living; viz. that they might take the episcopal charge, but he fulfilled the office of the apostleship."†

6. This notion may be confirmed by divers observations.

It is observable, that the most ancient writers, living nearest the fountains of tradition, do not expressly style St. Peter bishop of Rome, but only say that he did found that church, instituting and ordaining bishops there;[d] as the other apostles did in the churches which they settled; so that the bishops there in a large sense did succeed him, as deriving their power from his ordination, and supplying his room in the instruction and governance of that great church. Yea, their words, if we well mark them, do exclude the apostles from the episcopacy.* Which words the later writers (who did not foresee the consequence, nor what an exorbitant superstructure would be raised on that slender bottom, and who were willing to comply with the Roman bishops, affecting by all means to reckon St. Peter for their predecessor) did easily catch, and not well distinguishing, did call him bishop, and St. Paul also, so making two heads of one church.

7. It is also observable, that in the recencions of the Roman bishops, sometimes the apostles are reckoned in, sometimes excluded.

So Eusebius calleth Clemens "the third bishop of Rome," yet before him he reckoneth Linus and Anacletus.

And of Alexander he saith, that "he deduced his succession in the fifth place from Peter and Paul,"† that is, excluding the apostles.

And Hygnius is thus accounted sometime the eighth, sometime the ninth bishop of Rome.[f]

The same difference in reckoning may be observed in other churches; for instance, although St. Peter is called no less bishop of Antioch than of Rome by the ancients, yet Eusebius saith, that "Euodius was first bishop of Antioch;" and another "bids the Antiocheans remember Euodius, who was first intrusted with the presidency over them by the apostles."‡

Other instances may be seen in the notes of Cotelerius upon the Apostolical Constitutions, where he maketh this general observation:

"It is an usual custom with the apostles, according to their power, ordinary or

* Petrum apostolum successisse in episcopatu Antiocheno alicui ex discipulis, quod est, plene intolerandum.—*Bell.* ii. 6.

† Quidam enim requirunt quo modo, cum Linus et Cletus in urbe Roma ante Clementem hunc fuerint episcopi, ipse Clemens ad Jacobum scribens, sibi dicat a Petro docendi cathedram traditam; cujus rei hanc accepimus esse rationem, quod Linus et Cletus fuerund quidem ante Clementem episcopi in urbe Roma, sed superstite Petro; videlicet ut illi episcopatus curam gererent, ipse vero apostolatus impleret officium.— *Ruffin. in Præf. ad Clem Recogn.*

[d] Const. Apost. vii. 46; Iren. iii. 3; Tertull.

* Fundantes igitur, et instruentes beati apostoli ecclesiam Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt.—*Iren.* iii. 3. The blessed apostles therefore founding and instructing the church, delivered the episcopal power of ordering and governing the church to Linus.

† Πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατάγων διαδοχήν.—Euseb. iv. 1.

‡ Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος Εὐόδιος ἐχρημάτισε.—Euseb. Chron. p. 7; Hist. iii. 22. Μνημονεύετε Εὐοδίου, ὃς πρῶτον ἐνεχειρίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑμετέραν προστασίαν. Pseud. Ignat. ad Ant. Eusebius counteth Annianus the first bishop of Alexandria, iii. 21.

* Euseb. iii. 4, 13, 15; Iren. iii. 3.

[f] Iren. i. 28; iii. 3, 4; Euseb. iv. 10.

extraordinary, episcopal or apostolical, to prefix,"* &c.: but it was needless to suppose these two powers when one was sufficient, it virtually containing the other.

This is an argument that the ancients were not assured in opinion that the apostles were bishops, or that they did not esteem them bishops in the same notion with others.

8. It is observable, that divers churches did take denomination from the apostles, and were called "apostolical thrones" or "chairs,"† not because the apostles themselves did sit bishops there, but because they did exercise their apostleship in teaching, and "in constituting bishops there," who, as Tertullian saith, "did propagate the apostolical seed."‡

So was Ephesus esteemed,|| because St. Paul did found it, and ordained Timothy there; and because St. John did govern and appoint bishops there.

So was Smyrna accounted, because Polycarpus "was settled there by the apostles, or by St. John."§

So Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, "had a controversy about metropolitical rights with Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea, as presiding in an apostolical see."*

So Alexander was deemed, because St. Mark was supposed by the appointment of St. Peter to sit there.

So were Corinth, Thessalonica, Philippi, called by Tertullian, because St. Paul did found them, and furnish them with pastors; in which respect peculiarly the bishops of those places were called successors of the apostles.[c]

So Constantinople did assume the title of an apostolical church,† probably because, according to tradition, St. Andrew did found that church, although Pope Leo I. would not allow that appellation.

Upon the same account might Rome at first be called an apostolical see; although afterward the Roman bishops did rather pretend to that denomination, upon account of St. Peter being bishop there: and the like may be said of Antioch.‡

9. It is observable, that the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, reciting the first bishop's constituted in several churches, doth not reckon any of the apostles; particularly not Peter, or Paul, or John.[b]

10. Again, any apostle, wherever he did reside by virtue of his apostolical office, without any other designation or assumption of a more special power, was qualified to preside there, exercising a superintendency comprehensive of all episcopal functions; so that it was needless that he should take upon himself the character or style of a bishop.

This (beside the tenor of ancient doctrine) doth appear from the demeanour of St. John, who never was reckoned "bish-

* Celebris mos est apostolos pro potestate eorum ordinaria vel extraordinaria, episcopali vel apostolica indiculis antistitum præfigere, aut ex iis eximere —*Cotel. Not.* p. 299.

† Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ.—*Tert. de Præscr.* 32. Ἀποστολικοὶ θρόνοι.—Soz i. 17; 2 Tim. i. 6.

‡ In canonicis autem scripturis ecclesiarum catholicarum quamplurium auctoritatem sequatur, inter quas sane illæ sunt, quæ apostolicas sedes habere, et epistolas accipere meruerunt.—*Aug. de Doc. Ch.* ii. 8. Let him follow the authority of those many catholic churches in the canonical scriptures, among which surely are those which had the honour to have apostolical sees, and to receive epistles from the apostles. Proinde utique et cæteræ exhibent quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habent.—*Tertull. de Præscr.* 32.

|| Sed et quæ est Ephesi ecclesia a Paulo quidem fundata, Johanne autem permanente apud eos usque ad Trajani tempora, &c.—*Iren.* iii. 3. And also the church of Ephesus, which was founded by St. Paul, St. John continuing with them till the time of Trajan, &c. Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Johannem stabit auctorem.—*Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5. Τῆς δὲ Ἐφέσου Τιμόθεος μὲν ὑπὸ Παύλου, Ἰωάννης δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου.—Apost. Const. vii. 46.

§ Ab apostolis in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus.—*Iren.* iii. 3. Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Johanne conlocatum.—*Tertull. de Præscr.* 32; *Euseb.* iii. 36. Τῆς κατὰ Σμύρναν ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τῶν αὐτοπτῶν, καὶ ὑπηρετῶν τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὑποχειριζομένης.—Euseb. iii. 36.

* Περὶ μητροπολιτικῶν δικαίων διεφέρετο πρὸς Ἀκάκιον τὸν Καισαρείας, ὡς ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἡγούμενος.—Sozom. iv. 25.

† Ἀποστολικοῦ τοῦτον θρόνου καταφρονεῖς.—Syn. Chalc. Act. x. p. 379, 284. Thou despisest this apostolical throne. ——Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον τὸν θεῖον Στάχυν καταστήσας, ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἣν ἐκεῖσε πρῶτος οὗτος ἐπήξατο.—Niceph. ii. 39. Forasmuch as having appointed holy Stachys the first bishop, in the church which he first settled there. Non dedignetur regiam civitatem, quam apostolicam non potest facere sedem ——. *P. Leo. I.* Ep. 54. Let him not disdain the royal city, which he cannot make an apostolic see.

‡ Memento quia apostolicam sedem regis ——. *Greg. M.* Ep. iv. 37. Remember you rule an apostolic see.

Tertull. de Præscr. 36.

Const. Apost. vii. 46.

op of Ephesus;" nor could he, without displacing Timothy, who by St. Paul was constituted bishop there, or succeeding in his room; yet he, abiding at Ephesus, did there discharge the office of a metropolitan;*—"governing the churches, and in the adjacent churches here constituting bishops, there forming whole churches, otherwhere allotting to the clergy persons designed by the Spirit."†

Such functions might St. Peter execute in the parts of Rome or Antioch, without being a bishop; and as the bishops of Asia did, saith Tertullian, "refer their original to St. John," so might the bishops of Italy, upon the like ground, "refer their original to St. Peter."‡

It is observable, that whereas St. Peter is affirmed to have been bishop of Antioch seven years before his access to Rome, that is, within the compass of St. Luke's story, yet he passeth over a matter of so great moment;[i] as St. Jerome observeth.||

I cannot grant, that if St. Luke had thought Peter sovereign of the church, and his episcopacy of a place a matter of such consequence, he would have slipped it over, being so obvious a thing, and coming in the way of his story.

He therefore, I conceive, was no bishop of Antioch, although a bishop at Antioch.§

11. If in objection to some of these discourses it be alleged, that St. James, our Lord's near kinsman, although he was an apostle, was made bishop of Jerusalem; and that for the like reason St. Peter might assume the bishopric of Rome;

I answer:

1. It is not certain that St. James the bishop of Jerusalem was an apostle (meaning an apostle of the primary rank;) for Eusebius (the greatest antiquary of the old times) doth reckon him "one of the seventy disciples."*

So doth the author of the Apostolical Constitutions in divers places suppose.†

Hegesippus (that most ancient historian) was of the same mind, who saith that "there were many of this name," and that this "James did undertake the church with the apostles."‡

Of the same opinion was Epiphanius,[j] who saith, that St. James was the son of Joseph by another wife.

The whole Greek church doth suppose the same, keeping three distinct solemnities for him and the two apostles of the same name.

Gregory Nyssen, St. Jerome, and divers other ancient writers, do concur herein, whom we may see alleged by Grotius, Dr. Hammond (who themselves did embrace the same opinion), Valesius, Blondel,[k] &c.

Salmasius (after his confident manner) saith, "it is certain that he was not one of the twelve:"|| I may at least say, it is not certain that he was, and consequently the objection is grounded on an uncertainty.

2. Granting that St. James was one of the apostles (as some of the ancients seem to think,§ calling him an apostle; and as divers modern divines conceive,

* Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μέχρι νῦν κζ' ἐπίσκοποι ἐγένοντο· πάντες ἐν Ἐφέσῳ χειροτονήθησαν.—Syn. Chal. Act. 11; 2 Tim. i. 6. From holy Timothy till now there have been seven and twenty bishops, and all ordained at Ephesus. Johanne autem permanente apud eos, &c.—*Iren.* iii. 3.

† Τὰς αὐτόθι διεῖπεν ἐκκλησίας——ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων· ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων· ὅπου δὲ κλήρῳ ἕνα γε τινὰ κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων.—Euseb. Hist. iii. 23.

‡ Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus in Joannem stabit auctorem.—*Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

|| Denique primum episcopum Antiochenæ ecclesiæ Petrum fuisse accepimus, et Romam exinde translatum, quod Lucas penitus omisit. —*Hier. in Gal.* 2. Lastly, we have received by tradition that Peter was the first bishop of Antioch, and from thence translated to Rome: which Luke has altogether omitted.

§ It is the distinction of a pope. Rex Etruriæ, et rex in Etruria.

[i] An. Ch. 39, Baron. § 8; Acts ix. 32; xi. 20.

* Εἷς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων τοῦ σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἦν.—Euseb. i. 12.

† Apost. Const. vi. 12, 14; ii. 55; vii. 46, &c. Ἡμεῖς οἱ δώδεκα ἅμα τῷ Ἰακώβῳ—vi. 12. We the twelve apostles together with James.

‡ Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰάκωβος.—Euseb. ii. 23.

|| Certum est non fuisse unum ex duodecim. —*Sal. Mess.* p. 20.

§ Hierosolymitanam, quam primus apostolus Jacobus episcopatu suo rexit—*Aug. Cont. Cresc.* ii. 37. The church of Jerusalem, which James the apostle first governed by his episcopal power.

[j] Epiph. Hær. 78.

[k] Grot. in Jac. i. 1; Hamm. Dissert. Ignat. iv. 3; Vales. in Euseb. i. 12; Blondel. in Epist. Clem. ad Jacob.

grounding chiefly upon these words of St. Paul, *But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother*,[1] and taking *apostles* there in the strictest sense), I answer:

That the case was peculiar, and there doth appear a special reason, why one of the apostles should be designed to make a constant residence at Jerusalem, and consequently to preside there like a bishop. For Jerusalem was the metropolis, the fountain, the centre of the Christian religion, where it had birth, where was greatest matter and occasion of propagating the gospel, most people disposed to embrace it resorting thither; where the church was very numerous, consisting, as St. Luke (or St. James in him) doth intimate, *of divers myriads of believing Jews*;[m] whence it might seem expedient, that a person of greatest authority should be fixed there for the confirming and improving that church, together with the propagation of religion among the people, which resorted thither; the which might induce the apostles to settle St. James there, both for discharging the office of an apostle, and the supplying the room of a bishop there.

According to him, saith Eusebius, "The episcopal throne was committed by the apostles;"* or, "Our Lord" (saith Epiphanius) "did intrust him with his own throne."†

But there was no need of fixing an apostle at other places; nor doth it appear that any was so fixed; especially St. Peter was uncapable of such an employment, requiring settlement and constant attendance, who, beside his general apostleship, had a peculiar apostleship of the dispersed Jews committed to him; who therefore was much engaged in travel for propagation of the faith, and edifying his converts every where.

3. The greater consent of the most ancient writers making St. James not to have been one of the twelve apostles, it is thence accountable, why (as we before noted) St. James was called by some ancient writers "the bishop of bishops, the prince of bishops," &c. because he was the first bishop of the "first See," the mother church; the apostles being excluded from the comparison.

Upon these considerations we have great reason to refuse the assertion or scandal cast on St. Peter, that he took on him to be bishop of Rome, in a strict sense, as it is understood in this controversy.

SUPPOSITION V.

A further assertion is this, superstructed by consequence on the former, "That the bishops of Rome (according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence) should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction" (containing the privileges and prerogatives formerly described) "over the Christian church."

This assertion to be very uncertain, yea, to be most false, I shall by divers considerations evince.

1. If any of the former suppositions be uncertain or false, this assertion, standing on those legs, must partake of those defects, and answerably be dubious or false. If either Peter was not monarch of the apostles, or if his privileges were not successive, or if he were not properly bishop of Rome at his decease, then farewell the Romish claim; if any of those things be dubious, it doth totter; if any of them prove false, then down it falleth.

But that each of them is false, hath, I conceive, been sufficiently declared; that all of them are uncertain, hath at least been made evident.

The structure therefore cannot be firm which relieth on such props.

2. Even admitting all those suppositions, the inference from them is not assuredly valid. For St. Peter might have an universal jurisdiction, he might derive it by succession, he might be bishop of Rome; yet no such authority might hence accrue to the Roman bishop, his successor in that see.

For that universal jurisdiction might be derived into another channel, and the bishop of Rome might in other respects be successor to him, without being so in this.

As for instance in the Roman empire,

* Ὡι πρὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεχείριστο θρόνος.—Euseb. ii. 23.

† Ὡι πεπίστευκε Κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ.—Epiph. Hær. 78.

[1] Gal. i. 19.

[m] Acts xxi. 20.

before any rule of succession was established therein, the emperor was sovereign governor, and he might die consul of Rome, having assumed that place to himself; yet when he died, the supreme authority did not lapse into the hands of the consul who succeeded him, but into the hands of the senate and people; his consular authority only going to his successor in that office. So might St. Peter's universal power be transferred unto the ecclesiastical college of bishops and of the church; his episcopal inferior authority over the singular παροικία, or province of Rome, being transmitted to his followers in that chair.

3. That in truth it was thus, and that all the authority of St. Peter, and of all other apostles, was devolved to the church, and to the representative body thereof, the Fathers did suppose; affirming the church to have received from our Lord a sovereign power.

"This" (saith St. Cyprian) "is that one church, which holdeth and possesseth all the power of its Spouse and Lord; in this we preside; for the honour and unity of this we fight"*——saith he, in his Epistle to Jubianus, wherein he doth impugn the proceedings of Pope Stephanus;[a] the which sentence St. Austin appropriateth to himself, speaking it absolutely, without citing St. Cyprian. To this authority of the church St. Basil would have all that confess the faith of Christ to submit: "To which end we exceedingly need your assistance, that they who confess the apostolic faith would renounce the schisms which they have devised, and submit themselves henceforth to the authority of the church."†

They (after the holy scripture, which saith, that *each bishop hath a care of God's church*, and is *obliged to feed the church of God*——and *is appointed to edify the body of Christ*)[b] do suppose the administration of ecclesiastical affairs concerning the public state of the church, the defence of the common faith, the maintenance of order, peace, and unity, jointly to belong unto the whole body of pastors;* according to that of St. Cyprian to Pope Stephanus himself, "Therefore, most dear brother, the body of priests is copious, being joined together by the glue of mutual concord, and the bond of unity, that if any of our college should attempt to make heresy, and to tear or waste the flock of Christ, the rest may come to succour; and like useful and merciful shepherds may re-collect the sheep into the flock."† And again, "Which thing it concerns us to look after and redress, most dear brother, who bearing in mind the divine clemency, and holding the scales of the church-government,"‡ &c.

So even the Roman clergy did acknowledge, "For we ought all of us to watch for the body of the whole church, whose members are digested through several provinces."‖

"Like the Trinity, whose power is one and undivided, there is one priesthood among divers bishops."§

So in the Apostolical Constitutions, the apostles tell the bishops, that "an universal episcopacy is entrusted to them."¶

So the council of Carthage with St. Cyprian——"Clear and manifest is the mind and meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ, sending his apostles, and affording

* Hæc est una quæ tenet et possidet omnem Sponsi sui et Domini potestatem, in hac præsidemus, pro honore ejus et unitate pugnamus ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 73.

† Ἐφ' ἅπερ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν χρήζομεν βοηθείας, ὥστε τοὺς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ὁμολογοῦντας πίστιν, ἅπερ ἐπίνόησαν, σχίσματα διαλύσαντας, ὑποταγῆναι τοῦ λοιποῦ τῇ οὔσῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Bas. Epist. 69.

[a] Aug. de Bapt. cont. Don. iv. 1.

[b] 1 Tim. iii. 5, 15; Acts xx. 28; Eph. iv. 12.

* Collegium sacerdotum.—*Cypr.* Ep. lxvii. 52. Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν.—Apost. Const. viii. 10.

† Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves Domini in gregem colligant.—*Cypr.* Ep. 67.

‡ Cui rei nostrum est consulere, et subvenire, frater charissime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes, et gubernandæ ecclesiæ libram tenentes, &c.—*Ibid.*

‖ Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare.—*Cler. Rom. apud Cypr.* Ep. 30.

§ Ad Trinitatis instar, cujus una est atque individua potestas, unum esse per diversos antistites sacerdotium.—*P. Symmachus ad Æonium Arelat.*

¶ Εἰς ἐπισκοπεῖον ὑμῶν, τῶν τὴν καθόλου ἐπισκοπὴν πεπιστευμένων.—Const. Apost. vi. 14.

to them alone the power given him of the Father; in whose room we succeeded governing the church of God with the same power."*

"Christ our Lord and our God going to the Father, commended his spouse to us."†

A very ancient instance of which administration is the proceeding against Paulus Samosatenus; when "the pastors of the churches, some from one place, some from another, did assemble together against him as a pest of Christ's flock, all of them hastening to Antioch;"‡ where they deposed, exterminated, and deprived him of communion, warning the whole church to reject and disavow him.

"Seeing the pastoral charge is common to us all, who bear the episcopal office, although thou sittest in a higher and more eminent place."||

"Therefore for this cause the holy church is committed to you and to us, that we may labour for all, and not be slack in yielding help and assistance to all."§

Hence St. Chrysostom said of Eustathius his bishop: "For he was well instructed and taught by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that a president or bishop of a church ought not to take care of that church alone, wherewith he is intrusted by the Holy Ghost, but also of the whole church dispersed throughout the world."¶

They consequently did repute schism, or ecclesiastical rebellion, to consist in "a departure from the consent of the body of the priesthood,"* as St. Cyprian in divers places doth express it in his epistles to pope Stephen and others.

They deem all bishops to partake of the apostolical authority, according to that of St. Basil to St. Ambrose: "The Lord himself hath translated thee from the judges of the earth unto the prelacy of the apostles."†

They took themselves all to be vicars of Christ, and judges in his stead; according to that of St. Cyprian: "For heresies are sprung up, and schisms grown from no other ground nor root but this, because God's priest was not obeyed, nor was there one priest or bishop for a time in the church, nor a judge thought on for a time to supply the room of Christ."‡ Where that by *church* is meant any particular church, and by *priest* a bishop of such church, any one not bewitched with prejudice by the tenor of St. Cyprian's discourse will easily discern.||

They conceive that our Saviour did promise to St. Peter the keys in behalf of the church, and as representing it.ᵖ

They suppose the combination of bishops in peaceable consent and mutual aid, to be the *rock* on which the church is built.

They allege the authority granted to St. Peter as a ground of claim to the same in all bishops jointly, and in each bishop singly, according to his *rata pars*, or allotted proportion.

"Which may easily be understood by the words of our Lord, when he says to

* Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos suos mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a Petro sibi datam permittentis, quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes.—*Conc. Carth. apud Cypr.* p. 405.

† Christus Dominus et Deus noster ad Patrem proficiscens, sponsam suam nobis commendavit ——. *Ibid.* p. 404.

‡ Οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ποιμένες ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμεῶνα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποίμνης συνίεσαν, ὅτι πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπεύσαντες.—Euseb. vii. 27.

|| Cum communis sit omnibus nobis, qui fungimur episcopatus officio, quamvis ipse in eo præmineas celsiore fastigio, specula pastoralis ——. *Aug. ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Pelag.* i. 1.

§ Hujus ergo rei gratia vobis et nobis sancta commissa est ecclesia, ut pro omnibus laboremus, et cunctis opem ferre non negligamus ——. *P. Joh. I.* Ep. 1, (*ad Zachar.*) *apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 812.

¶ Καὶ γὰρ ὢν πεπαιδευμένος καλῶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστατοῦντα οὐκ ἐκείνῃ μόνῃ ἀδέοσθαι δεῖ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κειμένης.—Chrys. tom. v. Or. 93.

* A corpore nostri, et sacerdotii consensione discesserit ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 67. Qui se ab ecclesiæ vinculo, atque a sacerdotum collegio separat.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52.

† Αὐτός σε ὁ Κύριος ἀπὸ τῶν κριτῶν τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προεδρίαν τῶν ἀποστόλων μετέθηκεν.—Basil. Ep. 56.

‡ Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperetur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55.

|| Episcopus personam habet Christi, et vicarius Domini est.—*Ambr. in* 1 *Cor.* 11. The bishop sustains the person of Christ, and is the vicar of our Lord.

ᵖ Cypr. Ep. 27.

blessed Peter, whose place the bishops supply, *Whatsoever*,"* &c.

"I have the sword of Constantine in my hands, you of Peter,"† said our great King Edgar.

They do therefore in this regard take themselves all to be successors of St. Peter, that his power is derived to them all, and that the whole episcopal order "is the chair by the Lord's voice founded on St. Peter:" Thus St. Cyprian in divers places (before touched) discourseth; and thus Firmilian from the keys granted to St. Peter inferreth, disputing against the Roman bishop: "Therefore" (saith he) "the power of remitting sins is given to the apostles, and to the churches, which they being sent from Christ did constitute, and to the bishops, which do succeed them by vicarious ordination."‡

4. The bishops of any other churches founded by the apostles, in the Fathers' style are successors of the apostles, in the same sense, and to the same intent, as the bishop of Rome is by them accounted successor of St. Peter; the apostolical power, which in extent was universal, being in some sense, in reference to them, not quite extinct, but transmitted by succession: yet the bishops of apostolical churches did never claim, nor allowedly exercise, apostolical jurisdiction beyond their own precincts; according to those words of St. Jerome, "Tell me, what doth Palestine belong to the bishop of Alexandria?"||

This sheweth the inconsequence of their discourse; for in like manner the pope might be successor to St. Peter, and St. Peter's universal power might be successive, yet the pope have no singular claim thereto, beyond the bounds of his particular church.

5. So again, for instance, St. James (whom the Roman church, in her liturgies, doth avow for an apostle) was bishop of Jerusalem more unquestionably than St. Peter was bishop of Rome; Jerusalem also was the root, and "the mother of all churches"* (as the Fathers of the second general synod, in their letter to Pope Damasus himself, and the occidental bishops did call it, forgetting the singular pretence of Rome to that title.)

Yet the bishops of Jerusalem, successors of St. James, did not thence claim I know not what kind of extensive jurisdiction; yea, notwithstanding their succession, they did not so much as obtain a metropolitical authority in Palestine, which did belong to Cæsarea (having been assigned thereto in conformity to the civil government), and was by special provision "reserved thereto" in the Synod of Nice;† whence St. Jerome did not stick to affirm, that the bishop of Jerusalem was subject to the bishop of Cæsarea;‡ for, speaking to John bishop of Jerusalem, who for compurgation of himself from errors imputed to him had appealed to Theophilus bishop of Alexandria, he saith, "Thou hadst rather cause molestation to ears possessed, than render honour to thy metropolitan,"|| that is, to the bishop of Cæsarea.

By which instance we may discern what little consideration sometimes was had of personal or topical succession to the apostles in determining the extent of jurisdiction: and why should the Roman bishop upon that score pretend more validity than others?

6. St. Peter, probably ere that he came at Rome, did found divers other churches, whereof he was paramount bishop, or did retain a special superintendency over them;[q] particularly "An-

* Quod ex verbis Domini facile intelligi potest, quibus B. Petro, cujus vicem episcopi gerunt, ait, Quodcunque, &c. *Capit. Caroli M.* lib. v. cap. 163.

† Ego Constantini, vos Petri gladium habetis in manibus.

‡ Potestas ergo remittendorum peccatorum apostolis data est, et ecclesiis quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis qui eis ordinatione vicaria succedunt.—*Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

|| Responde mihi, ad Alexandrinum episcopum Palæstina quid pertinet?—*Hier. ad Pammach.* Ep. lxi. 15.

* Τῆς μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.—Theodor. v. 9. Mater Christiani nominis—*Imper. Just. ad P. Hormisd. apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 794. The mother of the Christian name.

† Τῇ μητροπόλει σωζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος. —Conc. Nic. Can. 7.

‡ Ibi decernitur, ut Palestinæ metropolis Cæsarea sit.—*Hier.* Ep. lxi. 15. It is there decreed, that Cæsarea should be the metropolis of Palestine.

|| Maluisti occupatis auribus molestias facere, quam debitum metropolitano tuo honorem reddere.—*Hier. ad Pammach.* Ep. lxi. 15.

[q] Hier. ad Galat. 2; P. Pelag. II. Ep. 1.

tioch was anciently called his See,"* and he is acknowledged to have sat there seven years before he was bishop of Rome.

Why therefore may not the bishop of Antioch pretend to succeed Peter in his universal pastorship, as well as his younger brother of Rome? why should Euodius, ordained by St. Peter at Antioch, yield to Clemens, afterward by him ordained at Rome?

Antioch was the firstborn of Gentile churches, where the name of Christians was first heard;[r] Antioch was (as the Constantinopolitan Fathers called it) "the most ancient and truly apostolical church."†

Antioch, by virtue of St. Peter's sitting there, or peculiar relation to it, was (according to their own conceits) the principal See.‡

Why therefore should St. Peter be so unkind to it, as not only to relinquish it, but to debase it; not only transferring his See from it, but divesting it of the privilege which it had got?

Why should he prefer before it the city of Rome, the mystical Babylon, *the mother of abominations of the earth*, the throne of Satan's empire, the place which did then most persecute the Christian faith, and *was drunk with the blood of the saints?*||[s]

7. The ground of this preference was, say they, St. Peter's will:[t] and they have reason to say so; for otherwise if St. Peter had died intestate, the elder son of Antioch would have had the best right to all his goods and dignities.§

But how doth that will appear? in what tables was it written? in what registers is it extant? in whose presence did he nuncupate it? it is nowhere to be seen or heard of.

Neither do they otherwise know of it, than by reasoning it out; and in effect they say only that it was fit he should will it: but they may be mistaken in their divinations; and perhaps, notwithstanding them, St. Peter might will as well to his former See of Antioch, as to his latter of Rome.

8. Indeed Bellarmine sometimes positively and briskly enough doth affirm, that "God did command St. Peter to fix his see at Rome:"* but his proofs of it are so ridiculously fond and weak, that I grudge the trouble of reciting them; and he himself sufficiently confuteth them, by saying otherwhere, "It is not unprobable, that our Lord gave an express command, that Peter should so fix his See at Rome, that the bishop of Rome should absolutely succeed him."†

He saith it is not improbable; if it be no more than so, it is uncertain; it may be a mere conjecture or a dream.

It is much more not unprobable, that if God had commanded it, there would have been some assurance of a command so very important.

9. Antioch hath at least a fair plea for a share in St. Peter's prerogatives; for it did ever hold the repute of an apostolical church, and upon that score some deference was paid to it: why so, if St. Peter did carry his see with all its prerogatives to another place? But if he carried with him only part of his prerogative, leaving some part behind at Antioch, how much then, I pray, did he leave there? why did he divide unequally, or leave less than half? If perchance he did leave half, the bishop of Antioch is equal to him of Rome.

10. Other persons also may be found, who according to equal judgment might have a better title to the succession of Peter in his universal authority than the pope; having a nearer relation to him

* —— θρόνον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων μεγαλοπόλεως, τὸν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου.—Syn. Chalced. Act. vii. p. 264.

† Πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.—Theod. v. 9.

‡ Ubi imperator, ibi Roma. Where the emperor is, there is Rome.

|| Sic et Babylon apud Joannem nostrum Romanæ urbis figura est, proinde et magnæ et regno superbæ, et sanctorum debellatricis.—*Tertull. adv. Jud* cap. 9. So also Babylon in our St. John is a type of the city of Rome, and therefore of a great, royal, and proud city, and a subduer of the saints.

§ Potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primis quinque annis ——. *Ibid.* Peter might have chosen to himself no particular city, as he did the first five years.

[r] Acts xi. 26.

[s] Rev. xvii. 5, 6.

[t] Bell. ii. 12.

* Jubente Domino, ii. 1. Deus ipse jussit Romæ figi apostolicam Petri sedem. iv 4.

† Non est improbabile Dominum etiam aperte jussisse, ut sedem suam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus episcopus absolute ei succederet.—*Bell.* ii. 12, § Et quoniam.

than he (although his successor in one charge), or upon other equitable grounds.

For instance, St. John, or any other apostle who did survive St. Peter: for if St. Peter was the father of Christians (which title yet our Saviour forbiddeth any one to assume), St. John might well claim to be his eldest son; and it had been a very hard case for him to have been postponed in the succession; it had been a derogation to our Lord's own choice, a neglect of his special affection, a disparagement of the apostolical office, for him to be subjected to any other; neither could any other pretend to the like gifts for management of that great charge.

11. The bishop of Jerusalem might with much reason have put in his claim thereto, as being successor of our Lord himself, who unquestionably was the High Priest of our profession, and Archbishop of all our souls; whose See was the mother of all churches; wherein St. Peter himself did at first reside, exercising his vicarship: if our Lord, upon special accounts out of course, had put the sovereignty into St. Peter's hands, yet after his decease it might be fit that it should return into its proper channel.

This may seem to have been the judgment of the times, when the author of the Apostolical Constitutions did write, who reporteth the apostles to have ordered prayers to be made first for James, then for Clement, then for Euodius.

12. Equity would rather have required, that one should by common consent and election of the whole church be placed in St. Peter's room, than that the bishop of Rome, by election of a few persons there, should succeed into it.

As the whole body of pastors was highly concerned in that succession, so it was reasonable that all of them should concur in designation of a person thereto; it is not reasonable to suppose that either God would institute, or St. Peter by will should devise a course of proceeding in such a case so unequal and unsatisfactory.

If therefore the church, considering this equity of the case, together with the expediency of affairs in relation to its good, should undertake to choose for itself another monarch (the bishop of another See, who should seem fitter for the place), to succeed into the prerogatives of St. Peter, that person would have a fairer title to that office than the Pope; for such a person would have a real title, grounded on some reason of the case; whenas the Pope's pretence doth only stand upon a positive institution, whereof he cannot exhibit any certificate. This was the mind of a great man among themselves; who saith, *that "if possibly the bishop of Triers should be chosen for head of the church. For the church has free power to provide itself a head."

Bellarmine himself confesseth, that "if St. Peter" (as he might have done if he had pleased) "should have chosen no particular See, as he did not for the first five years, then after Peter's death, neither the bishop of Rome nor of Antioch had succeeded, but he whom the church should have chosen for itself."† Now if the church upon that supposition would have had such a right, it is not probable that St. Peter "by his fact" would have deprived it thereof, or willingly done any thing in prejudice to it; there being apparently so much equity, that the church should have a stroke in designation of its pastor.

In ancient times there was not any small church which had not a suffrage in the choice of its pastor; and was it fitting that all the church should have one imposed on it without its consent?‡

If we consider the manner in ancient time of electing and constituting the Ro-

* Quod si per posibile Trevirensis eligeretur pro capite ecclesiæ. Habet enim ecclesia potestatem liberam sibi de capite providendi ——. *Card. Cus. de Conc. Cath.* ii. 13 ——.

† Nam potuisset Petrus nullam sedem particularem sibi unquam eligere, sicut fecit primis quinque annis, et tunc moriente Petro, non episcopus Romanus, neque Antiochenus successisset, sed is quem ecclesia sibi elegisset.—*Bell.* ii. 12.

‡ Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a comprovincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani judicio consecrati.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 99. No reason will admit, that they should be esteemed bishops, who are neither chosen by the clergy, nor desired by the people, nor consecrated by the bishops of the same province, with the consent of the metropolitan. Nullus invitis detur episcopus: cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensus requiratur.—*P. Celest. I.* Ep. 2. *Grat. Dist.* 61, cap. 13. Let there be no bishop imposed on any against their wills: let the consent of the clergy and people, and his own order be required.

man bishop, we may thence discern not only the improbability, but iniquity of this pretence: how was he then chosen? was it by a general synod of bishops, or by delegates from all parts of Christendom, whereby the common interest in him might appear, and whereby the world might be satisfied that one was elected fit for that high office? No; he was chosen, as usually then other particular bishops were, by the clergy and people of Rome; none of the world being conscious of the proceeding, or bearing any share therein.

Now was it equal that such a power of imposing a sovereign on all the grave bishops, and on all the good people of the Christian world, should be granted to one city?

Was it fitting that such a charge, importing advancement above all pastors, and being intrusted with the welfare of all souls in Christendom, should be the result of an election liable to so many defects and corruptions; which assuredly often, if not almost constantly, would be procured by ambition, bribery, or partiality; would be managed by popular faction and tumults?

It was observed generally of such elections by Nazianzen, that "prelacies were not got rather by virtue then by naughtiness; and that episcopal thrones did not rather belong to the more worthy, than to the more powerful."*

And declaring his mind or wish, that elections of bishops should "rest only or chiefly in the best men; not in the wealthiest and mightiest; or in the impetuousness and unreasonableness of the people, and among them in those who are most easily bought and bribed;" whereby he intimateth the common practice, and subjoineth, "But now I can hardly avoid thinking that the popular (or civil) governances are better ordered than ours, which are reputed to have divine grace attending them."†

And that the Roman elections in that time were come into that course, we may see by the relation and reflections of an honest pagan historian concerning the election of Pope Damasus (contemporary of Gregory Nazianzen:) "Damasus" (saith he) "and Ursinus, above human measure burning with desire to snatch the episcopal See, did, with divided parties, most fiercely conflict:"* in which conflict, upon one day, in the very church, an hundred and thirty persons were slain;* so did that great pope get into the chair: thus, as the historian reflecteth, "the wealth and pomp of the place naturally did provoke ambition"† by all means to seek it, and did cause fierce contentions to arise in the choice; whence commonly, wise and modest persons being excluded from any capacity thereof, any ambitious and cunning man, who had the art or the luck to please the multitude, would by violence obtain it: which was a goodly way of constituting a sovereign to the church.

Thus it went within three ages after our Lord; and afterwards, in the declensions of Christian simplicity and integrity, matters were not like to be mended, but did indeed rather grow worse; as beside the reports and complaints of historians, how that commonly by ambitious prensations, by simoniacal corruptions, by political bandyings, by popular factions, by all kinds of sinister ways, men crept into the place, doth appear by those many dismal schisms, which gave the church many pretended heads, but not one certain one; as also by the result of them, being the choice of persons very unworthy and horribly flagitious.‡

* Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρετῆς, μᾶλλον, ἢ κακουργίας ἡ προεδρία, οὐδὲ τῶν ἀξιωτέρων μᾶλλον, ἢ δυνατωτέρων οἱ θρόνοι.—Naz. Or. xx. p. 335.

† Ἐφ' οἷς ἴδοι τὰς τοιαύτας προβολὰς κεῖσθαι μόνοις, ἢ ὅτι μάλιστα——ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῖς εὐπορωτάτοις τε καὶ δυνατωτάτοις, ἢ φορᾷ δήμου καὶ ἀλογίᾳ, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τοῖς εὐωνοτάτοις· νῦν δὲ κινδυνεύω τὰς δημοσίας ἀρχὰς εὐτακτωτέρας ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ἡμετέρων. αἷς ἡ θεία χάρις ἐπιφημίζεται.—Greg. Naz. Or. xix. p. 310.

* Damasus et Ursinus supra humanum modum ad rapiendam episcopalem sedem ardentes scissis studiis acerrime conflictabantur—. *Am. Marcell.* lib. 27.

† Neque ego ab uno ostentationem rerum considerans urbanarum, hujus rei cupidos, &c. —*Id. Ibid.*

‡ Damasus II. pontificatum per vim occupat, nullo cleri populique consensu; adeo enim inoleverat hic mos, ut jam cuique ambitioso liceret Petri sedem invadere.—*Plat.* (p. 314.) Damasus II. invades the popedom by force, without any consent of the clergy and people; for so was it now grown into custom, that any ambitious man might invade Peter's see. Eo enim tum pontificatus devenerat, ut qui plus largitione et ambitione, non dico sanctitate vitæ

* Sozom. vi. 23.

If it be said that the election of a pope in old times was wont to be approved by the consent of all bishops in the world, according to the testimony of St. Cyprian, who saith of Cornelius, that "he was known by the testimony of his fellow bishops, whose whole number through all the world did with peaceful unanimity consent:"*

I answer, that this consent was not in the election, or antecedently to it; that it was only by letters or messages declaring the election, according to that of St. Cyprian;† that it was not anywise peculiar to the Roman bishop, but such as was yielded to all Catholic bishops, each of whom "was to be approved" (as St. Cyprian saith) "by the testimony and judgment of his colleagues;"* that it was in order only to the maintaining fraternal communion and correspondence, signifying that such a bishop was duly elected by his clergy and people, was rightly ordained by his neighbour bishops, did profess the Catholic faith, and was therefore qualified for communion with his brethren; such a consent to the election of any bishop of old was given (especially upon occasion, and when any question concerning the right of a bishop did intervene), whereof now in the election of a pope no footstep doth remain.

We may also note, that the election of Cornelius being contested, he did more solemnly acquaint all the bishops of the world with his case, and so did obtain their approbation in a way more than ordinary.[v]

13. If God had designed this derivation of universal sovereignty, it is probable that he would have prescribed some certain, standing, immutable way of election, and imparted the right to certain persons, and not left it at such uncertainty to the chances of time, so that the manner of election hath often changed, and the power of it tossed into divers hands.

"And though in several times there have been observed several ways as to the election of the Roman pontiffs, according as the necessity and expediency of the church required."†

Of old it was (as other elections) managed by nomination of the clergy, and suffrage of the people.

Afterward the emperors did assume to themselves the nomination or approbation of them.

"For then nothing was done by the clergy in the choice of the pope, unless

et doctrina valeret, is tantummodo dignitatis gradum bonis oppressis et rejectis obtineret: quem morem utinam aliquando non retinuissent nostra tempora.—*Plat. in Silv.* 3 For the business of the papacy was come to that pass, that whoever by bribery and ambition, I say not by holiness of life and learning, got the start of others, he alone obtained that degree of dignity, good men in the mean being depressed and rejected: which custom I would to God our times had not retained. Cum jam eo devenissent ecclesiastici, ut non coacti ut antea, sed sponte et largitionibus pontificium munus obirent.—*Plat. in Steph.* 6. *Baron.* ann. 112. § 8. Whenas now ecclesiastical persons are come to that pass, that they execute the papal office, not being compelled unto it, as heretofore, but of their own accord, and by bribing for it. Videbat enim Imperator eo licentiæ factiosum quemque et potemtem, quamvis ignobilem devenisse, ut corruptis suffragiis tantam dignitatem consequeretur, &c.—*Plat in Clem.* ii. (p. 313.) For the emperor saw that every factious and powerful person, though base and ignoble, was grown to that height of licentiousness, that he obtained so great dignity by corruption and buying of suffrages. Omne papale negotium manus agunt: quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in papam receperit, pretio seu spe pretii non interveniente? —*Bern. de Consid.* iv. 2. The whole business of making a pope is managed by gifts: whom can you shew me, in all this great city, who took you into the papacy without being bribed and corrupted with reward, or at least with hope of it?

* —— co-episcoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate consentit—. *Cypr.* Ep. 52. Cum Fabiani locus, id est cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate atque omnium nostrum consentione ——. *Ibid.* When Fabianus's place, *i. e.* when the place of Peter, and the degree of the sacerdotal chair was vacant, which being obtained by the will of God and all our consents ——.

† Satis erat ut tu te episcopum factum literis nunciares, &c.—*Cypr.* Ep. 42. It was enough that you declared by letters that you were made bishop.

* Episcopo semel facto, et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato—. *Cypr.* Ep. 41.

† Et licet diversis temporibus diversi modi super electione Romanorum pontificum observati sunt, prout necessitas, et utilitas ecclesiæ exposcebat ——. *Conc. Bas.* sess. xxxvii. p. 98. Vide *Grat. Dist.* 63. per tot.

[v] Euseb.

the emperor had approved his election."*

"But he, seeing the prince's consent was required, sent messengers with letters, to entreat Mauritius that he would not suffer the election made by the clergy and people of Rome in that case to be valid."†

"Leo VIII. being tired out with the inconstancy of the Romans, transferred the whole power and authority of choosing the pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor."‡

At some times the clergy had no hand in the election; but popes were intruded by powerful men or women at their pleasure.||

Afterwards the cardinals (that is, some of the chief Roman clergy) did appropriate the election to themselves, by the decree of Pope Nicholas II. in his Lateran synod.*

Sometimes, out of course, general synods did assume the choice to themselves; as at Constance, Pisa, and Basil.

14. From the premises, to conclude the pope's title to St. Peter's authority, it is requisite to show the power demised by him to be according to God's institution and intent, immutable and indefectible; for power built upon the like, but far more certain principles, hath in course of times, and by worldly changes, been quite lost, or conveyed into other channels than those wherein it was first put; and that irrecoverably, so that it cannot anywise be retrieved, or reduced into the first order.

For instance, Adam was by God constituted universal sovereign of mankind; and into that power his eldest son of right did succeed; and so it of right should have been continually propagated.

Yet soon did that power fail, or was diverted into other courses; the world being cantonized into several dominions; so that the *heir at law* among all the descendants of Adam cannot so easily be found, as *a needle in a bottle of hay*, he probably is a subject, and perhaps is a peasant.

So might St. Peter be monarch of the church, and the pope might succeed him; yet by revolutions of things, by several defaults and incapacities in himself, by divers obstructions incident, by forfeiture upon encroaching on other men's rights, according to that maxim of a great pope, "He loseth his own, who coveteth more than his due,"* his power might be clipped, might be transplanted, might utterly decay and fail; to such fatalities other powers are subject; nor can that of the pope be exempt from them, as otherwhere we shall more largely declare.

15. Indeed that God did intend his church should perpetually subsist united in any one political frame of government, is a principle which they do assume and build upon, but can nowise prove. Nor indeed is it true. For,

If the unity of the church designed and instituted by God were only an unity of faith, of charity, of peace, of fraternal communion and correspondence between particular societies and pastors, then in vain it is to seek for the subject and seat of universal jurisdiction. Now that God did not intend any other unity, than such as those specified, we have good reason to judge, and shall, we hope, otherwhere sufficiently prove.

16. We may consider, that really the sovereign power (such as it is pretended) hath often failed, there having been for long spaces of time no Roman bishops at all, upon several accounts; which is a sign that the church may subsist without it.

As, 1. When Rome was desolated by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards.

2. In times when the Romans would not suffer popes to live with them.*

* Nil enim tum a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset.—*Plat. in Pelag. II.*

† Is autem, cum principis consensus requireretur, nuncios cura literis miserat qui Mauritium obsecrarent, ne pateretur electionem cleri et populi Romani ea in re valere.—*Plat. in Greg. M.* Vide *Grat. Dist.* 63 ——.

‡ Conc. tom. vii. p. 182. Leo VIII. Romanorum inconstantiam pertæsus, auctoritatem omnem eligendi pontificis a clero, propuloque Romano ad imperatorem transtulit.—*Plat. in Leo VIII.* (p 291.)

|| Nusquam cleri eligentis, vel postea consentientis aliqua mentio.—*Baron.* ann. 112, s. 8; ann. 131, s. 1. There was nowhere any mention of the clergy electing, or afterwards consenting.

* Grat. Dist. xxiii. cap. 1, Plat. in Nic. II.

* Propria perdit qui indebita concupiscit.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 54.

* *Vide* Bern. Ep. 242, 243; Bell. iv. 4.

3. In case of discontinuance from Rome, when the popes (so calling themselves) did for above seventy years abide in France; when they indeed, not being chosen by the Roman people, nor exercising pastoral care over them, were only titular, not real bishops of Rome (they were popes of Avignon, not of Rome; and successors of God knows who, not of St. Peter;) no more than one continually living in England can be bishop of Jerusalem.

4. In times of many long schisms (twenty-two schisms), when either there was no true pope, or, which in effect was the same, no certain one.*

5. When popes were intruded by violence, whom Baronius himself positively affirmeth to have been no popes:[y] how then could a succession of true popes be continued from them by the clergy, which they in virtue of their papal authority did pretend to create?

6. When elections had a flaw in them, were uncanonical, and so null.

7. When popes were simoniacally chosen; who by their own rules and laws are no true popes; being heretics, heresiarchs.†

The which was done for long courses of time very commonly, and in a manner constantly.‡

8. When popes have been deposed (as some by the emperors, others by general councils;) in which case, according to papal principles, the successors were illegal; for the pope being sovereign, he could not be judged or deposed; and his successor is an usurper.

9. When popes were heretical, that is (say they) no popes.

10. When atheists, sorcerers,——

Elections in some of these cases being null, and therefore the acts consequent to them invalid, there is probably a defailance of right continued to posterity.*

And probably, therefore, there is now no true pope.

For (upon violent intrusion, or simoniacal choice, or any usurpation) the cardinals, bishops, &c. which the pope createth, are not truly such; and consequently their votes not good in the choice of another pope; and so successively.

These considerations may suffice to declare the inconsequence of their discourses, even admiting their assertions, which yet are so false, or so apparently uncertain.

I shall in the next place level some arguments directly against their main conclusion itself.

I. My first argument against this pretence shall be, that it is destitute of any good warrant, either from divine or human testimony; and so is groundless. As will appear by the following considerations.

1. If God had designed the bishop of Rome to be for the perpetual course of times sovereign monarch of his church, it may reasonably be supposed that he would expressly have declared his mind in the case;† it being a point of greatest importance of all that concern the administration of his kingdom in the world. Princes do not use to send their viceroys unfurnished with patents, clearly signifying their commission, that no man, out of ignorance or doubt concerning that point, excusably may refuse compliance;

* —— Inopem me copia fecit.

† P. Greg. VII. Ep. iii. 7; P. Jul. in Conc. Lat. sess. v. p. 57. Non solum hujusmodi electio vel assumptio eo ipso nulla existat —— &c.—*Vide sup.* s. 12. Such an election or assumption, let it not only be upon that account void and null.

‡ Vide quæso quantum isti degeneraverint a majoribus suis; illi enim utpote viri sanctissimi dignitatem ultro oblatam contemnebant, orationi et doctrinæ Christianæ vacantes; hi vero largitione et ambitione pontificatum quærentes, et adepti, posthabito divino cultu, &c.—*Plat. in Serg.* 3 (p. 279;) *vide* —— *in Bened. IV.* p. 277. See, I beseech you, how much they have degenerated from their ancestors; for they as being very holy men did contemn that dignity when freely offered, giving themselves wholly to prayer and the doctrine of Christ; but these by bribery and ambition seek and obtain the papacy.

[y] Baron. ad an. 112, s. 8.

* Plat. in Joh. x (p. 275.) Pontifices ipsi a Petri vestigiis discesserant. The popes had swerved from the examples of Peter. Possessor malæ fidei ullo tempore non præscribit.—*Reg. Jur.* 2, *in Sexto.* He that has no right to the thing he possesses, cannot prescribe or plead any length of time to make his possession lawful.

† Nec vero simile sit, ut rem tam necessariam ad ecclesiæ unitatem continendam Christus Dominus apostolis suis non revelarit.—*Melch.* can. vi. 8. Neither is it likely that our Lord Christ would not have revealed to his apostles a thing so necessary for preserving the unity of the church.

and in all equity promulgation is requisite to the establishment of any law, or exacting obedience. But in all the pandects of divine revelation, the bishop of Rome is not so much as once mentioned, either by name, or by character, or by probable intimation; they cannot hook him in otherwise, than by straining hard, and framing a long chain of consequences, each of which is too subtle for to constrain any man's persuasion: they have indeed found the pope in the first chapter of Genesis; for (if we believe Pope Innocent III.) he is one of the "two great luminaries" there;* and he is as plainly there, as any where else in the Bible.

Wherefore, if upon this account we should reject this pretence, we might do it justly; and for so doing we have the allowance of the ancient Fathers; for they did not hold any man obliged to admit any point of doctrine, or rule of manners, which is not in express words, or in terms equivalent, contained in holy scripture; or which at least might not thence be deduced by clear and certain inference: this their manner of disputing with heretics and heterodox people doth shew; this appeareth by their way of defining and settling doctrines of faith; this they often do avow in plain words applicable to our case: for, "If" (saith St. Austin) "about Christ, or about his church, or about any other thing, which concerneth our faith and life, I will not say we, who are nowise comparable to him who said, *Although we;* but even as he going on did add, *If an angel from heaven* should tell you, beside what you have received in the legal and evangelical scriptures, *let him be anathema;*"† in which words we have St. Austin's warrant, not only to refuse, but to detest this doctrine, which being nowhere extant in law or gospel, is yet obtruded on us, as nearly relating both to Christ and his church, as greatly concerning both our faith and practice.

2. To enforce this argument, we may consider that the evangelists do speak about the propagation, settlement, and continuance of our Lord's kingdom; that the apostles do often treat about the state of the church and its edification, order, peace, unity; about the distinction of its officers and members; about the qualifications, duties, graces, privileges of spiritual governors and guides; about prevention and remedy of heresies, schisms, disorders: upon any of which occasions how is it possible that the mention of such a spiritual monarch (who was to have a main influence on each of those particulars) should wholly escape them, if they had known such an one instituted by God.

In the Levitical law, all things concerning the high priest, not only his designation, succession, consecration, duty, power, maintenance, privileges, but even his garments, marriage, mourning, &c. are punctually determined and described:* and is it not wonderful, that in the many descriptions of the new law, no mention should be made concerning any duty or privilege of its high priest, whereby he might be directed in the administration of his office, and know what observance to require?

3. Whereas also the scripture doth inculcate duties of all sorts, and doth not forget frequently to press duties of respect and obedience toward particular governors of the church, is it not strange, that it never should bestow one precept whereby we might be instructed and admonished to pay our duty to the universal pastor; especially considering, that God, who directed the pens of the apostles, and who intended that their writings should continue for the perpetual instruction of Christians, did foresee how re-

* Ad firmamentum igitur cœli, hoc est universalis ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo magna luminaria, id est, duas instituit dignitates, quæ sunt pontificalis auctoritas, et regalis potestas; sed illa quæ præest diebus, id est, spiritualibus, major est; quæ vero carnalibus, minor, &c.—*Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg. I.* xxxiii. 6. For the firmament therefore of heaven, *i. e.* of the universal church, God made two great lights; *i. e.* he ordained two dignities or powers, which are the pontifical authority, and the regal power: but that which rules the days, *i. e.* spiritual matters, is the greater; but that which governs carnal things is the lesser, &c.

† Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus ecclesia, sive de quacunque alia re, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, *Licet si nos*, sed omnino quod sequutus adjecit, *Si angelus de cœlo vobis annunciaverit*, præterquam quod in scripturis legalibus ac evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit.—*Aug. Contr. Petil.* iii. 6

* Exod. xxviii. 1, 4; Levit. xxi.

quisite such a precept would be to secure that duty? for if but one such precept did appear, it would do the business, and void all contestation about it.

4. They who so carefully do exhort to honour and obey the temporal sovereignty, how come they so wholly to wave urging the no less needful obligations to obey the spiritual monarch? while they are so mindful of the emperor, why are they so neglectful of the pope; insomuch, that divers popes afterward, to ground and urge obedience to them, are fain to borrow those precepts which command obedience to princes, accommodating them by analogy and inference to themselves?[a]

5. Particularly St. Peter, one would think, who doth so earnestly enjoin to obey *the king as supreme*, and *to honour him*,[b] should not have been unmindful of his successors; or quite have forborne to warn Christians of the respect due to them: surely the popes afterward do not follow him in this reservedness; for in their Decretal Epistles they urge nothing so much as obedience to the apostolical see.

6. One might have expected something of that nature form St. Paul himself, who did write so largely to the Romans, and so often from Rome; that at least some word, or some intimation, should have dropped from him concerning these huge rights and privileges of this *see*, and of the regard due to it. Particularly then, when he professedly doth enumerate the offices, instituted by God, for standing use and perpetual duration; *for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of faith*,*[c] &c.

He commendeth them for their faith, which *was spoken of through the whole world;* yet "giving them no advantage above others;"† as St. Chrysostom observeth on those words, *for obedience to the faith among all nations, among whom also are ye.*[d] "This" (saith St. Chrysostom) "he saith to depress their conceit, to void their haughtiness of mind, and to teach them (to deem others equal in dignity with them)."*

When he writeth to that church (which was some time after St. Peter had settled the popedom), he doth only style them κλητοὶ ἅγιοι (*called saints*), and ἀγαπητοὶ Θεοῦ (*beloved of God*), which are common adjuncts of all Christians;[e] he saith, their faith was spoken of generally, but of the fame of their authority being so spread he taketh no notice; that *their obedience had come abroad to all men*,[f] but their commands had not (it seemeth) come anywhere.

He wrote divers Epistles from Rome, wherein he resolveth many cases debated, yet never doth urge the authority of the Roman church for any point, which now is so ponderous an argument.

7. But, however, seeing the scripture is so strangely reserved, how cometh it to pass that tradition is also so defective, and staunch in so grand a case? We have in divers of the Fathers (particularly in Tertullian, in St. Basil, in St. Jerome) catalogues of traditional doctrines and observances, which they recite to assert tradition in some cases supplemental to scripture;[g] in which their purpose did require that they should set down those of principal moment; and they are so punctual as to insert many of small consideration: how then came they to neglect this, concerning the papal authority over the whole church, which had been most pertinent to their design, and in consequence did vastly surpass all the rest which they do name?

8. The designation of the Roman bishop by succession to obtain so high a degree in the church, being above all others a most remarkable and noble piece of history, which it had been a horrible fault in an ecclesiastical history to slip over, without careful reporting and re-

* Quarum laudum et gloriæ degenerem fuisse, maximum crimem est.—*Cl. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31. To degenerate from which praise and glory is an exceeding great crime.

† Οὐδὲν πλέον αὐτοῖς δίδωσι τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν.

[a] P. Nic. I. Ep. 10; P. Leo IX. Ep. 1; P. Greg. VII. Ep. 4, 22.

[b] 1 Pet. ii. 13-17.

[c] Eph. iv. 11, 12, 13; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

* Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖ καθαιρῶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ κενῶν τὸ φύσημα τῆς διανοίας, καὶ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους ἰσοτιμίαν.

[d] Rom. i. 5, 8.

[e] (*Vide* Chrys. Theo. Hier.) [f] aron. an. 58, § 46, &c.; Rom. i. 7, 8. [f] Rom. xvi. 19.

[g] Tertull. de Cor. Mil. 3; Basil. de Sp. S. 27; Hier. advers. Lucif. 4.

flecting upon it; yet Eusebius, that most diligent compiler of all passages relating to the original constitution of the church, and to all transactions therein, hath not one word about it! who yet studiously doth report the successions of the Roman bishops, and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them, with favourable advantage.

9. Whereas this doctrine is pretended to be a point of faith, of vast consequence to the subsistence of the church and to the salvation of men, it is somewhat strange that it should not be inserted into any one ancient summary of things to be believed (of which summaries divers remain, some composed by public consent, others by persons of eminency in the church), nor by fair and forcible consequence should be deducible from any article in them;[h] especially considering that such summaries were framed upon occasion of heresies springing up which disregarded the pope's authority, and which by asserting it were plainly confuted. We are therefore beholden to Pope Innocent III. and his Lateran synod, for first synodically defining this point, together with other points no less new and unheard of before.[i] The creed of Pope Pius IV., formed the other day, is the first, as I take it, which did contain this article of faith.

10. It is much that this point of faith should not be delivered in any of those ancient expositions of the creed (made by St. Austin, Ruffin, &c.), which enlarge it to necessary points of doctrine connected with the articles therein, especially with that of the catholic church, to which the pope's authority hath so close a connection; that it should not be touched in the catechetical discourses of Cyril, Ambrose, &c.; that in the systems of divinity composed by St. Austin, Lactantius, &c. it should not be treated on: the world is now changed; for the Catechism of Trent doth not overlook so material a point; and it would pass for a lame body of theology which should omit to treat on this subject.

11. It is more wonderful, that this point should never be defined, in downright and full terms, by any ancient synod; it being so notoriously in those old times opposed by divers who dissented in opinion, and discorded in practice from the pope; it being also a point of that consequence, that such a solemn declaration of it would have much conduced to the ruin of all particular errors and schisms, which were maintained then in opposition to the church.

12. Indeed had this point been allowed by the main body of orthodox bishops, the pope could not have been so drowsy or stupid as not to have solicited for such a definition thereof; nor would the bishops have been backward in compliance thereto; it being in our adversaries conceit so compendious and effectual a way of suppressing all heresies, schisms, and disorders (although indeed later experience hath shewed it no less available to stifle truth, justice, and piety:) the popes after Luther were better advised, and so were the bishops adhering to his opinions.

13. Whereas also it is most apparent, that many persons disclaimed this authority, not regarding either the doctrines or decrees of the popes, it is wonderful that such men should not be reckoned in the large catalogues of heretics, wherein errors of less obvious consideration, and of far less importance, did place men; if Epiphanius, Theodoret, Leontius, &c. were so negligent or unconcerned, yet St. Austin, Philastrius,—western men, should not have overlooked this sort of desperate heretics: Aerius, for questioning the dignity of bishops, is set among the heretics; but who got that name for disavowing the pope's supremacy, among the many who did it? (it is but lately that such as we have been thrust in among heretics.)

14. Whereas no point avowed by Christians could be so apt to raise offence and jealousy in pagans against our religion as this, which setteth up a power of so vast extent and huge influence; whereas no novelty could be more surprising or startling than the erection of an universal empire over the consciences and religious practices of men; whereas also this doctrine could not but be very conspicuous and glaring in ordinary practice, it is prodigious that all pagans should not loudly exclaim against it.

[h] Const. Apost. vii, 41. (a full Creed at baptism.)

[i] Conc. Lat. iv. cap. 5, an. 1215.

It is strange that pagan historians (such as Marcellinus, who often speaketh of popes, and blameth them for their luxurious way of living and pompous garb;* as Zozimus, who bore a great spite at Christianity; as all the writers of the imperial history before Constantine) should not report it, as a very strange pretence newly started up.

It is wonderful, that the eager adversaries of our religion (such as Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian himself) should not particularly level their discourse against it, as a most scandalous position and dangerous pretence, threatening the government of the empire.

It is admirable, that the emperors themselves, inflamed with emulation and suspicion of such an authority (the which hath been so terrible even to Christian princes), should not in their edicts expressly decry and impugn it; that indeed every one of them should not with extremest violence implacably strive to extirpate it.

In consequence of these things it may also seem strange, that none of the advocates of our faith (Justin, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyril, Austin) should be put to defend it, or so much as forced to mention it, in their elaborate apologies for the doctrines and practices which were reprehended by any sort of adversaries thereto.

We may add, that divers of them, in their apologies and representations concerning Christianity, would have appeared not to deal fairly, or to have been very inconsiderate, when they profess for their common belief, assertions repugnant to that doctrine;† as when Tertullian saith, "We reverence the emperor as a man second to God, and less only than God;"* when Optatus affirmeth, that "above the emperor there is none beside God, who made the emperor;"† and, that "Donatus by extolling himself" (as some now do) "above the emperor, did in so doing, as it were, exceed the bounds of men, that he did esteem himself as God, not as a man."‡ When St. Chrysostom asserteth "the emperor to be the crown and head of all men upon earth,"|| and saith, that "even apostles, evangelists, prophets, any men whoever,"§ are to be subject to the temporal powers; when St. Cyril calleth the emperor "the supreme top of glory among men, elevated above all others by incomparable difference,"¶ &c. When even popes talk at this rate; as Pope Gregory I., calling the emperor his "lord, and lord of all:"** telling the emperor, that his competitor, by assuming the title of universal bishop, "did set himself above the honour of his imperial majesty;" which he supposeth a piece of great absurdity and arrogance: and even Pope Gregory II. doth call that emperor (against whom he afterward rebelled") "the head of Christians."††

* —— procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspecte vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeo ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas.—*Marcell.* lib. xxvii. p. 338. They travel sitting in chariots, curiously apparalleled, procuring profuse dainties, insomuch as their meals exceed the feasts of kings.

† Sentiunt enim Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes deos. Quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt, et mortuis antistant.—*Tertull. Apolog.* cap. 30. For they think it is God alone in whose power they are, next to whom they are the chief, before all, and above all gods. And why not? when they are above all men alive, and surpass the dead.

* Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo secundum, et solo Deo minorem.—*Tertull. ad Scap.* 2.

† Cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus qui fecit imperatorem.—*Opt.* lib. 3.

‡ ——dum se Donatus super imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum, non hominem æstimaret.—*Id. Ibid.*

|| Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. Chrys. Ἀνδρ. ii. p 463.

§ Κἂν ἀπόστολος ᾖς, κἂν εὐαγγελιστὴς, κἂν προφήτης, κἂν οστισοῦν, &c.—Chrys. in Rom. xiii. 1. Οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ὁ ὑβρισθεὶς ὑμότιμόν τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, βασιλεὺς γὰρ ——. Chrys. supra. For he that is thus wronged has not his equal upon earth, for he is king, &c.

¶ Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀσυγκρίτοις διαφοραῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνεστηχὸς καὶ ὑπερκείμενον, ὑμεῖς, ὦ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς, καὶ κλῆρος ὑμῖν ἐξαίρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ Θεοῦ τῆς ἐνούσης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχῆς.—Cyril. ad Teod. in Conc. Eph. part. i. cap. 3, p. 20.

** P. Greg. M. Ep. ii 62. Quia sereniss. domine ex illo jam tempore dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc dominus omnium non eras —— Ego quidem jussioni subjectus ——. *Ibid.* Ad hoc enim potestas dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines, &c. —*Ibid.* Ego indignus famulus vester.—*Ibid.* Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit.—*P. Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 32.

†† Ὡς βασιλεῦσι καὶ κεφαλῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν.—P. Greg. II. in Epist. 1; ad Leon. Isaur. apud

Whereas, indeed, if the pope be monarch of the church, endowed with the regalities which they now ascribe to him, it is plain enough that he is not inferior to any man living in real power and dignity: wherefore the modern doctrines of Rome are far more sincere or considerate in their heraldry than were those old fathers of Christendom, who now stick not downrightly to prefer the pope before all princes of the world; not only in doctrine and notion, but in the sacred offices of the church: for to the very canon of their mass, the pope (together with the bishop of the diocese, one of his ministers) is set before all Christian princes;* every Christian subject being thereby taught to deem the pope superior to his prince. Now we must believe for one pope hath written it, another hath put it in his decretals, and it is current law) that the papal authority doth no less surpass the royal than the sun doth outshine the moon.†

Now it is abundantly "declared" by papal "definition, as a point necessary to salvation," that "every human creature" (neither king nor Cæsar excepted) "is subject to the Roman high priest."‡

Now the mystery is discovered, why popes, when summoned by emperors, declined to go in person to general synods; because "it was not tolerable that the emperor" (who sometime would be present in synods) "should sit above the pope;"‖ as in the pride of his heart he might perhaps offer to do. (I cannot forbear to note what an ill conceit Bellarmine had of Leo I. and other popes, that they did forbear coming at synods out of their villanous pride and haughtiness.)

15. One would admire, that Constantine, if he had smelt this doctrine, or any thing like it in Christianity, should be so ready to embrace it; or that so many emperors should in those times do so; some princes then probably being jealous of their honour, and unwilling to admit any superior to them.

It is at least much, that emperors should with so much indulgence foster and cherish popes, being their so dangerous rivals for dignity; and that it should be true, which Pope Nicholas doth affirm, that "the emperors had extolled the Roman See with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits;"* had done I know not how many things more for it: surely they were bewitched thus to advance their concurrent competitor for honour and power; one who pretended to be a better man than themselves. Bellarmine (in his Apology against King James) saith, that "the pope was (*vellet, nollet*) constrained to be subject to the emperors, because his power was not known to them;"[j] it was well it was not: but how could it be concealed from them, if it were a doctrine commonly avowed by Christians? It is hard keeping so practical a doctrine from breaking forth into light. But to leave this consideration.

Furthermore, we have divers ancient writings, the special nature, matter, scope whereof did require, or greatly invite giving attestation to this power, if such an one had been known and allowed in those times; which yet do afford no countenance, but rather much prejudice thereto.

16. The apostolical Canons, and the Constitutions of Clement,[k] which describe

Bin. tom. v. p. 502. As king and head of Christians.

* —— una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N. et rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis, &c. Together with thy servant our pope N. and our bishop N. and our king N. and all orthodox, &c.

† Fiat autem oratio pro dignitate regia post orationem factam pro papa quia potestas suprema sacerdotalis excedit regiam antiquitate, dignitate, et utilitate, &c.—*Gab. Biel. in Can. mis.* Let prayer be made for the king after prayer made for the pope; because the supreme sacerdotal power exceeds the kingly in antiquity, dignity, and utility, &c.

‡ Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.—*P. Bonif. VIII. in Extrav. com.* lib. i. tit. 38.

‖ At quamvis utcunque tolerabile sit, ut principes seculares in concilio sedeant ante alios episcopos, tamen nullo modo convenit, ut ante ipsum summum pontificem, &c.—*Bell. de Conc.* i. 19.

* Quapropter attendat clementia vestra; quantus fuerit erga sedis apostolicæ reverentiam antecessorum vestrorum, piorum duntaxat imperatorum —— amor, et studium; qualiter eam diversis privilegiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint; qualiter eam literis suis honoraverint, ejus votis annuerint, &c.—*P. Nich. I. Epist. ad Mich. Imp.*

[j] Apoll. Bell. p. 202.

[k] Const. Apost. viii. 4, &c.

the state of the church, with its laws, customs, and practices current in the times of those who compiled them (which times are not certain, but ancient, and the less ancient the more it is to our purpose), wherein especially the ranks, duties, and privileges of all ecclesiastical persons are declared or prescribed, do not yet touch the prerogatives of this universal head, or the special respects due to him, nor mention any laws or constitutions framed by him: which is no less strange, than that there should be a body of laws, or description of the state of any kingdom, wherein nothing should be said concerning the king, or the royal authority: it is not so in our modern canon law, wherein the pope doth make *utramque paginam;* we read little beside his authority, and decrees made by it.

The Apostolical Canons particularly do prescribe, that "the bishops of each nation should know him that is first among them, and should esteem him the head, and should do nothing considerable" (or extraordinary) "without his advice;" as also that "each one" (of those head bishops) "should only meddle with those affairs which concerned his own precinct, and the places under it:" also, that "no such primate should do any thing without the opinion of all; that so there may be concord."* Now, what place could be more opportune to mention the pope's sovereign power? How could the canonist, without strange neglect, pass it over? Doth he not indeed exclude it, assigning the supreme disposal (without further resort) of all things to the arbitration of the whole body of pastors, and placing the maintenance of concord in that course?

17. So also the old writer, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, treating in several places about the degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, was monstrously overseen in omitting the sovereign thereof:† in the fifth chapter of his ecclesiastical hierarchy he professeth carefully to speak of those orders, but hath not a word of this supereminent rank, but averreth "episcopacy to be the first and highest of divine orders, in which the hierarchy is consummated;"* and in his Epistle to Demophilus, there is a remarkable place, wherein he could hardly have avoided touching the pope, had there been then one in such vogue as now: for advising that monk to gentleness and observance toward his superiors, he thus speaketh: "Let passion and reason be governed by you; but you by the holy deacons, and these by the priests, and the priests by the bishops, and the bishops by the apostles, or by their successors" (that is, saith Maximus, those which we "now call patriarchs;") "and if perhaps any one of them shall fail of his duty, let him be corrected by those holy persons who are co-ordinate to him."† Why not in this case let him be corrected by the pope, his superior? But he knew none of an order superior to the apostles' successors.

18. Likewise, Ignatius in many Epistles frequently describeth the several ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, extolleth their dignity and authority to the highest pitch, mightily urgeth the respect due to them, yet never doth he so much as mention or touch this sovereign degree, wherein the majesty of the clergy did chiefly shine.

In his very Epistle to the Romans he doth not yield any deference to their bishop, nor indeed doth so much as take notice of him. Is it not strange he should so little mind the sovereign of the church? or was it, for a sly reason, because being bishop of Antioch he had a pique to his brother Jacob, who had supplanted him, and got away his birthright?

* Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδέν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης· ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνα πράττειν ἕκαστον, ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὴν χώραις· ἀλλὰ μεδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι· οὕτω γὰρ ὁμόνοια ἔσται.—Ap. Can. 34.

† Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις πρώτη μέν ἐστι τῶν θεοπτικῶν τάξεων, ἀκροτάτη δὲ καὶ ἰσχάτη ἡ αὐτή· καὶ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ἀποτελεῖται καὶ ἀποπληροῦται πᾶσα τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεραρχίας διακόσμησις.—Dionys. de Hier. Eccl. cap. 5.

* Ἐπειδὴ τὰς ἱερατικὰς τάξεις καὶ ἀποπληρώσεις, δυνάμεις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐνεργείας εἰρήκαμεν ὡς ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν.—De Eccl. Hier. cap. 5.

† Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ καὶ λόγῳ τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀφόριζε· σοὶ δὲ οἱ θεῖοι λειτουργοί· καὶ τούτοις οἱ ἱερεῖς· ἱεράρχαι δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι· καὶ τοῖς ἱεράρχαις οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀποστόλων διάδοχοι· καὶ εἴπου τις καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῦ προσήκοντος ἀποσφαλείη, παρὰ τῶν ὁμοταγῶν ἁγίων ἐπανορθωθήσεται, &c.—Dionys. Ar. Ep. 8. Ἀποστόλων δὲ διαδόχους τοὺς νῦν πατριάρχους ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι.—Max. Schol. ibid.

The counterfeiter therefore of Ignatius did well personate him, when he saith, that "in the church there is nothing greater than a bishop;"* and that "a bishop is beyond all rule and authority;"† for in the time of Ignatius there was no domineering pope over all bishops.

19. We have some letters of popes (though not many; for popes were then not very scribatious, or not so pragmatical; whence, to supply that defect, lest popes should seem not able to write, or to have slept almost four hundred years, they have forged divers for them, and those so wise ones, that we who love the memory of those good popes disdain to acknowledge them authors of such idle stuff; we have yet some letters of), and to popes, to and from divers eminent persons in the church, wherein the former do not assume, nor the latter ascribe any such power; the popes do not express themselves like sovereigns, nor the bishops address themselves like subjects; but they treat one another in a familiar way, like brethren and equals: this is so true, that it is a good mark of a spurious epistle (whereof we have good store, devised by colloguing knaves, and fathered on the first popes), when any of them talketh in an imperious strain, or arrogateth such a power to himself.

20. Clemens, bishop of Rome, in the apostolical times unto the church of Corinth, then engaged in discords and factions, wherein the clergy was much affronted (divers presbyters, who had well and worthily behaved themselves, were ejected from their office in a seditious manner), did write a very large Epistle; wherein, like a good bishop, and charitable Christian brother, he doth earnestly, by manifold inducements, persuade them to charity and peace;‡ but nowhere doth he speak imperiously, like their prince: in such a case one would think, if ever, for quashing such disorders and quelling so "perverse folks," who spurned the clergy, it had been decent, it had been expedient, to employ his authority, and to speak like himself, challenging obedience, upon duty to him, and at their peril.* How would a modern pope have ranted in such a case? how thundering a bull would he have despatched against such outrageous contemners of the ecclesiastical order? how often would he have spoken of the apostolic see and its authority? We should infallibly have heard him swagger in his wonted style, "Whoever shall presume to cross our will, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul."† But our popes, it seemeth, have more wit or better mettle than Pope Clement; that good pope did not know his own strength, or had not the heart to use it.

21. Among the Epistles of St. Cyprian there are divers Epistles of him to several popes (to Cornelius, to Lucius, to Stephanus),[1] in the which, although written with great kindness and respect, yet no impartial eye can discern any special regard to them, as to his superiors in power, or pastors in doctrine, or judges of practice;‡ he reporteth matters to them, he conferreth about points with all freedom; he speaketh his sense and giveth his advice without any restraint or awe; he spareth not upon occasion to reprove their practices, and to reject their opinions; he, in his addresses to them, and discourses of them, styleth them "brethren" and "colleagues;" and he continually treateth them as such upon even terms: "When," saith he to the clergy of Rome, "dearest brethren, there was among us an uncertain rumour con-

* Οὔτε Θεοῦ τις κρείττων, ἢ παραπλήσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν, οὐδὲ δὲ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπισκόπου τι μεῖζον.—Pseud. Ignat. ad Smyrn.

† Τί γάρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐπέκεινα, &c.—Id. ad Trall.

‡ Ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐνίους ὑμεῖς μετηγάγετε καλῶς πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῆς ἀμέμπτως αὐτοῖς τετιμημένης λειτουργίας.—Clem. ad Corinth. Ep. i. p. 58, Jun. For we see that you have removed some, who behaved themselves well in their office, out of their ministry blamelessly discharged by them. Στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

* Πρόσωπα προσπεσῇ καὶ ἀθθάδη. p. 2.

† Si quis voluntati nostræ contraire præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostoli se noverit incursurum. In such terms usually the pope's bulls do end.

‡ Et quamquam sciam, frater charissime, pro mutua dilectione, quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis, florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti, &c.—*Ep.* 55. And although I know, most dear brother, out of the mutual love and respect which we owe and yield one to another, &c.

[1] Cypr. Ep. 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54, 55, 57, 58, 67, 72.

cerning the decease of the good man my colleague, Fabianus:"* upon which words Rigaltius had cause to remark, "How like an equal and fellow-citizen doth the bishop of Carthage mention the bishop of Rome, even to the Roman clergy!"† But would not any man now be deemed rude and saucy, who should talk in that style of the pope?

Pope Cornelius also to St. Cyprian hath some Epistles,[m] wherein no glimpse doth appear of any superiority assumed by him. But of St. Cyprian's judgment and demeanour towards popes, we shall have occasion to speak more largely, in a way more positively opposite to the Roman pretences.

Eusebius citeth divers long passages out of an Epistle of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, against Novatus;[n] wherein no mark of this supremacy doth appear; although the magnitude and flourishing state of the Roman church is described, for aggravation of Novatus's schism and ambition.

Pope Julius hath a notable long Epistle, extant in one of Athanasius's Apologies, unto the bishops assembled at Antioch; wherein he had the fairest occasion that could be to assert and insist upon this sovereign authority, they flatly denying and impugning it; questioning his proceedings as singular, supposing him subject to the laws of the church no less than any other bishop; and downrightly affirming each of themselves to be his equal; about which point he thought good not to contend with them; but waving pretences to superiority, he justifieth his actions by reasons grounded on the merit of the cause, such as any other bishop might allege: but this Epistle I shall have more particular occasion to discuss.

Pope Liberius hath an Epistle to St. Athanasius, wherein he not only (for his direction and satisfaction) doth inquire his opinion about the point; but professeth, in compliment perchance, that he shall obediently follow it: "Write," saith he, "whether you do think as we do, and just so, about the true faith, that I may be undoubtedly assured about what you think good to command me."* Was not that spoken indeed like a courteous sovereign, and an accomplished judge in matters of faith?[o] The same pope in the head of the western, doth write to a knot of eastern bishops, whom they call "their beloved brethren and fellow ministers;" and in a brotherly strain, not like an emperor.

In the time of Damasus, successor to Liberius, St. Basil hath divers Epistles to the western bishops,†[p] wherein, having represented and bewailed the wretched state of the eastern churches, then overborne with heresies and unsettled by factions, he craveth their charity, their prayers, "their sympathy, their comfort, their brotherly aid;" by affording to the orthodox and sound party the countenance of their communion, by joining with them in contention for truth and peace; for that the communion of so great churches would be of mighty weight to support and strengthen their cause; giving credit thereto among the people, and inducing the emperor to deal fairly with them, in respect to such a multitude of adherents; especially of those which were at such a distance, and not so immediately subject to the eastern emperor; for, "If" (saith he) "very many of you do concur unanimously in the same opinion, it is manifest that the multitude of consenters will make the doctrine to be

* Cum de excessu boni viri collegæ mei, rumor apud nos incertus esset, collegæ charissimi——. *Cypr.* Ep. 4.

† Quam ex æquo, et civilis mentio episcopi Romani ab episcopo Carthaginis apud clerum? —*Rigalt.* ibid.

[m] Cypr. Ep. 46, 48.

[n] Euseb. vi. 43.

* Γράψον, εἰ οὕτω φρονεῖς καθὸ καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἐν ἀληθινῇ πίστει· ἵνα κἀγὼ πεποιθὼς ὦ ἀδιακρίτως περὶ ὧν ἀξιοῖς κελεύειν μοι.—Liber. ad Ath. tom. i. p. 243.

† Ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦμεν συμπαθεῖσα ἡμῶν ταῖς διαιρέσεσι.—Ep. 61. Εἴτι οὖν παραμύθιον ἀγάπης, εἴτις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴτινα σπλάγχνα καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ, κινήθητε πρὸς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν.—Ibid. We beseech you to have a fellow-feeling of our distractions. If there be any comfort of love, any fellowship of the Spirit, any bowels and mercies, be ye moved with pity and commiseration to help us. Δότε χεῖρα τοῖς εἰς γόνυ κλιθεῖσι, συγκινηθήτω ἐφ' ἡμῖν τὰ ἀδελφικὰ ὑμῶν σπλάγχνα, προχυθήτω δάκρυα συμπαθείας.—Ep. 69. Ἐπιβοησάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψιν ἡμῶν καὶ συμπάθειαν.—Ep. 70. Ἐλθεῖν τινὰς παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν καὶ παραμυθίαν τῶν θλιβομένων. —Ibid. Vide Ep. 74. (εἰ μὲν διορθοῖντο, εἶναι κοινωνικοὺς, &c.)

[o] Socr. iv. 12.

[p] Ep. 61, 69, 70, 74, 182.

received without contradiction;"* and, "I know" (saith he again, writing to Athanasius about these matters, "but one way of redress to our churches, the conspiring with us of the western bishops;"† the which being obtained, "would probably yield some advantage to the public, the secular power revering the credibility of the multitude, and the people all about following them without repugnance;"‡ and, "You," saith he to the western bishops, "the further you dwell from them, the more credible you will be to the people."||

This indeed was according to the ancient rule and practice in such cases, that any church being oppressed with error, or distracted with contentions, should from the bishops of other churches receive aid to the removal of those inconveniences. That it was the rule, doth appear from what we have before spoken, and of the practice there be many instances; for so did St. Cyprian send two of his clergy to Rome, to compose the schism there, moved by Novation against Cornelius; so was St. Chrysostom called to Ephesus (although out of his jurisdiction), to settle things there; so (to omit divers instances occurring in history) St. Basil himself was called by the church of Iconium, "to visit it, and to give it a bishop;" although it did not belong to his ordinary inspection; and he doth tell the bishops of the coasts (*παραλιώται*), that they should have done well "in sending" some to "visit" and assist his churches "in their distresses."§

But now how, I pray, cometh it to pass, that in such a case he should not have a special recourse to the pope; but in so many addresses should only wrap him up in a community? Why should he not humbly petition him to exert his sovereign authority for the relief of the eastern churches, laying his charge, and inflicting censures on the dissenters? Why should he lay all the stress of his hopes on the consent of the western bishops? Why doth he not say a word of the dominion resident in them over all the church? These things are unconceivable, if he did take the pope to be the man our adversaries say he is.

But St. Basil had other notions:[q] for indeed, being so wise and good a man, if he had taken the pope for his sovereign, he would not have taxed him as he doth, and so complain of him: when speaking of the western bishops (whereof the pope was *the ringleader*, and most concerned), he hath these words (occasioned, as I conceive, by the bishop of Rome's rejecting that excellent person, Meletius, bishop of Antioch:) "What we should write, or how to join with those that write, I am in doubt—for I am apt to say that of Diomedes, You ought not to request, for he is a haughty man; for in truth observance doth render men of proud manners more contemptuous than otherwise they are."*—"For if the Lord be propitious to us, what other addition do we need? but if the anger of God continue, what help can we have from the western superciliousness? who in truth neither know nor endure to learn; but being prepossessed with false suspicions, do now do those things which they

* Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ συμφώνως πλείονες ὁμοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ δογματίσητε, δῆλον ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δογματισάντων ἀναντίῤῥητον πᾶσι τὴν παραδοχὴν κατασκευάσει τοῦ δόγματος.—Ep. 74. (Ep. 293.)

† —— μίαν ἐπιγνοὺς ὁδὸν βαηθείας ταῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίαις, τὴν παρὰ τῶν δυτικῶν ἐπισκόπων σύμπνοιαν ——, Ep. 48.

‡ Τάχα ἄν τι γένοιτο τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄφελος, τῶν τε κρατούντων τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τοῦ πλήθους ὑποπτευόντων, καὶ τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ λαῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτοῖς ἀναντιῤῥήτως.—Ib.

|| Ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅσον μακρὰν αὐτῶν ἀπωκισμένοι τυγχάνετε, τοσοῦτον πλέον παρὰ τοῖς λαοῖς ἀξιόπιστον ἔχετε.—Ep. 74.

§ Quod servis Dei, et maxime sacerdotibus justis et pacificis congruebat, frater charissime, miseramus nuper collegas nostros Caldonium et Fortunatum, ut non tantum persuasione literarum nostrarum, sed præsentia sua, et consilio omnium vestrum eniterentur, quantum possent, et elaborarent, ut ad catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem scissi corporis membra componeret ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 42, *ad Cornel. Pallad.* As it becomed the servants of God, especially righteous and peaceable priests, most dear brother, we lately sent our colleagues Caldonius and Fortunatus, that they might, not only by the persuasion of our letters, but also by their presence, and the advice of you all, endeavour to their utmost and strive to reduce the members of that divided body to the unity of the catholic church. Αὕτη καλεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, ὥστε αὐτῇ δοῦναι ἐπίσκοπον.—Bas. Ep. 8. Ἀκόλουθον ἦν παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης καὶ τῶν γνησίων τινὰς ἀποστέλλεσθαι συνεχῶς, εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἡμῶν τῶν καταπονουμένων.—Ep. 77.

* Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεραπευόμενα τὰ ἐπηρεῖφανα ἤθη ἑαυτῶν ὑπερπτικώτερα γίνεσθαι πέφυκε.—Bas. Ep. 10, ab Euseb. Samos. Ep.

q *Vide* Epist. 272, 273, 321, 325, 349.

did before in the cause of Marcellus; affecting to contend with those who report the truth to them; and establishing heresy by themselves."* Would that excellent person (the greatest man of his time in reputation for wisdom and piety) have thus, unbowelling his mind in an epistle to a very eminent bishop, smartly reflected on the qualities and procedings of the western clergy, charging them with pride and haughtiness, with a suspicious and contentious humour, with incorrigible ignorance, and indisposition to learn; if he had taken him, who was the leader in all these matters, to have been his superior and sovereign? Would he have added the following words immediately touching him: "I would in the common name have written to there ringleader, nothing indeed about ecclesiastical affairs, except only to intimate, that they neither do know the truth of things with us, nor do admit the way by which they may understand it; but in general about their being bound not to set upon those who were humbled with afflictions; nor should judge themselves dignified by pride, a sin which alone sufficeth to make one God's enemy."† Surely this great man knew better what belonged to government and manners, than in such rude terms to accost his sovereign: nor would he have given him that character, which he doth otherwhere; where speaking of his brother, St. Gregory Nyssen, he saith he was an unfit agent to Rome, because, "although his address with a sober man would find much reverence and esteem; yet to a haughty and reserved man, sitting I know not where above, and thence not able to hear those below speaking the truth to him, what profit can there be to the public from the converse of such a man, whose disposition is averse from illiberal flattery?"* But these speeches suit with that conceit which St. Basil (as Baronius, I know not[q] whence, reporteth) expressed by saying, "I hate the pride of that church;"[r] which humour in them that good man would not be guilty of fostering by too much obsequiousness.

St. Chrysostom[s] having, by the practices of envious men, combined against him in a packed assembly of bishops, upon vain surmises, being sentenced and driven from his see, did thereupon write an epistle to Pope Innocent I. bishop of Rome, together with his brethren the bishops of Italy;[t] therein representing his case, complaining of the wrong, vindicating his innocency, displaying the iniquity of the proceedings against him, together with the mischievous consequences of them toward the whole church, then requiring his succour for redress: yet (although the sense of his case, and care of his interest, were likely to suggest the greatest deference that could be) neither the style, which is very respectful, nor the matter, which is very copious, do imply any acknowledgment of the pope's supremacy: he doth not address to him as to a governor of all, who could by his authority command justice to be done, but as to a brother, and a friend of innocence, from whose endeavour he might procure relief;† he had "recourse," not to his sovereign power, but "to his *brotherly* love;" he "informed his charity," not appealed to his bar;‡ he in short did no more than implore his assistance in an ecclesiastical way; that he would express his resentment of so irregular dealings; that he would avow communion with him, as with an orthodox bishop innocent and abused; that he would procure his cause to be brought to a fair trial in a synod of bishops, lawfully called and indifferently

* —— Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὀφρύος; οἱ γόγε ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται, ψευδέσι δὲ ὑπονοίαις προειλημμένοι, ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ· πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀναγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες· τὴν δὲ αἵρεσιν δι' ἑαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες.—Ibid.

† Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ σχήματος ἐβουλόμην αὐτῶν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ κορυφαίῳ, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ ὅσον παραινίξασθαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἴσασιν τῶν παρ'ἡμῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτε τὴν ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἂν μάθοιεν καταδέχονται· καθόλου δὲ περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πειρασμῶν ταπεινωθεῖσιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, μηδὲ ἀξίωμα κρίνειν ὑπερηφανίαν, ἁμάρτημα, καὶ μόνον ἀρκοῦν ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι εἰς Θεόν.—Ibid.

* Καὶ εὐγνώμονι μὲν ἀνδρὶ αἰδέσιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοῦ ἀξίαν τὴν συντυχίαν· ὑψηλῷ δὲ καὶ μετεώρῳ, ἃ ἂν κατ' ἐμὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀκούειν τῶν χαμόθεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀλήθειαν φθεγγομένων μὴ δυναμένῳ, τί ἂν γένοιτο ὄφελος τοῖς κοινοῖς, παρὰ τῆς τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρὸς ὁμιλίας, ὃς ἀλλότριον ἔχει θωπείας ἀνελευθέρου τὸ ἦθος; Bas. Ep. 250.

† Πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀναδραμεῖν ἀγάπην.

‡ Διδάξομεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἀγάπην.

[r] Anast. ad Joh. Hier. apud Hier.

[s] Tom. vii. Epist. 122.

[t] *Vide* Laun. Epist. i. 3.

affected.* Had the good man had any conceit of the pope's supremacy, he would, one would think, have framed his address in other terms, and sued for another course of proceeding in his behalf: but it is plain enough that he had no such notion of things, nor had any ground for such a one. For indeed Pope Innocent, in his answer to him, could do no more than exhort him to patience; in another, to his clergy and people, could only comfort them, declare his dislike of the adversaries' proceedings and grounds; signify his intentions to procure a general synod, with hopes of a redress thence; his sovereign power, it seems, not availing to any such purposes: "But what" (saith he) "can we do in such cases? A synodical cognizance is necessary, which we heretofore did say ought to be called; the which alone can allay the motions of such tempest."†

It is true, that the later popes (Siricius, Anastasius, Innocent, Zozimus, Bonifacius, Celestinus, &c.) after the Sardican Council, in their epistles to the western bishops, over whom they had encroached, and who were overpowered by them, &c., do speak in somewhat more lofty strain; but are more modest toward those of the east, who could not bear, &c.

22. Further; it is most prodigious, that in the disputes managed by the Fathers against heretics (the Gnostics, Valentinians, Marcionites, Montanists, Manichees, Paulianists, Arians, &c.) they should not, even in the first place, allege and urge the sentence of the universal pastor and judge, as a most evidently conclusive argument, as the most efficacious and compendious method of convincing and silencing them. Had this point been well proved and pressed, then, without any more concertations from scripture, tradition, reason, all heretics had been quite defeated; and nothing then could more easily have been proved, if it had been true, when the light of tradition did shine so brightly; nothing indeed had been to sense more conspicuous than the continual exercise of such an authority.

We see now among those who admit such an authority, how surely, when it may be had, it is alleged, and what sway it hath, to the determination of any controversy: and so it would have been then, if it had been then as commonly known and avowed.

23. Whereas divers of the Fathers purposely do treat on methods of confuting heretics, it is strange they should be so blind or dull, as not to hit on this most proper and obvious way of referring debates to the decision of him to whose office of universal pastor and judge it did belong: particularly, one would wonder at Vincentius Lirinensis, that he on set purpose, with great care, discoursing about the means of settling points of faith, and of overthrowing heresies, should not light upon this notable way, by having recourse to the pope's magisterial sentence; yea, that indeed he should exclude it; for he ("after most intense study, and diligent inquiry, consulting the best and wisest men),"* could find but two ways of doing it: "I" (saith he) "did always, and from almost every one, receive this answer—That if I or any other would find out the frauds and avoid the snares of upstart heretics, and continue sound and upright in the true faith, he should guard and strengthen his faith, God helping him, by these two means: viz. first, by the authority of the divine law, and then by the tradition of the catholic church."† And again, "We before have said that this hath always been, and is at present, the custom of catholics, that they prove their faith

* —— Ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς οὐχ ἁλόντας, οὐκ ἐλεγχομένους, οὐκ ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπευθύνους, τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅστε ἀπολαύειν συνεχῶς, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὥνπερ καὶ ἔμπροσθεν. But as for us, we who are not condemned, nor convicted, nor proved guilty, let us continually enjoy the benefit of your letters, and love, and all other things as before.

† Ἀλλὰ τί κατὰ τῶν τοιούτων νῦν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσωμεν; ἀναγκαία ἐστι διάγνωσις συνοδική ἣν καὶ πάλαι ἔφημεν συναθροιστέαν· μονη γάρ ἐστιν, ἥτις δύναται τὰς κινήσεις τῶν τοιούτων καταστεῖλαι καταιγίδων ——. Soz. viii. 26.

* Sæpe igitur magno studio, et summa attentione perquirens a quamplurimis sanctitate et doctrina præstantibus viris, &c. p. 316. (in edit. *Balus.*)

† Hujusmodi semper responsum ab omnibus fere retuli, quod sive ego, sive quis alius vellet exurgentium hæreticorum fraudes deprehendere, laqueosque vitare, et in fide sana sanus atque integer permanere, duplici modo munire fidem suam Domino adjuvante deberet; primo scilicet divinæ legis auctoritate, tum deinde ecclesiæ catholicæ traditione —p. 317.

by these two ways: first, by authority of the divine canon; then by the tradition of the universal church."*

Is it not strange, that he (especially being a western man, living in those parts where the pope had got much sway, and who doth express great reverence to the apostolic see) should omit that way of determining points, which of all (according to the modern conceits about the pope) is most ready and most sure?

24. In like manner Tertullian professeth the catholics in his time to use such compendious methods of confuting heretics: "We," saith he, "when we would despatch against heretics for the faith of the gospel, do commonly use these short ways, which do maintain both the order of times prescribing against the lateness of impostors, and the authority of the churches patronising apostolical tradition."† But why did he skip over a more compendious way than any of those; namely, standing to the judgment of the Roman bishop?‡

25. It is true, that both he, and St. Irenæus before him, disputing against the heretics of their times,|| who had introduced pernicious novelties of their own devising, when they allege the general consent of churches (planted by the apostles, and propagated by continual successions of bishops from those whom the apostles did ordain) in doctrines and practices opposite to those devices, as a good argument (and so indeed it then was, next to a demonstration) against them, do produce the Roman church as a principal one among them, upon several obvious accounts; and this indeed argueth the Roman church to have been then one competent witness, or credible retainer of tradition; as also were the other apostolical churches, to whose testimony they likewise appeal. But what is this to the Roman bishop's judicial power in such cases? Why do they not urge that in plain terms? They would certainly have done so, if they had known it, and thought it of any validity.

Do but mark their words, involving the force of their argumentation: "When" (saith Irenæus) "we do again" (after allegation of scripture) "appeal to that tradition which is from the apostles, which by successions of presbyters is preserved in the churches:"* and, "That" (saith Tertullian) "will appear to have been delivered by the apostles, which hath been kept as holy in the apostolical churches: let us see what milk the Corinthians did draw from Paul; what the Philippians, the Thessalonians, the Ephesians do read: what also the Romans, our nearer neighbours, do say, to whom both Peter and Paul did leave the gospel sealed with their blood: we have also the churches nursed by John,"† &c. Again, "It is therefore manifest" (saith he, in his Prescriptions against Heretics) "that every doctrine which doth conspire with those apostolical churches, in which the faith originally was planted, is to be accounted true; as undoubtedly holding that which the churches did receive from the apostles, the apostles from Christ, and Christ from God; but all other doctrine is to be prejudged false, which doth think against the truth of the churches, and of the apostles, and of Christ, and of God."‡ Their argumentation then, in

* Diximus in superioribus hanc fuisse semper et esse hodie catholicorum consuetudinem ut fidem veram duobus his modis adprobent; primum divini canonis auctoritate, deinde ecclesiæ catholicæ traditione.—p 364.

† His fere compendiis utimur, quum de evangelii fide adversus hæreticos expedimur, defendentibus et temporum ordinem posteritati falsariorum præscribentem, et auctoritatem ecclesiarum traditioni apostolorum patrocinantem.—*Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

‡ Solemus hæreticis compendii gratia de posteritate præscribere.—*Tertull. contra Hermog.* cap. 1.

|| The like discourse against heretics doth Clemens Alexandrinus use.—*Strom.* vii. p. 549.

* Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab apostolis, quæ per successores presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus ——. *Iren.* iii. 2.

† Constabit id esse ab apostolis traditum quod apud ecclesias apostolicas fuerit sacrosanctum; videamus quod lac a Paulo Corinthii hauserint; quid legant Philippenses, Thessalonicenses, Ephesii; quid etiam Romani de proximo sonent; quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt; habemus et Johannis alumnas ecclesias, &c.—*Adv. Marc.* iv. 5.

‡ Constat proinde omnem doctrinam, quæ cum illis ecclesiis apostolicis matricibus et originalibus fidei conspiret, veritati deputandam, id sine dubio tenentem quod ecclesiæ ab apostolis, apostoli a Christo, Christus a Deo suscepit; reliquam vero doctrinam de mendacio præjudicandam, quæ sapiat contra veritatem ecclesiarum, et apostolorum, et Christi, et Dei. —*Tert. de Præscr.* 21.

short, is plainly this: that the conspiring of the churches in doctrines contrary to those which the heretics vented, did irrefragably signify those doctrines to be apostolical: which discourse doth nowise favour the Roman pretences, but indeed, if we do weigh it, is very prejudicial thereto; it thereby appearing, that Christian doctors then, in the canvassing of points and assuring tradition, had no pecular regard to the Roman church's testimony, no deference at all to the Roman bishop's authority (not otherwise at least than to the authority of one single bishop yielding attestation to tradition.)

26. It is odd, that even old popes themselves, in elaborate tracts disputing against heretics (as Pope Celestine against Nestorius and Pelagius, Pope Leo against Eutyches—), do content themselves to urge testimonies of scripture, and arguments grounded thereon; not alleging their own definitive authority, or using this parlous argumentation: "I, the supreme doctor of the church, and judge of controversies, do assert thus; and therefore you are obliged to submit your assent."

27. It is matter of amazement, if the pope were such as they would have him to be, that in so many bulky volumes of ancient Fathers, living through many ages after Christ, in those vast treasuries of learning and knowledge, wherein all sorts of truth are displayed, all sorts of duty are pressed, this momentous point of doctrine and practice should nowhere be expressed in clear and peremptory terms (I speak so, for that by wresting words, by impertinent application, by straining consequences, the most ridiculous positions imaginable may be deduced from their writings.)

It is strange, that somewhere or other, at least incidentally, in their commentaries upon the scripture, wherein many places concerning the church and its hierarchy do invite to speak of the pope; in their treatises about the priesthood, about the unity and peace of the church, about heresy and schism; in their epistles concerning ecclesiastical affairs; in their historical narrations about occurrences in the church; in their concertations with heterodox adversaries, they should not frequently touch it, they should not sometimes largely dwell upon it.

Is it not marvellous, that Origen, St. Hilary, St Cyril, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Austin, in their commentaries and tractates upon those places of scripture [*Tu es Petrus. Pasce oves*] whereon they now build the papal authority, should be so dull and drowsy as not to say a word concerning the pope?

That St. Austin, in his so many elaborate tractates against the Donatists (wherein he discourseth so prolixly about the church, its unity, communion, discipline), should never insist upon the duty of obedience to the pope, or charge those schismatics with their rebellion against him, or allege his authority against them?

If we consider that the pope was bishop of the imperial city, the metropolis of the world; that he thence was most eminent in rank, did abound in wealth, did live in great splendour and reputation; had may dependencies, and great opportunities to gratify and relieve many of the clergy; that of the Fathers whose volumes we have, as well affected towards him, divers were personally obliged to him for his support in their distress (as Athanasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret;) or as to their patrons and benefactors (as St. Jerome;) divers could not but highly respect him as patron of the cause wherein they were engaged (as Basil, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hilary, Gregory Nyssen, Ambrose, Austin;) some were his partisans in a common quarrel (as Cyril;) divers of them lived in places and times wherein he had got much sway (as all the western bishops;) that he had then improved his authority much beyond the old limits; that all the bishops of the western or Latin churches had a peculiar dependence on him (especially after that by advantage of his station, by favour of the court, by colour of the Sardican canons, by voluntary deferences and submissions, by several tricks, he had wound himself to meddle in most of their chief affairs;)* that hence divers bishops were tempted to admire, to court, to flatter him; that divers aspiring popes were apt

* Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης.—Socr. vii. 11. The bishopric of Rome is like to that of Alexandria, having now long ago arrived to that height of power above and beyond the priesthood.

to encourage the commenders of their authority, which they themselves were apt to magnify and inculcate; considering, I say, such things, it is a wonder that in so many voluminous discourses so little should be said favouring this prepretence, so nothing that proveth it [so much that crosseth it, so much indeed, as I hope to shew, that quite overthroweth it.]

If it be asked how we can prove this, I answer, that (beside who carefully peruseth those old books, will easily see it) we are beholden to our adversaries for proving it to us, when they least intended as such a favour: for that no clear and cogent passages for proof of this pretence can be thence fetched, is sufficiently evident from the very allegations which, after their most diligent raking in old books, they produce; the which are so few, and fall so very short of their purpose, that without much stretching they signify nothing.

28. It is monstrous, that in the code of the catholic church (consisting of the decrees of so many synods, concerning ecclesiastical order and discipline) there should not be one canon directly declaring his authority; nor any mention made of him, except thrice accidentally;[t] once upon occasion of declaring the authority of the Alexandrine bishop, the other upon occasion of assigning to the bishop of Constantinople the "second place of honour," and "equal privileges" with him.

If it be objected, that these discourses are negative, and therefore of small force; I answer, that therefore they are most proper to assert such a negative proposition: for how can we otherwise better shew a thing not to be, than by shewing it to have no footstep there, where it is supposed to stand? How can we more clearly argue a matter of right to want proof, than by declaring it not to be extant in the laws grounding such right; not taught by the masters who profess to instruct in such things; not testified in records concerning the exercise of it? Such arguments indeed in such cases are not merely negative, but rather privative; proving things not to be, because not affirmed there, where in reason they ought to be affirmed; standing therefore upon positive suppositions, that holy scripture, that general tradition are not imperfect and lame toward their design; that ancient writers were competently intelligent, faithful, diligent; that all of them could not conspire in perpetual silence about things, of which they had often fair occasion and great reason to speak: in fine, such considerations, however they may be deluded by sophistical wits, will yet bear great sway, and often will amount near to the force of demonstration, with men of honest prudence. However, we shall proceed to other discourses more direct and positive against the popish doctrine.

II. Secondly, we shall shew that this pretence, upon several accounts, is contrary to the doctrine of holy scripture.

1. This pretence doth thwart the holy scripture, by assigning to another the prerogatives and peculiar titles appropriated therein to our Lord.

The scripture asserteth him to be our only Sovereign Lord and King: *To us*, saith it, *there is one Lord;* and, *One King shall be king over them;* who *shall reign over the house of David for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end;* who is *the only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords;* the *one Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy.*[u]

The scripture speaketh of one *Archpastor*, and *great Shepherd of the sheep*, exclusively to any other; for, *I will* (said God in the prophet) *set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed the sheep;* and, *There* (saith our Lord himself) *shall be one fold, and one shepherd:* who that shall be he expresseth, adding, *I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep*[v] (by Pope Boniface's good leave, who maketh St. Peter or himself this shepherd.)[w]

The scripture telleth us, that we have

[t] Conc. Nic. can. 6; Conc. Const. can. 2; Conc. Chalc. can. 28.

[u] 1 Cor. viii. 6; xii. 5; Eph. iv. 5; Ez. xxxvii. 22; Luke i. 33; 1 Tim. vi. 15; James iv. 12.

[v] 1 Pet. v. 4; ii. 25; Heb. xiii. 20; Ezek. xxxiv. 23; John x. 16, 11, 14.

[w] Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. 8, c. 1.

one High Priest of our profession,[x] answerable to that *one* in the Jewish church, his type.

The scripture informeth us, that there is but one supreme Doctor, Guide, Father of Christians, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for such: *Ye are all brethren: and call ye not any one father upon earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in heaven: neither be ye called masters; for one is your Master, even Christ.*[y] Good Pope Gregory (not the seventh of that name) did take this for a good argument; for, "What, therefore, dearest brother," said he to John of Constantinople, "wilt thou say in that terrible trial of the Judge who is coming; who dost affect to be called not only Father, but general Father in the world?"*

The scripture representeth the church as a *building whereof Christ himself is the chief corner-stone;*[z] as a family, whereof he being the *Pater-familias*, all others are fellow-servants; as *one body*, having *one head;* whom *God hath given to be head over all things to the church, which is his body.*[a]

He is the one spouse of the church; which title one would think he might leave peculiar to our Lord; there being no vice-husbands; yet hath he been bold even to claim that, as may be seen in the Constitutions of Pope Gregory X. in one of their general synods.[b]

It seemeth therefore a sacrilegious arrogance (derogating from our Lord's honour) for any man to assume or admit those titles of "Sovereign of the Church, Head of the Church, our Lord, Archpastor, highest Priest, chief Doctor, Master, Father, Judge of Christians;" upon what pretence, or under what distinction soever: these "pompatic, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane words;" these "names of singularity, elation, vanity, blasphemy" (to borrow the epithets with which Pope Gregory I. doth brand the titles of "Universal Bishop," and "Œcumenical Patriarch," no less modest in sound, and far more innocent in meaning, than those now ascribed to the pope), are therefore to be rejected; not only because they are injurious to all other pastors, and to the people of God's heritage, but because they do encroach upon our only Lord, to whom they do only belong; much more to usurp the things which they do naturally signify, is a horrible invasion upon our Lord's prerogative.

Thus hath that great pope taught us to argue, in words expressly condemning some, and consequently all of them together with the things which they signify: "What"* (saith he, writing to the bishop of Constantinople, who had admitted the title of Universal Bishop or Patriarch) "wilt thou say to Christ, the head of the universal church, in the trial of the last judgment, who by the appellation of *Universal* dost endeavour to subject all his members to thee? Whom, I pray, dost thou mean to imitate in so perverse a word, but him who, despising the legions of angels constituted in fellowship with him, did endeavour to break forth unto the top of singularity, that he might both be subject to none, and alone be over all? who also said, I will ascend into heaven, and will exalt my throne above the stars——for what are thy brethren, all the bishops of the universal church, but the stars of heaven; to whom while by this haughty word thou desirest to prefer thyself, and to trample on their name in comparison to thee,

* Quid ergo, frater charissime, in illo terribili examine venientis Judicis dicturus es, qui non solum Pater, sed etiam generalis Pater in mundo vocari appetis?—*Greg. M. Epist.* iv. 38.

[x] Heb. iii. 1; ix. 7, 24.

[y] Matt. xxiii. 8, 9.

[z] Eph. ii. 20; 1 Pet. ii. 4.

[a] Heb. iii. 6; Matt. x. 25; Eph. iv. 4; ii. 16; Rom. xii. 5; 1 Cor. xii. 13; Eph. i. 22; iv. 15; v. 23; Col. i. 18; Hos. i. 11; One head, John iii. 29; Eph. v. 23; 2 Cor. xi. 2, ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ.

[b] Sext. Decret. lib. i. tit. vi. cap. 3; Baron. an. 34, § 208; *vide* Greg. I. Epist. lib. iv. Ep. 32, 34, 36, 38, 39; lib. vi. Ep. 24, 28, 30, 31; ib. vii. Ep. 70.

* Tu quid Christo universalis ecclesiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet coneris Universalis appellatione supponere? Quis rogo in hoc tam perverso vocabulo nisi ille ad imitandum proponitur, qui despectis angelorum legionibus secum socialiter constitutis ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videtur? qui etiam dixit, In cœlum conscendam, super astra cœli exaltabo solium meum —— quid enim fratres tui omnes universalis ecclesiæ episcopi, nisi astra cœli sunt? quibus dum cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere, eorumque nomen tui comparatione calcare ——. *Greg.* Ep. iv. 38.

what dost thou say, but, I will climb into heaven?"——

And again, in another epistle to the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, he taxeth the same patriarch for "assuming to boast so that he attempteth to ascribe all things to himself, and studieth by the elation of pompous speech to subject to himself all the members of Christ, which do cohere to one sole head, namely to Christ."*

Again, "I confidently say, that whoever doth call himself Universal Bishop, or desireth to be so called, doth in his elation forerun Antichrist, because he pridingly doth set himself before all others."†

If these argumentations be sound, or signify any thing, what is the pretence of *universal sovereignty and pastorship* but a piece of *Luciferian arrogance?* Who can imagine that even this pope could approve, could assume, could exercise it? If he did, was he not monstrously senseless, and above measure impudent, to use such discourses, which so plainly, without altering a word, might be retorted upon him; which are built upon suppositions, that it is unlawful and wicked to assume superiority over the church, over all bishops, over all Christians; the which indeed (seeing never pope was of greater repute, or did write in any case more solemnly and seriously) have given to the pretences of his successors so deadly a wound, that no balm of sophistical interpretation can be able to heal it.

We see that according to St. Gregory M. our Lord Christ is "the one only head of the church;"[c] to whom for company let us adjoin St. Basil M. (that we may have both Greek and Latin for it), who saith, that (according to St. Paul) "we are the body of Christ, and members one of another, because it is manifest that the one and sole truly head, which is Christ, doth hold and connect each one to another unto concord."*

To decline these allegations of scripture, they have forged distinctions, of several kinds of churches, and several sorts of heads; the which evasions I shall not particularly discourse, seeing it may suffice to observe in general, that no such distinctions have any place or any ground in scripture, nor can well consist with it; which simply doth represent the church as one kingdom, *a kingdom of heaven, a kingdom not of this world*; all the subjects whereof have *their πολιτευμα in heaven*,[d] or are considered as members of a city there; so that it is vain to seek for a sovereign thereof in this world: the which also doth to the catholic church sojourning on earth usually impart the name and attributes properly appertaining to the church most universal (comprehensive of all christians in heaven and upon earth),[e] because that is a visible representative of this, and we by joining in offices of piety with that do communicate with this; whence that which is said of one (concerning the unity of its king, its head, its pastor, its priest) is to be under-

* Jactantiam sumpsit ita ut universa sibi tentet adscribere, et omnia quæ soli uni capiti cohærent, videlicet Christo, per elationem pompatici sermonis ejusdem Christi sibi studeat membra subjugare.—*Gr. M.* Ep. iv. 36. The same words we have in the epistle of pope Pelagius (predecessor of St. Gregory) to the bishops of Constantinople. (P. Pelagii Ep. 8.)

† Ego autem fidenter dico, quia quisquis se Universalem Sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.—(*Greg. I.* lib. vi. Ep. 30.) Nec dispari superbia ad errorem ducitur; quia sicut perversus ille Deus videri vult super omnes homines; ita quisquis est, qui solus sacerdos appellari appetit, super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit.—(*ad Mauric. Aug.*)

[c] *Vide* P. Pelag. Ep. 3.

* Κρατούσης δηλονότι καὶ συνεκτούσης ἕκαστον τῷ ἄλλῳ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν τῆς λιάς καὶ μόνης ἀληθῶς κεφαλῆς, ἥτις ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός.—Bas. M. de Jud. Div. tom. ii. p. 261. Totus Christus caput et corpus est; caput unigenitus Dei Filius, et corpus ejus ecclesiæ, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una. Quicunque de ipso capite ab scripturis sanctis dissentiunt, etiamsi in omnibus locis inveniantur in quibus ecclesia designata est, non sunt in ecclesia, &c.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 4; *vide* contra *Petil.* iii. 42. Whole Christ is the head and the body; the head the only begotten Son of God, and and his body the church, the bridegroom and the spouse, two in one flesh. Whoever disagree about the head itself from the holy scriptures, though they are found in all places in which the church is designed, they are not in the church, &c. It was unhappily expressed by Bellarmine —— Ecclesia secluso etiam Christo unum caput habere debet.—*De pont. R.* i. 9 §. Ac ne forte. The church, even Christ himself, being set aside, ought to have one head.

[d] John xviii. 36; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. xii. 22.

[e] Acts xx. 28; Matt. xvi. 18; 1 Cor xii. 28; xv. 9; Gal. i. 13.

stood of the other;[f] especially considering that our Lord, according to his promise, is ever present with the church here, governing it by the efficacy of his Spirit and grace, so that no other corporeal or visible head of this spiritual body is needful.*

It was to be sure a visible headship which St. Gregory did so eagerly impugn and exclaim against; for he could not apprehend the bishop of Constantinople so wild, as to affect a jurisdiction over the church mystical, or invisible.

2. Indeed, upon this very account, the Romish pretence doth not well accord with holy scripture,[g] because it transformeth the church into another kind of body than it was constituted by God, according to the representation of it in scripture: for there it is represented as a spiritual and heavenly society, compacted by the bands of *one faith*, *one hope*, *one spirit* of charity:[h] but this pretence turneth it into a worldly frame; united by the same bands of interest and design; managed in the same manner, by terror and allurement; supported by the same props of force, of policy, of wealth, of reputation and splendour, as all other secular corporations are.†

You may call it what you please; but it is evident, that in truth the papal monarchy is a temporal dominion, driving on worldly ends by worldly means; such as our Lord did never mean to institute: so that the subjects thereof may with far more reason than the people of Constantinople had, when their bishop Nestorius did stop some of their priests from contradicting him, say, "We have a king; a bishop we have not:"‡ so that upon every pope we may charge that whereof Anthimus was accused, in the synod of Constantinople, under Menas: "That he did account the greatness and dignity of the priesthood to be, not a spiritual charge of souls, but as a kind of politic rule."*

This was that which seeming to be affected by the bishop of Antioch, in encroachment upon the church of Cyprus, the Fathers of the Ephesine synod did endeavour to nip; enacting a canon against all such invasions, "lest under pretext of holy discipline the pride of worldly authority should creep in."† And what pride of that kind could they mean beyond that which now the popes do claim and exercise?‡ Now, do I say, after that the papal empire hath swollen to such a bulk: whereas so long ago, when it was but in its bud and stripling age, it was observed of it by a very honest historian, "that the Roman episcopacy had long since advanced into a high degree of power beyond the priesthood."‖

3. This pretence doth thwart the scripture by destroying that brotherly co-ordination and equality, which our Lord did appoint among the bishops and chief pastors of his church: he did (as we before shewed) prohibit all his apostles to assume any domination, or authoritative superiority over one another; the which command, together with others concerning the pastoral function, we may well suppose to reach their successors: so did St. Jerome suppose, collecting thence that all bishops by original institution are equals, or that no one by our Lord's order may challenge superiority over another: "Wherever" (saith he) "a bishop is, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the

* Christus arbitrio et nutu ac præsentia sua et præpositos ipsos, et ecclesiam cum præpositis gubernat.—*Cypr.* Ep. 69. Christ, by his own arbitrement, and power, and presence, governs both the bishops themselves, and the church with the bishops.

† Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret.—*Greg. M.* Ep. vii. 111. Our head, which is Christ, would therefore have us to be his members, that by the conjunction of charity and faith he might make us to be one body.

‡ Βασιλέα ἔχομεν, ἐπίσκοπον οὐκ ἔχομεν.—Conc. Eph. Part. cap. 30.

[f] Matt. xxviii. 20.

[g] John xviii. 36.

[h] Eph. iv. 4, 5; 2 Cor. x. 4.

* Τὸ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνην μέγεθος καὶ ἀξίωμα οὐ πνευματικὴν ψυχῶν ἐπιστασίαν εἶναι λογισάμενος, ἀλλ' οἷόν τινα πολιτικὴν ἀρχήν, &c.—Conc. sub. Men. Act. i. pag. 9.

† Μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι ἐξουσίας κοσμικῆς τόφος παρεισδύηται.—Can. Eph. i. can. 8.

‡ This was that which, about the same time, the Fathers of the African synod do request P. Celestine to forbear;—— nec permittere, ut famosum mundi fastum Christi ecclesiæ inducere videamur.—*Conc. Afr. ad P. Celest.* 1.

‖ Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων κέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυνασταίαν πάλαι προελθούσης.—Socr. vii. 11.

same worth, and of the same priesthood; the power of wealth or lowness of poverty do not make a bishop higher or lower; but all are successors of the apostles."* Where doth not he plainly deny the bishop of Eugubium to be inferior to him of Rome, as being no less a successor of the apostles than he? Doth he not say these words in way of proof, that the authority of the Roman bishop or church was of no validity against the practice of other bishops and churches?† (upon occasion of deacons there taking upon them more than in other places, as cardinal deacons do now;) which excludeth such distinctions, as scholastical fancies have devised, to shift off his testimony; the which he uttered simply, never dreaming of such distinctions.

This consequence St. Gregory did suppose, when he therefore did condemn the title of Universal Bishop, because it did "imply an affectation of superiority" and dignity in one bishop above others; of "abasing the name of other bishops in comparison of his own," of extolling "himself above the rest of priests,"‡ &c.

This the ancient popes did remember, when usually in their compellation of any bishop they did style them "brethren, colleagues, fellow-ministers, fellow-bishops,"|| not intending thereby compliment or mockery, but to declare their sense of the original equality among bishops; notwithstanding some differences in order and privileges, which their See had obtained. And that this was the general sense of the Fathers we shall afterward shew.

Hence, when it was objected to them, that they did affect superiority, they did sometimes disclaim it: so did Pope Gelasius I.* (a zealous man for the honour of his See.)

4. This pretence doth thwart the holy scripture, not only by trampling down the dignity of bishops (which according to St. Gregory doth imply great pride and presumption), but as really infringing the rights granted by our Lord to his church, and the governors of it.†

For to each church our Lord hath imposed a duty, and imparted a power of maintaining divine truth, and so approving itself *a pillar and support of truth*;[1] of deciding controversies possible and proper to be decided with due temper, ultimately without further resort; for that he, who will not obey or acquiesce in its decision, is to be *as a heathen or publican;* of censuring and rejecting offenders (in doctrine or demeanour;) *Those within* (saith St. Paul to the church of Corinth) *do not ye judge? But them that are without, God judgeth: wherefore put away from among yourselves that wicked person:* of preserving order and decency, according to that rule prescribed to the church of Corinth, *Let all things be done decently and in order:*[1] of promoting edification; of deciding causes.

All which rights and privileges the Roman bishop doth bereave the churches of, snatching them to himself; pretending that he is the sovereign doctor, judge, regulator of all churches; overruling and voiding all that is done by them, according to his pleasure.

The scripture hath enjoined and em-

* Ubicunque fuerit episcopus sive Romæ, sive Eugibii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Thanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem et sacerdotii; potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit; cæterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt.—*Hier.* Ep. 85. (*ad Evagr.*)

† Si auctoritas quæritur, orbis major est urbe; Ubicunque, &c.

‡ Illud appetunt unde omnibus digniores videantur.—*Gr.* Ep. iv. 34. Quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.—*Ep.* vi. 38. Super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit.—*Ibid.* Cupis episcoporum nomen tui comparatione calcare.—*Ep.* iv. 38. Cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris supponere.—*Ibid.*

|| (Invigiletur ergo ut omnibus coepiscopis nostris et fratribus innotescat.—*P. Corn. apud Cyp.* Ep. 48.)

* Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (sicut prædicas), quam cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum et Deo placitum habere consortium.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 9. (*ad Euphem.* Ep. CP.) Here we do not so much desire to be advanced above others, as together with all the faithful to make up a consort holy and well-pleasing to God.

† —— Vobis subtrahitur, quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit præbetur.—*Greg.* vii. 30. (p. 451.) What is yielded to another more than reason requires, is taken from you. Πρᾶγμα —— τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπτόμενον.—Syn. Eph. I. can. 8. A thing that entrencheth upon the freedom of all others.

[1] Rev. ii. et iii.; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Matt. xviii. 17, ἐὰν δὲ παρακούσῃ, &c. Οὐχὶ τοὺς ἔσω ὑμεῖς κρίνετε;

[1] 1 Cor. v. 12, καὶ ἐξαίρε—*vide* v. 4, 5; Rev. ii. 20; 1 Cor. xiv. 40; 1 Thess v. 14; Rom. xiv. 19; 1 Cor. vi. 1.

powered all bishops to feed, guide, and rule their respective churches, as the *ministers, stewards, ambassadors, angels of God; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edification of the body of Christ:*[k] to whom God hath committed the care of their people, so that they are responsible for their souls.

All which rights and privileges of the episcopal office the pope hath invaded, doth obstruct, cramp, frustrate, destroy; pretending (without any warrant) that their authority is derived from him; forcing them to exercise it no otherwise than as his subjects, and according to his pleasure.* But of this point more afterward.

5. This pretence doth thwart the scripture, by robbing all Christian people of the liberties and rights with which by that divine charter they are endowed,† and which they are obliged to preserve inviolate.

St. Paul enjoineth the Galatians to *stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and not to be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.*[l] There is therefore a liberty which we must maintain, and a power to which we must not submit: and against whom can we have more ground to do this, than against him who pretendeth to dogmatize, to define points of faith, to impose doctrines (new and strange enough) on our consciences, under a peremptory obligation of yielding assent to them; to prescribe laws, as divine and necessary to be observed, without warrant, as those dogmatists did, against whom St. Paul biddeth us to maintain our liberty?[m] (so that if he should declare "virtue to be vice, and white to be black, we must believe him," some of his adherents have said, consistently enough with his pretences:) for,—

Against such tyrannical invaders we are bound to maintain our liberty, according to that precept of St. Paul; the which if a pope might well allege against the proceedings of a general synod,[n] with much more reason may we thereby justify our non-submission to one man's exorbitant domination.

This is a power which the apostles themselves did not challenge to themselves; for, *We* (saith St. Paul) *have not dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy.*[o]

They did not pretend that any Christian should absolutely believe them in cases wherein they had not revelation (general or special) from God; in such cases referring their opinion to the judgment and discretion of Christians.[p]

They say, *Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed: If any man,*[q] &c.; which precept, with many others of the like purport (enjoining us to examine the truth, to adhere unto the received doctrine, to decline heterodoxies and novelties), doth signify nothing, if every Christian hath not allowed to him a judgment of discretion, but is tied blindly to follow the dictates of another.

St. Austin (I am sure) did think this liberty such, that without betraying it, no man could be obliged to believe any thing not grounded upon canonical authority: for to a Donatist, his adversary, citing the authority of St. Cyprian against him, he thus replieth: "But now seeing it is not canonical which thou recitest, with that liberty to which the Lord hath called us, I do not receive the opinion, differing from scripture, of that man whose praise I cannot reach, to whose great learning I do not compare my writings, whose wit I love, in whose speech I delight,

* Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia.—*Vide post.* Superbum nimis est et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere, atque ut unius crescat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus, &c.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 55. It is too proud and unreasonable a thing for one to stretch himself beyond his bounds, and maugre all antiquity to snatch away other men's right; and that the dignity of one may be enhanced, to oppose the primacies of so many metropolitans.

† Sanctæ ecclesiæ universali injuriam facit. —*Greg. I.* Ep. i. 24. It does wrong to the holy catholic church. Plebis majestas.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Corn. P.*) p. 117.

[k] Acts xx. 28; Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Pet. v. 2. 1 Tim. iii. 15; Tit. i. 7; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Rev. ii. &c.; Eph. iv. 12; Heb. xiii. 17.

[l] Gal. v. 1.

[m] Gal. v. 1; Col. ii. 16, 18.

[n] P. Leo I. Ep. 28.

[o] 2 Cor. i. 24. [p] 1 Cor. x. 15; vii. 12, 25, 40.

[q] Gal. i. 8.

whose charity I admire, whose martyrdom I reverence."*

This liberty, not only the ancients, but even divers popes, have acknowledged to belong to every Christian; as we shall hereafter shew, when we shall prove, that we may lawfully reject the pope, as a patron of error and iniquity.

6. It particularly doth thwart scripture by wronging princes, in exempting a numerous sort of people from subjection to their laws and judicature; whereas, by God's ordination and express command, *every soul is subject* to them;[r] not excepting the popes themselves (in the opinion of St. Chrysostom, except they be greater than any apostle.)

By pretending to govern the subjects of princes without their leave; to make laws without his permission or confirmation; to cite his subjects out of their territories, &c.; which are encroachments upon the rights of God's unquestionable ministers.

III. Further, becasue our adversaries do little regard any allegation of scripture against them (pretending themselves to be the only masters of its sense, or of common sense, judges and interpreters of them), we do allege against them, that this pretence doth also cross tradition, and the common doctrine of the Fathers. For,

1. Common usage and practice is a good interpreter of right; and that sheweth no such right was known in the primitive church.

2. Indeed the state of the primitive church did not admit it.

3. The Fathers did suppose no order in the church, by original right or divine institution, superior to that of a bishop; whence they commonly did style a bishop the highest priest, and episcopacy the top of ecclesiastical orders.*

"The chief priest," saith Tertullian, "that is, the bishop, hath the right of giving baptism."*

"Although" (saith St. Ambrose) "the presbyters also do it, yet the beginning of the ministry is from the highest priest."†

Optatus calleth bishops "the tops and princes of all."‡

"The divine order of bishops" (saith Dionysius) "is the first of divine orders; the same being also the extreme and last of them; for into it all the frame of our hierarchy is resolved and accomplished."||

This language is common even among popes themselves, complying with the speech then current;§ for, "Presbyters," saith Pope Innocent I., "although they are priests, yet have they not the top of high-priesthood."

"No man," saith Pope Zozimus I., "against the precepts of the Fathers, should presume to aspire to the highest priesthood of the church."¶

"It is decreed" (saith Pope Leo. I.) "that the chorepiscopi, or presbyters, who figure the sons of Aaron, shall not presume to snatch that which the princes of the priests (whom Moses and Aaron

* Nunc vero quoniam canonicum non est quod recitas, *ea libertate ad quam nos vocavit Dominus*, ejus viri, cujus laudem consequi non valeo, cujus multis literis scripta mea non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror, hoc quod aliter sapuit non accipio.—*Aug. contr. Cres.* ii. 32.

* Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διδαχθέντες ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων τοῖς μὲν ἐπισκόποις τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐνείμαμεν, &c.—Const. Apost. viii. 46.

[r] Rom. xiii. 1.

* Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus.—*Tert. de Bapt.* cap. 17.

† Licet enim et presbyteri faciant, tamen exordium ministerii est a summo sacerdote.—*Ambr. de Sacr.* iii. 1. Suscepisti gubernacula summi sacerdotii.—*Id.* Ep. 5.

‡ Apices et principes omnium sacerdotes.—*Opt.* 1. Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet.—*Hier. contr. Lucif.* 4. The safety of the church depends upon the dignity of the high priest. Ego dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar.—*Id.* Ep. 99. (*ad Asell.*) In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est princeps sacerdotum, et propheta et evangelista, et cætera adimplenda officia ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium.—*Ambr. in Eph.* iv. 11. In the bishop there are all orders, because he is the first priest; *i. e.* the prince of priests, and prophet, and evangelist, and all other offices of the church, to be fulfilled in the ministry of the faithful.

|| Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις, &c. supr. Pontifex princeps sacerdotum est, quasi via sequentium; ipse et summus sacerdos, ipse et pontifex maximus nuncupatur.—*Isid. Hisp. apud Grat. Dist.* xxi. cap. 1.

§ Nam presbyteri, licet sint sacerdotes, pontificatus tamen apicem non habent.—*P. Innoc. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Decent.*) —— dum facile imponuntur manus, dum negligenter summus sacerdos eligitur.—*Id.* Ep. 12, (*ad Aurel.*)

¶ Ne quis contra Patrum præcepta —— ad summum ecclesiæ sacerdotium aspirare præsumeret.—*P. Zos. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Hesych.*)

did typify) are commanded to do."* [Note, by the way, that seeing, according to this pope's mind (after St. Jerome), Moses and Aaron did in the Jewish policy represent bishops, there was none there to prefigure the pope.]

In those days the bishop of Nazianzum (a petty town in Cappadocia) was an high priest (so Gregory calleth his father).† And the bishop of a poor city in Afric is styled "Sovereign Pontiff of Christ, most blessed Father, most blessed Pope;"‡ and the very Roman clergy doth call St. Cyprian "most blessed and most glorious pope:"|| which titles the pope doth now so charily reserve and appropriate to himself.

But innumerable instances of this kind might be produced: I shall only therefore add two other passages, which seem very observable, to the enforcement of this Discourse.

St. Jerome, reprehending the discipline of the Montanists,§ hath these words: "With us the bishops do hold the places of the apostles; with them a bishop is in the third place: for they have for the first rank the patriarchs of Pepusa in Phrygia; for the second, those whom they call cenones; so are bishops thrust down into the third, that is, almost the last place; as if thence religion became more stately, if that which is first with us be the last with them." Now doth not St. Jerome here affirm, that every bishop hath the place of an apostle, and the first rank in the church? Doth not he tax the advancement of any order above this? May not the popish hierarchy most patly be compared to that of the Montanists, and is it not equally liable to the censure of St. Jerome? Doth it not place the Roman pope in the first place, and the cardinals in the second, detruding the bishops into a third place? Could the Pepusian patriarch, or his cenones, either more overtop in dignity, or sway by power over bishops, than doth the Roman patriarch and his cardinals?

Again, St. Cyprian telleth Pope Cornelius, that in episcopacy doth reside "the sublime and divine power of governing the church;" it being "the sublime top of the priesthood."* "He" (saith the blessed man concerning Pope Cornelius) "did not suddenly arrive to episcopacy; but being through all ecclesiastical offices promoted, and having in divine administrations often merited of God, did by all the steps of religion mount to the sublimest pitch of priesthood."† Where it is visible, that St. Cyprian doth not reckon the papacy, but the episcopacy of Cornelius, to be that top of priesthood (above which there was nothing eminent in the church), unto which he passing through the inferior degrees of the clergy had attained.

In fine, it cannot well be conceived that the ancients constantly would have spoken in this manner, if they had allowed the papal office to be such as now it doth bear itself; the which indeed is an order no less distant from episcopacy than the rank of a king differeth from that of the meanest baron in his kingdom.

Neither is it prejudicial to this discourse (or to any preceding), that in the primitive church there were some distinctions and subordinations of bishops (as of pa-

* Ideoque id quod tantum facere principibus sacerdotum jussum est, quorum typum Moses et Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum est, ut chorepiscopi vel presbyteri qui filiorum Aaron gestant figuram, arripere non præsumant.—*P. Leo* Ep. 88. Pontificatus apicem non habent. —*Ibid. vide* Ep. lxxxiv. cap. 5; *S. Hier. ad Evagr.* Ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento, Quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi vindicant in ecclesia.—Or. xix. p. 309.

† A bishop called ἀρχιερεύς. *Apost. Const.* viii. 10, 12.

‡ Summus Christi pontifex Augustinus.—(*Paulin. apud Aug.* Ep. 36;) *Aug.* Ep. 35. Beatissimo papæ Augustino.—*Hieron.* (*Aug.* Ep. 11, 13, 14, &c.)

|| Optamus te beatiss. et gloriosissime papa in Domino semper valere.—*Ep.* 31.

§ Apud nos apostolorum locum episcopi tenent, apud eos episcopus tertius est; habent enim primos de Pepusa Phrygiæ patriarchas, secundos quos appellant cenones; atque ita in tertium, id est pene ultimum locum episcopi devolvuntur; quasi exinde ambitiosior religio fiat, si quod apud nos primum est, apud illos novissimum sit.—*Hier.* (*ad Marcellam*), Ep. 54.

* —— actum est de episcopatus vigore, et de ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divina potestate.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad P. Cornel.*)

† Non iste ad episcopatum subito pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, et in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52.

triarchs, primates, metropolitans, common bishops),* for,

These were according to prudence constituted by the church itself for the more orderly and peaceable administration of things.

These did not import such a difference among the bishops, that one should domineer over others, to the infringing of primitive fraternity, or common liberty; but a precedence in the same rank, with some moderate advantages for the common good.

These did stand under authority of the church; and might be changed or corrected, as was found expedient, by common agreement.

By virtue of these, the superiors of this kind could do nothing over their subordinates in an arbitrary manner, but according to the regulation of canons, established by consent in synods; by which their influence was amplified or curbed.†

When any of these did begin to domineer, or exceed his limits, he was liable to account and correction; he was exclaimed against as tyrannical.‡

When primates did begin to swell and encroach, good men declared their displeasure at it, and wished it removed; as is known particularly by *the famous wish of Gregory Nazianzen.*||

But we are discoursing against a superiority of a different nature, which foundeth itself in the institution of Christ, imposeth itself on the church, is not alterable or governable by it, can endure no check or control, pretendeth to be endowed with an absolute power to act without or against the consent of the church, is limited by no certain bounds but its own pleasure, &c.§

IV. Further, this pretence may be impugned by many arguments springing from the nature and reason of things abstractedly considered; according to which the exercise of such an authority may appear unpracticable, without much iniquity and great inconvenience, in prejudice to the rights of Christian states and people, to the interests of religion and piety, to the peace and welfare of mankind: whence it is to be rejected, as a pest of Christendom.

1. Whereas all the world in design and obligation is Christian (the *utmost parts of the earth* being granted *in possession* to our Lord; and his gospel extending *to every creature under heaven*),* and may in effect become such, when God pleaseth, by acceptance of the gospel; whereas it may easily happen, that the most distant places on the earth may embrace Christianity; whereas really Christian churches have been and are dispersed all about the world; it is thence hugely incommodious, that all the church should depend upon an authority resident in one place, and to be managed by one person: the church, being such, is too immense, boundless, uncircumscribed, unwieldy a bulk, to be guided by the inspection, or managed by the influence, of one such authority or person.

If the whole world were reduced under the government of one civil monarch, it would necessarily be ill governed, as to policy, to justice, to peace: the skirts, or remoter parts from the metropolis or centre of the government, would extremely suffer thereby; for they would feel little light or warmth from majesty shining at such a distance: they would live under small awe of that power, which was so far out of sight: they must have very difficult recourse to it, for redress of grievances, and relief of oppressions; for final decision of causes, and composure of differences; for correction of offences, and dispensation of justice, upon good information, with tolerable expedition: it would be hard to preserve peace, or quell seditions, and suppress insurrections, that might arise in distant quarters.

* The Africans had a particular care that this primacy should not degenerate into tyrany.

† Conc. Ant. can. 9; *vide* Apost. can. 34; Conc. Carth. apud Cypr. Cod. Afr. can. 39; Nestorius, Dioscorus.

‡ Οἷά τῃ τυραννίδας τὰς φιλαρχίας ἐκθόμως διεκδικοῦντες.—Euseb. viii. 1. So Eusebius complaineth of the bishops in his time. So Isidor. Pelusiot.—*Ep.* xx. 125; iv. 219.

|| Ὡς ὄφελον γε μηδὲ ἦν προεδρία, μηδὲ τις τόπου προτίμησις, καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία.—Greg. Naz. Orat. 28. O that there were not at all any presidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical prerogative!

§ So Socrates of the bishop (not only of Rome, but) of Alexandria.—Liv. vii. cap 11. So St. Chrysostom in 1 Tim. iii. 1, in Ep. Orat. 11. So Greg. Naz. complained of τυραννικὴ προνομία.—Ibid.

* Psal. ii. 8; Col. i. 23; Luke xxiv. 47; Matt. xxviii. 19.

What man could obtain the knowledge or experience needful skilfully and justly to give laws or administer judgment to so many nations different in humour, in language, and customs? What mind of man, what industry, what leisure, could serve to sustain the burden of that care, which is needful to the wielding such an office? How and when should one man be able to receive all the addresses, to weigh all the cases, to make all the resolutions and dispatches requistie for such a charge?* If the burden of one small kingdom be so great that wise and good princes do groan under its weight, what must that be of all mankind? To such an extent of government there must be allowed a majesty, and power correspondent, the which cannot be committed to one hand, without its degeneration into extreme tyranny. The words of Zosimus to this purpose are observable; who saith, that the Romans, by admitting Augustus Cæsar to the government, did do very perilously; for "If he should choose to manage the government rightly and justly, he would not be capable of applying himself to all things as were fit, not being able to succour those who do lie at greatest distance; nor could he find so many magistrates as would not be ashamed to defeat the opinion conceived of them; nor could he suit them to the differences of so many manners: or if, transgressing the bounds of royalty, he should warp to tyranny, disturbing the magistracies, overlooking misdemeanours, bartering right for money, holding the subjects for slaves (such as most emperors, or rather near all, have been, few excepted;) then it is quite necessary that the brutish authority of the prince should be a public calamity: for then flatterers being by him dignified with gifts and honours, do invade the greatest commands; and those who are modest and quiet, not affecting the same life with them, are consequently displeased, not enjoying the same advantages; so that from hence cities are filled with seditions and troubles. And the civil and military employments being delivered up to avaricious persons, do both render a peaceable life sad and grievous to men of better disposition, and do enfeeble the resolution of soldiers in war."*

Hence St. Austin was of opinion, that "it were happy for mankind if all kingdoms were small, enjoying a peaceful neighbourhood."†

It is commonly observed by historians, that "Rome, growing in bigness, did labour therewith,"‡ and was not able to support itself; many distempers and disorders springing up in so vast a body, which did throw it into continual pangs, and at length did bring it to ruin; for "Then" (saith St. Austin concerning the times of Pompey) "Rome had subdued Afric, it had subdued Greece; and widely also ruling over other parts, as not able to bear itself, did in a manner by its own greatness break itself."‖

Hence that wise prince, Augustus Cæsar, did himself forbear to enlarge the Roman dominion, and did in his testament advise the senate to do the like.§

* Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia solus, &c.—*Hor.* Ep. ii. 1.

* Εἴτε γὰρ ὀρθῶς, &c.—Zos. Hist. i., (p. 4. Ste.)

† Felicioribus sic rebus humanis, omnia regna parva essent, concordi vicinitate lætantia.—*Aug. de Civ. D.* iv. 15. Ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζώων, φυτῶν, ὀργάνων· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον οὔτε λίαν μικρὸν, οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλον ἕξει τὴν αὑτοῦ δύναμιν.—Arist. Pol. vii. 4. There is a certain measure of greatness fit for cities and commonwealths, as well as for all other things, living creatures, plants, instruments; for every one of these hath its proper virtue and faculty, when it is neither very little, nor yet exceeds in bigness. Τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ἢ τις κήρυξ μὴ στεντόρειος;—Ibid. For who would be a captain of an excessive huge multitude? &c.

‡ Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.—*Hor.* Ep. 16. —— quæ ab exiguis initiis creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua.—*Liv. I.* Ac nescio an satius fuerit populo Romano Sicilia et Africa contentos fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere dominanti in Italia sua, quam eo magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur. —*Flor.* iii. 12.

‖ Tunc jam Roma subjugaverat Africam, subjugaverat Græciam, lateque etiam aliis partibus imperans tanquam seipsam ferre non valens, se sua quodammodo magnitudine fregerat.—*Aug. de Civ. D.* xviii. 45; *Tac. Hist.* ii. p. 476.

§ Γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι, καὶ μεδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπαυξῆσαι ἐθέλῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως ἀεί ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε· παρόν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκτήσασθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε.—Dion. lib. lvi. Tac. Ann. 1. He advised them to be content with what they had, and by no means to endeavour the enlargement of their empire; for, said he, it will be hardly kept: and this he

To the like inconveniences (and much greater in its kind; temporal things being more easily ordered than spirtual, and having secular authority, great advantages of power and wealth, to aid itself) must the church be obnoxious, if it were subjected to the government of one sovereign, unto whom the maintenance of faith, the protection of discipline, the determination of controversies, the revision of judgments, the discussion and final decision of causes upon appeal, the suppression of disorders and factions, the inspection over all governors, the correction of misdemeanours, the constitution, relaxation, and abolition of laws, the resolution of all matters concerning religion and the public state, in all countries must be referred.

Τίς πρὸς ταῦτα ἱκανός; What shoulders can bear such a charge without perpetual miracle? (and yet we do not find that the pope hath any promise of miraculous assistance, nor in his demeanour doth appear any mark thereof.) What mind would not the care of so many affairs utterly distract and overwhelm? who could find time to cast a glance on each of so numberless particulars? What sagacity of wit, what variety of learning, what penetrancy of judgment, what strength of memory, what indefatigable vigour of industry, what abundance of experience, would suffice, for enabling one man to weigh exactly all the controversies of faith and cases of discipline perpetually starting up in so many regions?*

What reach of skill and ability would serve for accommodation of laws to the different humours and fahsions of so many nations? Shall a decrepit old man, in the decay of his age, parts, vigour (such as popes usually are), undertake this? May we not say to him, as Jethro did to Moses, *Ultra vires tuas est negotium; The thing thou doest is not good: thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone.*[t]

If the care of a small diocese hath made the most able and industrious bishops (who had a conscience and sense of their duty) to groan under its weight, how insupportable must such a charge be!

The care of his own particular church, if he would act the part of a bishop indeed, would sufficiently take up the pope; especially in some times; whenas Pope Alexander saith,——"Ut intestina nostræ specialis ecclesiæ negotia vix possemus ventilare, nedum longinqua ad plenum extricare."[u]

If it be said that St. Paul testifieth of himself, that he had *a care of all the churches* incumbent on him;[v] I answer, that he (and other apostles had the like) questionless had a pious solicitude for the welfare of all Christians, especially of the churches which he had founded, being vigilant for occasions to edify them. But what is this, to bearing the charge of a standing government over all the churches diffused through the world? That care of a few churches then was burdensome to him: what is the charge of so many now; to one seldom endowed with such apostolical graces and gifts as St. Paul was?

How weak must the influence of such an authority be upon the circumferential parts of its œcumenical sphere!

How must the outward branches of the churches faint and fade for want of sap from the root of discipline, which must be conveyed through so many obstructions to such a distance!

How discomposed must things be in each country for want of seasonable resolution, hanging in suspense till information do travel to Rome, and determination come back thence!*

himself observed, not in word only, but in deed: for when he might have gotten more from the barbarous nations, yet he would not.

Ipsa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret
Ad veteres fines, et mœnia pauperis anci, &c.
Claud. de Bello Gildon.

* The synod of Basil doth well describe the duty of a pope; but it is infinitely hard to practise it in any measure.—(*Conc. Bas.* sess. xxiii. p. 64, &c.——)

* Tanta me occupationum onera deprimunt, ut ad superna animus nullatenus erigatur, &c. —*Greg. I.* lib. i. Ep. 7, 25, 5. Such a weight of employment presses me down, that my mind can by no means be raised to things above. Si administratio illius temporis mare fuit, quid de præsenti papatu dicendum erit?—*Calv. Inst.* iv. cap. 7, 22. If the ordering of

[t] Exod xviii. 17, 18.

[u] P. Alex II. (Epist. ad Ger. Rhem. Bin. p. 284.)

[v] 2 Cor. xi 28.

How difficult, how impossible will it be for him there to receive faithful information or competent testimony, whereupon to ground just decisions of causes!

How will it be in the power thence of any malicious and cunning person to raise trouble against innocent persons! for any like person to decline the due correction laid on him, by transferring the cause from home to such a distance!

How much cost, how much trouble, how much hazard, must parties concerned be at to fetch light and justice thence!

Put case a heresy, a schism, a doubt or debate of great moment, should arise in China: how should the gentlemen in Italy proceed to confute that heresy, to quash that schism, to satisfy that doubt, to determine that cause! how long must it be ere he can have notice thereof! to how many cross accidents of weather and way must the transmitting of information be subject! how difficult will it prove, to get a clear and sure knowledge concerning the state of things!

How hard will it be to get the opposite parties to appear, so as to confront testimonies and probations requisite to a fair and just decision! how shall witnesses of infirm sex or age ramble so far! how easily will some of them prepossess and abuse him with false suggestions and misrepresentations of the case! how slippery therefore will the result be, and how prone he to award a wrongful sentence!*

How tedious, how expensive, how troublesome, how vexatious, how hazardous, must this course be to all parties!† Certainly causes must needs proceed slowly, and depend long; and in the end the resolution of them must be very uncertain.

What temptation will it be for any one (how justly soever corrected by his immediate superiors) to complain; hoping thereby to escape, to disguise the truth, &c. who being condemned will not appeal to one at a distance, hoping by false suggestions to delude him?

This necessarily will destroy all discipline, and induce impunity or frustration of justice.[v]

Certainly much more convenient and equal it should be, that there should be near at hand a sovereign power, fully capable, expeditely and seasonably to compose differences, to decide causes, to resolve doubts, to settle things, without more stir and trouble.

Very equal it is, that laws should rather be framed, interpreted, and executed in every country, with accommodation to the tempers of the people, to the circumstances of things, to the civil state there, by persons acquainted with those particulars, than by strangers ignorant of them, and apt to mistake about them.

How often will the pope be imposed upon, as he was in the case of Basilides, of whom St. Cyprian saith, "Going to Rome he deceived our colleague Stephen, being placed at distance, and ignorant of the fact, and concealed truth, aspiring to be unjustly restored to the bishopric, from which he was justly removed."*

As he was in the case of Marcellus, who gulled Pope Julius by fair professions, as St. Basil doth often complain.†

As he was in aiding that versatile and troublesome bishop, Eustathius of Sebastia, to the recovery of his bishopric.[x]

As he was in rejecting "the man of God, and most admirable bishop, Meletius;"‡ and admitting scandalous reports about him, which the same saint doth often resent; blaming sometimes the fallacious misinformation, sometimes the wilful presumption, negligence, pride of the Roman church in the case.‖

affairs in those times was a boundless sea, what shall we say of the present papacy?

* Nunquid mirandum est de tam longinquis terris episcopos tuos tibi narrare impune quod volunt?—*Aug. contra Crescon.* iii. 34. What marvel if the bishops from so remote countries tell you what they please without check or control?

† De lungas vias luengas mentiras.—*Hisp. Prov. Syn. Basil.* sess. xxxi. p. 86.

* Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, et gestæ rei, ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit; ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum, de quo fuerat juste depositus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 67.

† Ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ, πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντες φιλονεικήσαντες, &c.—Basil Ep. 10.

‡ Τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ Μελετίου —— τὸν θαυμασιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀληθινῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον ——. Bas. Ep. 349.

‖ Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ δὲ κ ὶ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέσ-

[v] *Vide* Bern. Ep. 178, de Consid.

[x] Bas. Ep. 73, 74.

As he was in the case of Pelagius and Celestius, who did cajole Pope Zosimus to acquit them, to condemn Eros and Lazarus their accusers, to reprove the African bishops for prosecuting them.[y]

How many proceedings should we have like to that of Pope Zosimus I. concerning that scandalous priest, Apiarius; whom, being for grievous crimes excommunicated by his bishop, that pope did admit to communion, and undertake to patronise; but was baffled in his enterprise.*

This hath been the sense of the Fathers in the case.

St. Cyprian therefore saith, that "seeing it was a general statute among the bishops, and that it was both equal and just that every one's cause should be heard there, where the crime was committed; and that each pastor had a portion of the flock allotted to him, which he should rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doing."[z]

St. Chrysostom thought it "improper that one out of Egypt should administer justice to persons in Thrace."† (And why not, as well as one out of Italy?)

The African synod thought "the Nicene Fathers had provided most prudently and most justly that all affairs should be finally determined there where they did arise."*

They thought "a transmarine judgment could not be firm," because "the necessary persons for testimony, for the infirmity of sex or age, or for many other infirmities, could not be brought thither."†

Pope Leo himself saw how dilatory this course would be; and that "longinquity of region doth cause the examination of truth to become over dilatory."‡

Pope Liberius for such reasons did request Constantius, that Athanasius's cause should be tried at Alexandria; where—(saith he||) "he that is accused, and the accusers are, and the defender of them; and so we may, upon examination had, agree in our sentence about them."

Therefore divers ancient canons of synods did prohibit that any causes should be removed out of the bounds of provinces or dioceses; as otherwhere we show.§

τερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται.—Ibid. Some are altogether ignorant of what is here done; others, that think they know them, declare them unto us more contentiously than truly. Ἐλύπει ἡμας λέγων τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν Μελέτιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον.—Epist. 321, ad Pet. Alex. He grieved us when he said, that our godly brethren, Meletius and Eusebius, were reckoned among the Arians. Ποία βόηθεια ἡμῖν τῆς ἀυτικῆς ὀφρύος, οἱ τόγε ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἴσασιν, οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται;—Bas. Ep. 10. What help can we have from the pride of the Africans, who neither know the truth, nor endure to learn it?

* Deinde quod inter tantam hominum multitudinem adeo pauci sunt episcopi, et amplæ singulorum parochiæ, ut in subjectis plebibus curam episcopalis officii nullatenus exequi, aut rite administrare valeant.—*P. Greg. VII.* Ep. ii. 73. And then because in so great a multitude of people there are so few bishops, and every one's diocese very large, that they are in no wise able to execute or rightly perform the charge of the episcopal office among the people over whom they are set.

† Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν.—Chrys. Ep. 102. (ad P. Innoc. I.) Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος, καὶ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις, εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀκτίνας παροικίας ἐκ τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, ἴστε ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται, &c. For if this custom prevail, and if they that will may go to other men's dioceses at so great a distance and eject whom any man pleases, know that all will go to wrack, &c.

* Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt; prudentissime enim justissimeque viderunt (providerunt) quæcunque negotia in suis locis, ubi orsa sunt, finienda.—*Ep. Conc. Afric. ad P. Celest. I.* (*in fine Cod. Afric.*) *vel apud Dion. Exig.*

† Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariæ personæ vel propter sexus, vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non poterunt.—*Ibid.*

‡ Ne ergo (quod inter longinquas regiones accidere solet) in nimias dilationes tender nt veritatis examina ——. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 34.

|| Τότε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρέων οἱ πάντες ἀπαντέσαντες ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιποιούμενος αὐτῶν, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν συμπεριενεχενῶμεν.—Theod. ii. 16.

§ Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari ac evocari consueverunt, &c.—*Vide Conc. Bas.* sess. xxxi. (p. 86.) But hitherto very many intolerable vexatious abuses have prevailed, while too often men have been used to be cited and called out even from the remotest parts to the court of Rome, and sometimes for slight and trivial businesses and occasions.

[y] P. Zos. I. Ep. 3, 4.

[z] Cypr. Ep. lv. (p. 116.)

2. Such an authority, as this pretence claimeth, must necessarily (if not withheld by continual miracle) throw the church into sad bondage. All the world must become slaves to one city, its wealth must be derived thither, its quiet must depend on it. For it (not being restrained within any bounds of place or time, having no check upon it of equal or co-ordinate power, standing upon divine institution, and therefore immutably settled) must of its own nature become absolute and unlimited.*

Let it be, however, of right limited by divine laws or human canons, yet will it be continually encroaching and stretching its power until it grows enormous and boundless. It will not endure to be pinched by any restraint. It will draw to itself the collation of all preferments, &c.*

It will assume all things to itself, trampling down all opposite claims of right and liberty; so that neither pastor nor people shall enjoy or do any thing otherwise than in dependence on it, and at its pleasure.

It will be always forging new prerogatives, and interpreting all things in favour of them, and enacting sanctions to establish them; which none must presume to contest.†

It will draw to itself the disposal of all places; the exaction of goods. All princes must become his ministers, and executors of his decrees.‡

It will mount above all law and rule; not only challenging to be uncontrollable and unaccountable, but not enduring any reproof of its proceedings, or contradiction of its dictates: a blind faith must be yielded to all its assertions as infallibly true; and a blind obedience to all its decrees as unquestionably holy: whosoever shall anywise cross it in word or deed, shall certainly be discountenanced, condemned, ejected from the church;* so that the most absolute tyranny that can be imagined will ensue: all the world hath groaned and heavily complained of their exactions, particularly our poor nation; it would raise indignation in any man to read the complaints.*

This is consequent on such a pretence, according to the very nature of things; and so in experience it hath happened.† For,

It is evident, that the papacy hath devoured all the privileges and rights of all orders in the church, either granted by God, or established in the ancient canons.‡

The royalties of Peter are become immense; and, consistently to his practice, the pope doth allow men to tell him to his face, "that all power in heaven and in earth is given unto him."

It belongeth to him "to judge of the whole church."||

He hath "a plenitude" (as he calleth it) "of power," by which he can infringe any law, or do any thing that he pleaseth.§

It is the tenor of his bulls, "that whoever rashly dareth to thwart his will shall incur the indignation of Almighty God,

* *Vide* Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 61. Privilegia istius sedis perpetua sunt, divinitus radicata, atque plantata, impingi possunt, transferri non possunt; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt.—*P. Nich. I. ad Mich. Imp.* The privileges of this see are perpetual, rooted, and founded upon divine authority; they may be dashed against, they cannot be removed; they may be drawn aside, they cannot be plucked up.

† Licet apostolica prærogativa possimus de qualibet ecclesia clericum ordinare.—*P. Steph. apud Grat. Caus.* 9, qu. iii. cap. 20. Though by our apostolical prerogative we may ordain a clergyman of any church.

‡ Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 60, so they pretend.—*Conc. Later.* 4. (*sub Innoc. III.*)

* *Vide* Conc. Bas. sess. xxxi. p. 67.

* Sitque alienus a divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluit præceptis apostolicis obtemperare.—*Greg. IV.* (*Dist.* xix. cap. 5.) And let him have nothing at all to do with divine and pontifical offices, who would not obey apostolical precepts. Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem authoritatem spirituali subjici potestati.—*Bonif. VIII. Extrav. Com.* i. 8, 1. But there must be a sword under a sword, and temporal authority subject to spiritual.

† —— chesia piu officio di pontefici aggiungere con l'armi, et col sorgue de Christiani, &c. *Guicc.* xi. p. 858.

‡ Quid hodie erant episcopi, nisi umbra quædam? quid plus eis restabat quam baculus et mitra? &c.—*An. Sylv. de Gestis. Syn Bas.* lib. i. What were bishops now but a kind of shadows? what had they left more than a staff and a mitre? &c.

|| Conc. Lat. v. sess. 11, p. 129. De omni ecclesia jus habet judicandi.—(*P. Gelas. Grat. Caus.* ix. q. 3, cap. 18.)

§ Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.—*Greg. Decret.* lib. iii. tit. 8, cap. 4.

* *Vide* Mat. Paris.

and" (as if that were not enough) "of St. Peter and St. Paul also."

"No man must presume to tax his faults, or to judge of his judgment."*

"It is idolatry to disobey his commands," against their own sovereign lord.†

There are who dare in plain terms call him omnipotent, and who ascribe *infinite* power to him. And that he is infallible is the most common and plausible opinion: so that at Rome the contrary "is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical."‡

We are now told, that "if the pope should err by enjoining vices or forbidding virtues, the church should be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evil, unless it would sin against conscience."||

The greatest princes must stoop to his will; otherwise he hath power to cashier and depose them.

Now what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity can there be, than that all God's people (that *free people*, who are *called to freedom*) should be subject to so intolerable a yoke and miserable a slavery?

That tyranny soon had crept into the Roman church, Socrates telleth us.§

They have rendered true that definition of Scioppius: "the church is a stall, or a herd, or multitude of beasts, or asses."*

"They bridle us, they harness us, they spur us, they lay yokes and laws upon us."†

The greatest tyranny that ever was invented in the world is the pretence of infallibility: for Dionysius and Phalaris did leave the mind free (pretending only to dispose of body and goods according to their will:) but the pope, not content to make us do and say what he pleaseth, will have us also to think so; denouncing his imprecations and spiritual menaces, if we do not.

3. Such an authority will inevitably produce a depravation of Christian doctrine, by distorting it in accomodation of it to the promoting its designs and interests. It will blend Christianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new doctrines, and interpret the old ones so as may serve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleasure, of those who manage it, and of their dependents.

That which is called καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ,[a] to make a trade of religion will be the great work of the teachers of the church. It will turn all divines into mercenary, slavish, designing flatterers.‡

This we see come to pass, Christianity by the papal influence being from its original simplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was? from a divine philosophy designed to improve the reason, to moderate the passions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men for conversation with God and angels, modelled to a system of politic devices (of notions, of precepts, of rights), serving to exalt and enrich the pope, with his court and adherents, clients and vassals.||

What doctrine of Christian theology,

* Hujus culpas isthic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus.—*Grat. Dist.* xl. cap. 6. (Si papa—) Neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio.—*Caus.* ix. qu 3, cap. 10.

† Cum enim obedire apostolicæ sedi superbe contemnunt, scelus idololatriæ, teste Samuele, incurrunt.—*Greg VII.* Ep. iv. 2. Nulli fas est vel velle, velposse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta.—*Greg. IV. apud Grat. Dist.* xix. cap. 5. No man may nor can transgress the commands of the apostolic see. —— ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est.—*Ibid.* cap 4. (*P. Steph.*) —— Whatever he decrees, whatever he ordains, must always and inviolably be observed by all.

‡ Erronea, et hæresi proxima.—*Bell. de P.* iv. 2

|| Si autem papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare.—*Bell. de Pont.* iv. 5.

§ Papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum ecclesiarum, ita quod inferiores prælati sunt pro nihilo.—*Card. Zab. de Sch. Innoc. VII.* p. 560. The pope hath invaded all the rights of inferior churches, so that all inferior prelates are nothing set by.

[a] Gal. v. 1, 13; 1 Pet. ii. 16.

* Ecclesia est mandra sive grex aut multitudo jumentorum sive asinorum.—*Eccl.* cap. 47.

† Illi nos frænant, nos lore alligant, nos stimulant, nobis jugum et onus imponunt.—*Ibid.*

‡ 1 Tim. vi. 5; Νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Supposing that gain is godliness. Ἐν πρυφάσει πλεονεξίας,—1 Thess. ii. 5. A cloke of covetousness; κυβεία. Eph. iv. 14.

|| Pasce, id est, regio more impera. Ecce duos gladios. —— Oravi ne deficeret. Feed, *i. e.* rule as a king. Behold two swords.

[a] 2 Cor. ii. 17.

as it is interpreted by their schools, hath not a direct aspect, or doth not squint that way? especially according to the opinions passant and in vogue among them.

To pass over those concerning the pope (his universal pastorship, judgeship in controversies, power to call councils, presidency in them, superiority over them; right to confirm or annul them; his infallibility; his double sword, and dominion (direct or indirect) over princes; his dispensing in laws, in oaths, in vows, in matrimonial cases, with all other the monstrous prerogatives, which the sound doctors of Rome, with encouragement of that chair, do teach.)

What doth the doctrine concerning the exempting of the clergy from secular jurisdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxes, signify, but their entire dependence on the pope, and their being closely tied to his interests?

What is the exemption of monastical places from the jurisdiction of bishops, but listing so mang soldiers and advocates to defend and advance the papal empire?

What meaneth the doctrine concerning that middle region of souls, or cloister of purgatory, whereof the pope holdeth the keys; opening and shutting it at his pleasure, by dispensation of pardons and indulgences; but that he must be master of the people's condition, and of their purse?

What meaneth the treasure of merits and supererogatory works, whereof he is the steward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing money from simple people to his treasury?

Whither doth the entangling of folks in perpetual vows tend, but to assure them in a slavish dependence on their interests, eternally, without evasion or remedy; except by favourable dispensation from the pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in sacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the priest, and all he doth?

Whence did the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation (urged with so furious zeal) issue, but from design to magnify the credit of those, who by saying of a few words can make our God and Saviour? and withal to exercise a notable instance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their reason and senses?

Whither doth tend the doctrine concerning the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, but to engage men to leave in their wills good sums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the cup withholden from the laity, but to lay it low by so notable a distinction, in the principal mystery of our religion, from the priesthood?

Why is saying private mass (or celebrating the communion in solitude) allowed, but because priests are paid for it, and live by it?

At what doth the doctrine concerning the necessity of auricular confession aim, but that thereby the priests may have a mighty awe on the consciences of all people, may dive into their secrets, may manage their lives as they please?

And what doth a like necessary particular absolution intend, but to set the priest in a lofty state of authority above the people, as a judge of his condition and dispenser of his salvation?

Why do they equal ecclesiastical traditions with scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever doctrines advantageous to their designs?

What drift hath the doctrine concerning the infallibility of churches or councils, but that, when opportunity doth invite, he may call a company of bishops together to establish what he liketh, which ever after must pass for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; so enslaving the minds of all men to his dictates, which always suit to his interest.

What doth the prohibition of holy scripture drive at, but a monopoly of knowledge to themselves, or a detaining of people in ignorance of truth and duty; so that they must be forced to rely on them for direction, must believe all they say, and blindly submit to their dictates; being disabled to detect their errors, or contest their opinions?

Why must the sacraments be celebrated, and public devotions exercised, in an unknown tongue, but that the priests may seem to have a peculiar interest in them, and ability for them?

Why must the priesthood be so indispensably forbidden marriage, but that i

may be wholly untacked from the state, and rest addicted to him, and governable by him; that the persons and wealth of priests may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging religion by multiplication of ceremonies and formalities, but to amuse the people, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the interpreters of the dark mysteries couched in them;[e] and by seeming to encourage an exterior show of piety (or form of godliness) to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppress the interior virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, although with less designs?

Why is the veneration of images and relics, the credence of miracles and legends, the undertaking of pilgrimages and voyages to Rome, and other places, more holy than ordinary; sprinklings of holy water, consecrations of baubles (with innumerable foppish knacks and trinkets), so cherished, but to keep the people in a slavish credulity and dotage, apt to be led by them whither they please, by any sleeveless pretence, and in the mean while to pick various gains from them by such trade?

What do all such things mean, but obscuring the native simplicity of Christianity, whereas it being represented intelligible to all men, would derogate from that high admiration, which these men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wisdom? And what would men spend for these toys, if they understood they might be good Christians, and get to heaven without them?

What doth all that pomp of religion serve for, but for ostentation of the dignity of those who administer it? It may be pretended for the honour of religion, but it really conduceth to the glory of the priesthood, who shine in those pageantries.

Why is monkery (although so very different from that which was in the ancient times) so cried up as a superlative state of perfection, but that it filleth all places with swarms of lusty people, who are vowed servants to him, and have little else to do but to advance that authority by which they subsist in that dronish way of life?

[e] *Vide* Sleid. p. 672.

In fine, perusing the controversies of Bellarmine, or any other champion of Romanism, do but consider the nature and scope of each doctrine maintained by them; and you may easily discern that scarce any of them but doth tend to advance the interest of the pope, or of his sworn vassals.

Whereas, indeed, our Lord had never any such design, to set up a sort of men in such distance above their brethren; to perk over them, and suck them of their goods by tricks; it only did charge people to allow their pastors a competent maintenance for a sober life, with a moderate respect, as was needful for the common benefit of God's people; whom they were, with humility and meekness, to instruct and guide in the plain and simple way of piety.

This is a grievous inconvenience; there being nothing wherein the church is more concerned, than in the preservation of its doctrine pure and incorrupt from the leaven of hurtful errors, influential on practice.

4. The errors in doctrine, and miscarriages in practice, which this authority in favour to itself would introduce, would be established immoveably, to the irrecoverable oppression of truth and piety; any reformation becoming impossible while it standeth, or so far as it shall be able to oppose and obstruct it.

While particular churches do retain their liberty, and pastors their original co-ordination in any measure, if any church or bishop shall offer to broach any novel doctrine or practice of bad import, the others may endeavour to stop the settlement or progress of them; each church at least may keep itself sound from contagion.

But when all churches and bishops are reduced into subjection to one head, supported by the guards of his authority, who will dare to contest, or be able to withstand, what he shall say or do? It will then be deemed high presumption, contumacy, rebellion, to dissent from his determinations, how false soever, or tax the practices countenanced by him, however irregular and culpable.

He will assume to himself the privilige not to be crossed in any thing; and soon will claim "infallibility, the mother of incorrigibility."

No error can be so palpable which that authority will not protect and shroud from confutation; no practice so enormous, which it will not palliate, and guard from reproof.

There will be legions of mercenary tongues to speak, and stipendiary pens to write, in defence of its doctrines and practices; so that whoever will undertake to oppose it shall be voted down and over-whelmed with noise, and shall incur all the discouragement and persecution imaginable. So poor truth will become utterly defenceless, wretched virtue destitute of succour or patronage.

This is so in speculation, and we see it confirmed by experience: for when, from, the influence of this power (as Pope Adrian VI. did ingenuously confess) an apparent degeneracy in doctrine, in discipline, in practice, had seized on Christendom, all the world feeling it, and crying out loudly for reformation, yet how stiff a repugnance did the adherents to this interest make thereto! with what industry and craft did popes endeavour to decline all means of remedy![f]

What will not this party do rather than acknowledge themselves mistaken or liable to error?* what palliations, what shifts, do not they use? what evidence of light do they not outface?

5. The same will induce a general corruption of manners.

For the chief clergy, partaking of its growth, and protected by its interest (reciprocally supporting it, and being sheltered by it from any curb or control), will swell into great pride and haughtiness; will be tempted to scrape and hoard up wealth by rapine, extortion, simony; will come to enjoy ease and sloth; will be immersed in sensuality and luxury, and will consequently neglect their charge.

The inferiors will become enamoured and ambitious of dignity, and will use all means and arts to attain it.†

Thence emulation, discord, sycophantry will spring.

Thence all ecclesiastical offices will become venal; to be purchased by bribes, flattery, favour.——

The higher ranks will become fastuous, supercilious, and domineering. The lower will basely crouch, cog.——

What then must the people be, the guides being such?

Were such guides like to edify the people by their doctrine? Were they not like to damnify them by their example?[g]

That thus it hath happened, experience doth shew, and history doth abundantly testify. This was soon observed by a pagan historian, Am. Marcellin. By St. Basil, ὄφρυς δυτικὴ.

What mischief this, what scandal to religion, what detriment to the church, what ruins of souls it produceth, is visible.

The descriptions of Rome and of that church, by Mantuan, do in a lively manner represent the great degeneracy and corruptions of it.

6. This authority, as it would induce corruption of manners, so it would perpetuate it; and render the state of things incorrigible.

For this head of the church, and the supporters of his authority, will often need reformation, but never will endure it.

That will happen of any pope, which the Fathers of Basil complained of in Pope Eugenius.*

If the pope would (as Pope Adrian VI.), yet he will not be able to reform; the interests of his dependents crossing it.[h]

If there hath happened a good pope, who desired to reform; yet he hath been ridiculous when he endeavoured it; and

* Centum gravamina.

† *Vide* ipsum Greg. VII. Ep. i. 42; ii. 45. See the description of them in S. Bernard. *in Cant. Serm.* 33: *Guicciard. in Suppl.*

[f] Sleid. lib. iv. p. 82; lib. xii. p. 322; Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 24; *vide* Riv. in Castig. Nol. p. 525.

* —— Nulla unquam monitione, nulla exhortatione induci jam largo tempore potuit, ut aliquam errorum emendationem Christo placentem, aut notissimorum abusuum correctionem in ecclesia sancta Dei efficere satageret.—*Conc. Bas.* sess. xxiii. (p. 76), sess. xxxi. p. 89. He could never be brought in this long time by any advice or exhortation, seriously to set upon any amendment of errors or correction of the most gross abuses in the holy church of God.

[g] Alv. Pelag. in Riv. Castig. N. cap. 8; *vide* Bern. Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. p. 87.

[h] *Vide* Conc. Trid. p. 22.

found it impossible to reform even a few particulars in his own house, the incorrigible Roman court.

The nature and pretended foundation of this spiritual authority doth encourage it with insuperable obstinacy to withstand all reformation: for whereas, if any temporal power doth grow intolerable, God's providence by wars and revolutions of state may dispense a redress, they have prevented this by supposing that in this case God hath tied his own hands; this authority being immoveably fixed in the same hands, from which no revolution can take it: whence from its exorbitances there can be no rescue or relief.

7. This authority will spoil him in whom it is seated; corrupting his mind and manners; rendering him a scandal to religion, and a pernicious instrument of wickedness, by the influence of his example.*

To this an uncontrollable power (bridled with no restraint) and impunity doth naturally tend, and accordingly hath it been——.

How many notorious reprobates, monsters of wickedness, have been in that See!†

If we survey the lives of popes, written by historians most indifferent, or (as most have been) partial in favour to them, we shall find, at first good ones, martyrs, confessors, saints; but after this exorbitant power had grown, how few good ones! how many extremely bad! The first popes before Constantine were holy men: the next were tolerable, while the papacy kept within bounds of modesty; but when they having shaken off their master, and renounced allegiance to the emperor (*i. e.* after Gregory II.), few tolerable; generally they were either rake-hells, or intolerably arrogant, insolent, turbulent, and ravenous.

Bellarmine and Baronius do bob off this, by telling us, that hence the providence of God is most apparent.*

But do they call this preserving the church; the permission of it to continue so long in such a condition, under the prevalence of such mischiefs? When hath God deserted any people, if not then when such impiety more than pagan doth reign in it?†

But what in the meantime became of those souls which by this means were ruined? what amends for the vast damage which religion sustained? for the introducing so pernicious customs hardly to be extirpated?‡——

To what a pass of shameless wickedness must things have come, when such men as Alexander VI., having visibly such an impure brood, should be placed in this chair!

Even after the reformation began to curb their impudence, and render them more wary, yet had they the face to set Paul the Third there.

How unfit must such men be, to be the guides of all Christendom; to breath oracles of truth, to enact laws of sanctity!

How improper were those vessels of Satan to be organs of that *holy spirit of discipline, which will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide where unrighteousness cometh in!*[i]

It will engage the pope to make the ecclesiastical authority and engine of advancing the temporal concerns of his

* It will certainly render him a tyrant, according to the definition of Aristotle.—*Pol.* iv. 10. Cui plus licet quam par est, plus vult quam licet. Unde sicut languescente capite, reliquum postea corpus morbus invadat.—*Conc. Bas.* sess. xxiii. (p. 64.) Whence it comes to pass, that if the head be sick, the rest of the body afterward grows diseased.—*Vide Conc. Bas.* p. 87; *Conc. Const.* p. 1110.

† *Vide* Dist xl. cap. 6, (hujus culpas, etsi.) —*Vide* Alv Pelag. apud Riv. Cath. Orth. p 141. Baron. Pope Marcellus II. doubted whether a pope could be saved.—*Thuan.* lib. xv. (p. 566.) From John VIII. to Leo IX. what a rabble of rake-hells and sots did sit in that chair!—*Machiavel, Hist.* lib. xvi. p. 1271; *Baron.* ann. 912, § 8.

* Baron. ann. 897. § 5.—It was said of Vespasian, Solus imperantium melior——so apt is power to corrupt men. Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.—*Tac. Hist.* i. (p. 451.)

† How vain is that which Pope Gregory VII. citeth out of Pope Symmachus, B. Petrus perennem meritorum dotem cum hæreditate innocentiæ misit ad posteros.—*Greg. VII.* Ep. viii. 21.

‡ Quod Romanus pontifex, si canonice fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus; was one of Pope Gregory VII.'s dictates. That the Roman pontiff, if canonically elected, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of blessed Peter.

[i] Wisd. i. 5.

own relations (his sons, his nephews.)

What indeed is the popedom now, but a ladder for a family to mount unto great estate?[j]

What is it, but introducing an old man into a place, by advantage whereof a family must make hay while the sun shines?*

8. This pretence, upon divers obvious accounts, is apt to create great mischief in the world, to the disturbance of civil societies, and destruction or debilitation of temporal authority, which is certainly God's ordinance, and necessary to the well-being of mankind; so that supposing it, we may in vain *pray for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.*[k]

For suppose the two powers (spiritual and temporal) to be co-ordinate, and independent each of other; then must all Christians be put into that perplexed state of repugnant and incompatible obligations, concerning which our Lord saith, *No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.*[l]

They will often draw several ways, and clash in their designs, in their laws, in their decisions; one willing and commanding that which the other disliketh and prohibiteth.

It will be impossible by any certain bounds to distinguish their jurisdiction, so as to prevent contest between them;[m] all temporal matters being in some respects spiritual (as being referrible to spiritual ends, and in some manner allied to religion), and all spiritual things becoming temporal, as they conduce to the secular peace and prosperity of states: there is nothing which each of these powers will not hook within the verge of its cognizance and jurisdiction; each will claim a right to meddle in all things; one pretending thereby to further the good of the church, the other to secure the interest of the state: and what end or remedy can there be of the difference hence arising; there being no third power to arbitrate or moderate between them?

Each will prosecute its cause by its advantages; the one by instruments of temporal power, the other by spiritual arms of censures and curses.

And in what a case must the poor people then be! how distracted in their consciences, how divided in their affections, how discordant in their practices! according as each pretence hath influence upon them, by its different arguments or peculiar advantages.

How can any man satisfy himself in performing or refusing obedience to either? How many (by the intricacy of the point, and contrary pulling) will be withdrawn from yielding due compliance on the one hand or the other!

What shall a man do, while one in case of disobedience to his commands doth brandish a sword, the other thundereth out a curse against him; one threatened death, the other excision from the church; both denounce damnation?

What animosities and contentions, what discomposures and confusions must this constitution of things breed in every place! and how can *a kingdom so divided in itself stand*, or not *come into desolation?*[n]

Such an advantage infallibly will make popes affect to invade the temporal power.

It was the reason which Pope Paschal alleged against Henry IV. because he did *ecclesiæ regnum auferre.*[o]

It is indeed impossible that a co-ordination of these powers should subsist; for each will be continually encroaching on the other; each for its own defence and support will continually be struggling and clambering to get above the other: there will never be any quiet, till one come to subside and truckle under the other; whereby the sovereignty of the one or the other will be destroyed. Each of them soon will come to claim

* ——Cum non ob religionem, et Dei cultum appetere pontificatum nostri sacerdotes videantur, sed ut fratrum vel nepotum, vel familiarium ingluviem et avaritiam expleant.—*Plat. in Joh. XVI.* (p. 298.) Whereas our priests seem to desire the popedom, not for religion and the worship of God, but that they may fill the ravening appetite and covetousness of their brethren, or nephews, or familiars.

j *Vide* Guicciard. Machiav. Hist. Fl. p. 19; Conc. Bas. (p. 65.)

k 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

l Matt. vi. 24.

m Bell. v. 6. (p. 1415.)

n Matt. xii. 25.

o P. Pasch. II. Ep. 7.

a supremacy in all causes, and the power of both swords; and one side will carry it.

It is indeed necessary, that men for a time continuing possessed with a reverence to the ecclesiastical authority, as independent and uncontrollable, it should at last overthrow the temporal, by reason of its great advantages above it; for,

The spiritual power doth pretend an establishment purely divine; which cannot by any accidents undergo any change, diminutions, or translation, to which temporal dominions are subject: its power therefore being perpetual, irreversible, depending immediately of God, can hardly be checked, can never be conquered.*

It fighteth with tongues and pens, which are the most perilous weapons.

It can never be disarmed, fighting with weapons that cannot be taken away, or deprived of their edge and vigour.

It worketh by most powerful considerations upon the consciences and affections of men, upon pain of damnation, promising heaven, and threatening hell; which upon some men have an infinite sway, upon all men a considerable influence; and thereby will be too hard for those who only can grant temporal rewards or inflict temporal punishments. It is surely a notable advantage that the pope hath above all princes, that he commandeth not only as a prince, but as a guide; so that whereas we are not otherwise bound to obey the commands of princes, than as they appear concordant with God's law, we must observe his commands absolutely, as being therefore lawful, because he commandeth them, that involving his assertion of their lawfulness, to which (without further inquiry or scruple) we must submit our understanding, his words sufficiently authorizing his commands for just. We are not only obliged to obey his commands, but to embrace his doctrines.

It hath continual opportunities of conversing with men; and thereby can insinuate and suggest the obligation to obey it, with greatest advantage, in secrecy, in the tenderest seasons.

It claimeth a power to have its instruction admitted with assent: and will it not instruct them for its own advantage? All its assertions must be believed—is not this an infinite advantage?

By such advantages the spiritual power (if admitted for such as it pretendeth) will swallow and devour the temporal; which will be an extreme mischief to the world.

The very pretence doth immediately crop and curtail the natural right of princes, by exempting great numbers of persons (the participants and dependents of this hierarchy) from subjection to them; by withdrawing causes from their jurisdiction; by commanding in their territories, and drawing people out of them to their judicatories; by having influence on their opinion; by draining them of wealth, &c.*

To this discourse experience abundantly doth yield its attestation;† for, how often have the popes thwarted princes in the exercise of their power, challenging their laws and administrations as prejudicial to religion, as contrary to ecclesiastical liberty!‡

Bodin (l. 9.) observeth, that if any prince were a heretic (that is, if the pope could pick occasion to call him so,) or a tyrant (that is, in his opinion), or anywise scandalous, the pope would excommunicate him; and would not receive him to favour, but upon his acknowledging himself a feudatory to the pope: so he drew in most kingdoms to depend on him.[p]

How often have they excommuni-

* *Vide* Mach. Hist. Flor. p. 18.——Impeti possunt humanis præsumptionibus quae divino sunt judicio constituta, vinci autem quorumlibet potestate non possunt.—*P. Gel.* Ep. 8; *Felix. P.* Ep. i. (p. 597.)

* Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam ecclesiasticam minui dignitatem, aut pro ecclesiastica dignitate principum potentiam mutilari.—*P. Pasch. II.* Ep. 28, 29. For we will not that either the ecclesiastical dignity should be diminished, by reason of the prince's power, or that the prince's power should be curtailed for the eccclesiastical dignity.

† Arietes furiosos.—*Bell.* v. 7.

‡ In vain did St. Bernard (de Consid. 1.), cry, Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid falcem vestram in alienam messam extenditis? Why do you invade other men's territories? why thrust you your sickle into other men's harvest?

[p] *Vide* Tort. T. p. 216; Greg. VII. Ep. i. 7; cxii 13, 63.

cated them, and interdicted their people from entertaining communion with them!

How many commotions, conspiracies, rebellions, and insurrections against princes, have they raised in several countries!*

How have they inveigled people from their allegiance! How many massacres and assassinations have they caused! How have they depressed and vilified the temporal power!

Have they not assumed to themselves superiority over all princes? The emperor himself (the chief of Christian princes) they did call their vassal, exacting an oath from them, whereof you have a form in the canon law, and a declaration of Pope Clement V. that it is an oath of fealty.[q]

Have they not challenged propriety in both swords; *Ecce duo gladii?*

How many princes have they pretended to depose, and dispossess of their authority!†

Consider the pragmatical sanctions, provisors, compositions, concordats, &c. which princes have been forced to make against them, or with them, to secure their interest.

Many good princes have been forced to oppose them, as Henry the Second of England, King Lewis the Twelfth of France (that just prince, *pater patriæ*), *Perdam Babylonis nomen.*[r]

How often have they used this as a pretence of raising and fomenting wars! confiding in their spiritual arms; interdicting princes that would not comply with their designs, for advancing the interests not only of their See, but of their private families!*

Bodin observeth,[s] that Pope Nicholas I. was the first who excommunicated princes. Platina doth mention some before him: but it is remarkable, that although Pope Leo I. (a high-spirited pope, *fortissimus Leo*,) as Liberatus calleth him) was highly provoked against Theodosius junior; Pope Gelasius, and divers of his predecessors and followers; Pope Gregory II. against Leo; Vigilius against Justinian, &c.; yet none of them did presume to excommunicate the emperors.

All these dealings are the natural result of this pretence; and, supposing it well grounded, are capable of a plausible justification: for is it not fit (seeing one must yield) that temporal should yield to spiritual?

Indeed, granting the papal supremacy in spirituals, I conceive the high-flying zealots of the Roman church, who subject all temporal powers to them, have great reason on their side; for co-ordinate power cannot subsist, and it would be only an eternal seminary of perpetual discords.

The quarrel cannot otherwise be well composed, than by wholly disclaiming the fictitious and usurped power of the pope: for,

Two such powers (so inconsistent and cross to each other, so apt to interfere, and consequently to breed everlasting mischiefs to mankind between them) could not be instituted by God.——

He would not appoint two different vicegerents in his kingdom at the same time.——

But it is plain that he hath instituted the civil power, and endowed it with a sword.[t] That princes are his lieutenants.†

* *Vide* Plat. de Bonif. VIII. p. 467, Jul. 2.—Non sine suspicione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atque nutrirent.—*Episc. Modrus. in Conc. Lat. V.* sess. 6. (p. 72.) Not without suspicion, that the popes of those times, who ought to have extinguished wars, and put an end to dissensions, did rather raise them up and cherish them.—See *Greg. VII.* Ep. iv. 2; viii. 21.

† Auctoritate apostolica de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere.—*Clement.* lib. ii. tit. 9, cap. unicum. We declare out of our apostolical authority, by the advice of our brethren, that the foresaid oaths of fealty ought to be, and be so esteemed.

[q] *Vide* Conc. Lugd. p. 851.

[r] Thuan. lib. i.

* Abutente Christianorum pastore Christianorum principum viribus, ut privatæ ambitioni, et suorum libidini inserviret.—*Thuan.* lib. i. p. 42. The pastor of Christians abusing the power of Christian princes, that he might gratify his private ambition, and the will and lust of his friends.

† P. Anast. calleth the emperor Anast.—*Vicarium. Epist.* (p. 670), Eccl. Leod. p. 522.

[s] Observ.

[t] Tort. T. p. 210.

That in ancient times the popes did not claim such authority, but avowed themselves subjects to princes.

9. Consequently this pretence is apt to engage Christian princes against Christianity; for they will not endure to be crossed, to be depressed, to be trampled on.

This popes often have complained of; not considering it was their own insolence that caused it.

10. Whereas now Christendom is split into many parcels, subject to divers civil sovereignties, it is expedient that correspondently there should be distinct ecclesiastical governments, independent of each other, which may comply with the respective civil authorities in promoting the good and peace both of church and state.*

It is fit that every prince should in all things govern all his subjects; and none should be exempted from subordination to his authority: as philosophers, and physicians of the body; so priests and physicians of the soul; not in exercising their function, but in taking care that they do exercise it duly for the honour of God, and in consistence with public good; otherwise many grievous inconveniences must ensue.

It is of perilous consequence that foreigners should have authoritative influence upon the subjects of any prince, or have power to intermeddle in affairs.

Princes have a natural right to determine with whom their subjects shall have intercourse: which is inconsistent with a right of foreigners to govern or judge them in any case, without their leave.

Every prince is obliged to employ the power intrusted to him, to the furtherance of God's service, and encouragement of all good works; as a supreme power, without being liable to obstruction from any other power.

It would irritate his power, if another should be beyond his coercion.

It is observable, that the pope, by intermeddling in the affairs of kingdoms, did so wind himself into them as to get a pretence to be master of each; princes being his vassals and feudatories.*

11. Such an authority is needless and useless; it not serving the ends which it pretendeth; and they being better compassed without it.

It pretendeth to maintain truth; but indeed, it is more apt to oppress it.

Truth is rather (as St. Cyprian wisely observeth) preserved by the multitude of bishops, whereof some will be ready to relieve it, when assaulted by others.

Truth cannot be supported merely by human authority; especially that authority is to be suspected which pretendeth dominion over our minds. What controversy, being doubtful in itself, will not after his decision continue doubtful? His sentence may be eluded by interpretation, as well as other testimonies or authorities.

The opinion of a man's great wisdom or skill may be the ground of assent, in defect of other more cogent arguments; but authority of name or dignity is not proper to convince a man's understanding. Men obey, but not believe princes more than others, if not more learned than others.

It pretendeth to maintain order: but how? by introducing slavery; by destroying all rights; by multiplying disorders; by hindering order to be quietly administered in each country.

It pretendeth to be the only means of unity and concord in opinion, by determining controversies: which its advocates affirm necessary.†

But how can that be necessary which

* Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum; unde etiam ecclesiasticarum parochiarum fines in plerisque provinciis mutari expedit et transferri.—*P. Pasch. II.* Ep. 19.

* *Vide* Bod. de Rep. i. 9. (p. 195.) Car les princes Chretiens avoient presque tous opinion, que le pape etoit absolument seigneur souverain de tous les royaumes de la Chretiente.—*Bod. Ibid.* p. 196; *Tort. Tort.* p. 216, &c.—— *Greg. VII.* Ep. 1, 7, 2, 13; *Alex. II.* Ep. 8. Ἡ τοσαύτη διαφωνία καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεται, ἑκαστοῦ τῆς μὲν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν I. X. διδασκαλίας ἀφισταμένου, λογισμοὺς δέ τινας καὶ ὅρους ἰδίους ἐκδικοῦντος ἐξ αὐθεντίας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἀπ' ἐναντίας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἢ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου βουλομένου.—Bas. de Jud. Dei, t. ii. p. 259. So great a dissonancy and jarring there is among men in the church, while every one swerves from the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and asserts certain conceits and rules of his own by his own authority, and had rather rule contrary to the lord, than be ruled by the Lord.

‡ Necesse est, ut omnes fideles idem sentiant.—*Bell.* i. 9. It is necessary that all the faithful should be of the same opinion.

never was *de facto*, not even in the Roman church?

Hath the pope effected this? Do all his followers agree in all points? Do they agree about his authority? Do not they differ and dispute about infinity of questions? Are all the points frivolous, about which their divines and schoolmen dispute? Why did not the council of Trent itself, without more ado, and keeping such a disputing, refer all to his oracular decision?

Necessary points may and will, by all honest people, be known and determined without him, by the clear testimony of scripture, by consent of Fathers, by general tradition.*—And other points need not be determined.

That he may be capable of that office, he must be believed appointed by God thereto; which is a question itself to be decided without him, to satisfaction. His power is apt no otherwise to knock down controversies, than by depressing truth; not suffering any truth to be asserted, which doth not favour its interests.

Concord was maintained, and controversies decided, without them in the ancient church; in synods, wherein he was not the sole judge, nor had observable influence.

The Fathers did not think such authority needful, otherwise they would have made more use of it.†

A more ready way to define controversies is for every one not to prescribe to others, or to persecute; for then men would more calmly see the truth, and consent.

It pretendeth to maintain peace and unity. But nothing hath raised more fierce dissensions, or so many bloody wars in Christendom, as it.

It is apt, by tyranical administration, to become intolerable, and so to break the ecclesiastical state; to raise schisms and troubles.

It is like to extinguish genuine charity, which is free and uncompelled.

All the peace and charity which it endureth is by force and compulsion, not out of choice and good affection.

V. The ancients did assert to each bishop a free, absolute, independent authority, subject to none, directed by none, accountable to none on earth, in the administration of affairs properly concerning his particular church.

This is most evident in St. Cyprian's writings; out of which it will not be amiss to set down some passages, manifesting the sense and practice of the church in his time, to the satisfaction of any ingenuous mind.

"The bond of concord abiding, and the sacrament" (or doctrine) "of the Catholic church persisting undivided, every bishop disposeth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpose to the Lord."* This he writeth when he was pleading the cause of Pope Cornelius against Novatian; but then, it seemeth, not dreaming of his supremacy over others.

"But we know that some will not lay down what once they have imbibed, nor will easily change their mind; but the bond of peace and concord with their colleagues being preserved, will retain some peculiar things, which have once been used by them; in which matter neither do we force any, or give law; whenas every prelate hath in the administration of his church the free power of his will, being to render unto the Lord an account of his acting."† This saith he, writing to Pope Stephanus, and in a friendly manner, "out of common respect and single love"‡ (not out of servile obeisance), acquainting him what he and his brethren in a synod, "by common consent and authority,"|| had established concerning the degradation of clergymen who had been ordained by heretics, or had lapsed into schism.

* Ἱκανωτέρα ἡ θεία γραφή.—Ath.

† Nemini præscribentes.

* Manente concordiæ vinculo, et perseverante catholicæ ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, actum suum disponit et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Antonianum.*)

† Cæterum scimus quosdam quod semel imbiberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas, pacis et concordiæ vinculo quædam propria, quæ apud se semel sint usurpata, retinere; qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus; cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus. —*Cypr.* Ep. 72. (*ad Stephanum.*)

‡ Hæc ad conscientiam tuam, frater charissime, et pro honore communi et pro simplici dilectione pertulimus, &c.

|| Consensu et auctoritate communi.

"For seeing it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise equal and just, that each man's cause should be there heard where the crime is committed; and to each pastor a portion of the flock is assigned, which each should rule and govern, being to render an account to his Lord: those indeed over whom we preside ought not to ramble about."* This saith he in his Epistle to Pope Cornelius, upon occasion of some factious clergymen addressing themselves to him with factious suggestions, to gain his countenance.

"These things I have briefly written back, according to our meanness, dear brother; prescribing to none, nor prejudging, that every bishop should not do what he thinks good, having a free power of his will."†

"In which matter our bashfulness and modesty doth not prejudge any one; so that every one may not judge as he thinketh, and act, as he judgeth:"‡ prescribing to none, "so that every bishop may not resolve what he thinks good, being to render an account to the Lord," &c.||

"It remaineth that each of us do utter his opinion about this matter, judging no man, nor removing any man, if he dissenteth, from the right of communion; for neither doth any of us constitute himself bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror driveth his colleagues to a necessity of obeying; whenas every bishop hath upon account of his liberty and authority his own free choice, and is no less exempted from being judged by another, than he is uncapable to judge another; but let us all expect the judgment of Lord Jesus Christ, who, and who alone, hath power both to prefer us to the government of his church, and to judge of our acting"* These words did St. Cyprian speak as prolocutor of the great synod of bishops at Carthage: and what words could be more express, or more full, in assertion of the episcopal liberties and rights, against almost every branch of Romish pretences?

He disavoweth the practice of one bishop excluding another from communion for dissent in opinion about disputable points; he rejecteth the pretence that any man can have, to be a bishop of bishops, or superior to all his brethren; he condemneth the imposing opinions upon bishops, and constraining them to obedience; he disclaimeth any power in one bishop to judge another; he asserteth to each bishop a full liberty and power to manage his own concerns according to his discretion; he affirmeth every bishop to receive his power only from Christ, and to be liable only to his judgment.

We may observe, that St. Austin, in his reflections upon the passages in that synod, doth approve, yea admire that preface, passing high commendations on the smartest passages of it, which assert common liberty, professing his own conformity in practice to them:—"In this consultation," saith he, "is showed a pacific soul, overflowing with plenty of charity;"[u] and, "We have therefore a free choice of inquiry granted to us, by the most mild and most veracious speech

* Nam cum statutum sit omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus præsumus, non circumcursare, &c.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Cornelium.*)

† Hæc tibi breviter pro nostra mediocritate rescripsimus, frater charissime; nemini præscribentes, aut præjudicantes, quo minus unusquisque episcoporum quod putat faciat, habens arbitrii sui liberam potestatem.—*Cypr.* Ep. 73. (*ad Jubabaianum.*)

‡ Qua in parte nemini vericundia et modestia nostra præjudicat, quo minus unusquisque quod putat sentiat, et quod senserit faciat.—*Cypr.* Ep. 76. (*ad Magnum.*)

|| Nemini præscribentes, quo minus statuat quod putat unusquisque præpositus, actus sui rationem Domino redditurus; secundum quod apostolus, &c.—*Ibid.*

* Superest ut de hac re singuli quid sentiamus proferamus, neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes; neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare; sed expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus, habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi. —*Cypr. in Præf. Conc. Carthag.*

[u] Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat. lib. ii. 3, &c.

of St. Cyprian* himself;" and "Now if the proud and tumid minds of heretics dare to extol themselves against the holy humility of this speech—than which what can be more gentle, more humble?"†

Would St. Austin have swallowed those sayings, could he have so much applauded them, if he had known a just power then extant and radiant in the world, which they do impeach and subvert? No, I trow; he did not know, nor so much as dream of any such; although the pope was under his nose while he was discussing that point, and he could hardly talk so much of St. Cyprian without thinking of Pope Stephen.

However, let any man of sense honestly read and weigh those passages, considering who did write them, to whom he writ them, upon what occasions he writ them, when he writ them; that he was a great primate of the church, a most holy, most prudent, most humble and meek person; that he addresed divers of them to bishops of Rome; that many of them were touching the concerns of popes; that he writ them in times of persecution and distress, which produce the most sober and serious thoughts: then let him, if he can, conceive that all Christian bishops were then held subject to the pope, or owned such a power due to him as he now claimeth.

We may add a contemporary testimony of the Roman clergy, addressing to St. Cyprian these words: "Although a mind well conscious to itself, and supported by the vigour of evangelical discipline, and having in heavenly doctrines become a true witness to itself, is wont to be content with God for its only judge; and not to desire the praises, nor to dread the accusations of another; yet they are worthy of double praise, who when they know they owe their consciences to God only as judge, yet desire also their actions to be approved by their brethren themselves; the which it is no wonder that you, brother Cyprian, should do, who, according to your modesty and natural industry, would have us not so much judges as partakers of your counsels"——.* Then, it seems, the college of cardinals, not so high in the instep as they are now, did take St. Cyprian to be free, and not accountable for his actions to any other judge but God.

That this notion of liberty did continue a good time after in the church, we may see by that canon of the Antiochene synod, "ordaining that every bishop have power of his own bishopric, govern it according to the best of his care and discretion, and provide for all the country belonging to his city, so as to ordain priests and deacons, and dispose things aright."†

The monks of Constantinople, in the synod of Chalcedon, said thus: "We are sons of the church, and have one father, after God, our archbishop:"‡ they forgot their sovereign father the pope.

The like notion may seem to have been then in England, when the church of Canterbury was called "the common mother of all under the disposition of its spouse Jesus Christ."||

VI. The ancients did hold all bishops, as to their office, originally according to divine institution, or abstracting from human sanction framed to preserve order and peace, to be equal: for that all are successors of the apostles; all derive their commission and power in the same tenor from God; all of them are *ambas-*

* Habemus ergo quærendi liberum arbitrium ipsius Cypriani nobis mitissimo et veracissimo sermone concessum.—Lib. iii. cap. 3.

† Nunc si se audent superbæ et tumidæ cervices hæreticorum adversus sanctam humilitatem hujus sententiæ extollant. Lib. ii. cap. 3. Quid mansuetius, quid humilius?—Lib. iii. cap. 3.

* Quanquam bene sibi conscius animus, et evangelicæ disciplinæ vigore subnixus, et verus sibi in decretis cœlestibus testis effectus, soleat solo Deo judice esse contentus, nec alterius aut laudes petere, aut accusationes pertimescere; tamen geminata sunt laude condigni, qui cum conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, actus tamen suos desiderant etiam ab ipsis suis fratribus comprobari: quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum est, qui pro tua verecundia, et ingenita industria consiliorum tuorum nos non tam judices voluisti, quam participes inveniri——. *Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

† Ἕκαστον γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παροικίας, διοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστῳ ἐπιβάλλουσαν εὐλάβειαν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν; ὡς καὶ χειροτονεῖν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, καὶ μετὰ κρίσεως ἕκαστα διαλαμβάνειν——. Syn. Ant. Can. 9.

‡ Ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τέκνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐσμεν, καὶ ἕνα πατέρα μετὰ τὸν Θεὸν, τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἔχομεν.—Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 114.

|| Omnium nostrum mater communis sub sponsi sui Jesu Christi dispositione.—*Gervas Dorob.* (p. 1663), *apud Twisd.* p. 72.

sadors, stewards, vicars of Christ, intrusted with the same divine ministries of instructing, dispensing the sacraments, ruling and exercising discipline; to which functions and privileges the least bishop hath right, and to greater the biggest cannot pretend.[v]

One bishop might exceed another in splendour, in wealth, in reputation, in extent of jurisdiction, as one king may surpass another in amplitude of territory; but as all kings, so all bishops are equal in office and essentials of power derived from God.

Hence they applied to them that in the Psalm, *Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth.*[w]

This was St. Jerome's doctrine in those famous words: "Wherever a bishop be, whether at Rome or at Eugubium, at Constantinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria or at Thanis, he is of the same worth and of the same priesthood; the force of wealth and lowness of poverty doth not render a bishop more high or more low; for that all of them are successors of the apostles:"* to evade which plain assertion, they have forged distinctions, whereof St. Jerome surely did never think, he speaking simply concerning bishops, as they stood by divine institution, not according to human models, which gave some advantages over other.

That this notion did continue long in the church, we may see by the elogies of bishops in later synods; for instance, that in the synod of Compeigne: "It is convenient all Christians should know what kind of office the bishop's is,—who, it is plain, are the vicars of Christ, and keep the keys of the kingdom of heaven."†

And that of the synod of Melun: "And though all of us unworthy, yet are the vicars of Christ, and successors of the apostles."‡

In contemplation of which verity, St. Gregory Nazianzen, observing the declension from it introduced in his times by the ambition of some prelates, did vent that famous exclamation: "O that there were not at all any presidency, or any preference in place, and tyrannical enjoyment of prerogatives!"*—which earnest wish he surely did not mean to level against the ordinance of God, but against that which lately began to be intruded by men. And what would the good man have wished, if he had been aware of those pretences about which we discourse; which then did only begin to bud and peep up in the world?

1. Common practice is a good interpreter of common sentiments in any case; and it therefore sheweth, that in the primitive church the pope was not deemed to have a right of universal sovereignty: for if such a thing had been instituted by God, or established by the apostles, the pope certainly, with evident clearness, would have appeared to have possessed it; and would have sometimes (I might say frequently, yea, continually) have exercised it in the first ages: which that he did not at all, we shall make, I hope, very manifest, by reflecting on the chief passages occurring then; whereof, indeed, there is scarce any one which, duly weighed, doth not serve to overthrow the Roman pretence: but that matter I reserve to another place; and shall propound other considerations, declaring the sense of the Fathers; only I shall add, that indeed,

2. The state of the most primitive church did not well admit such an universal sovereignty. For that did consist of small bodies incoherently situated, and scattered about in very distant places, and consequently unfit to be modelled into one political society, or to be governed by one head. Especially considering their condition under persecution and poverty. What convenient resort for direction or justice could a few distressed Christians in Egypt, Ethiopia, Parthia, India, Mesopotamia, Syria, Ar-

* Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c.—*Hieron. ad Evagr.* Ep. 85.

† Omnibus in Christiana religione constitutis scire convenit quale sit ministerium episcoporum—quos constat esse vicarios Christi, et clavigeros regni cœlorum, &c.—*Syn. Compend.* ann. Dom. 833. (*apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 361.)

‡ Nos omnes licet indigni, Christi tamen vicarii, et apostolorum ipsius successores.—*Syn. Meldens.* ann. Dom. 845. (*apud Bin.* tom. vi. p. 402.)

[v] *Vide* Ep. P. Celest. I. in Conc. Eph. Act. ii. (p. 324.)

[w] Baron. an. 57, § 30; Psal. xlv. 16.

* Ὡς ὄφελον γε μηδὲ ἦν προεδρία, μηδέ τις τόπου προτίμησις, καὶ τυραννικὴ προνομία ——Greg. Naz. Orat. 28.

menia, Cappadocia, and other parts, have to Rome! What trouble, what burden had it been, to seek instruction, succour, decision of cases thence! Had they been obliged or required to do so, what offences, what clamours, would it have raised! seeing that afterward, when Christendom was connected and compacted together, when the state of Christians was flourishing and prosperous, when passages were open, and the best of opportunities of correspondence were afforded, yet the setting out of these pretences did cause great oppositions and stirs; seeing the exercise of this authority, when it had obtained most vigour, did produce so many grievances, so many complaints, so many courses to check and curb it, in countries feeling the inconveniences and mischiefs springing from it.

The want of the like in the first ages is a good argument that the cause of them had not yet sprung up; Christendom could not have been so still, if there had been then so meddlesome a body in it as the pope now is.

The Roman clergy, in their epistle to St. Cyprian, told him, that "because of the difficulty of things and times, they could not constitute a bishop who might moderate things"* immediately belonging to them in their own precincts: how much more in that state of things would a bishop there be fit to moderate things over all the world; when, as Rigaltius† truly noteth, "the church being then oppressed with various vexations, the communication of provinces between themselves was difficult and unfrequent."

Wherefore Bellarmine himself doth confess, that in those times, before the Nicene synod, "the authority of the pope was not a little hindered, so that because of continual persecutions he could not freely exercise it."‡

The church, therefore, could so long subsist without the use of such authority, by the vigilance of governors over their flocks, and the friendly correspondence of neighbour churches: and if he would let it alone, it might do so still.

That could be no divine institution, which had no vigour in the first and best times; but an innovation raised by ambition.

VII. The ancients, when occasion did require, did maintain their equality of office and authority, particularly in respect to the Roman bishops; not only interpretatively by practice, but directly and formally in express terms asserting it.

Thus when Felicissimus and his complices, being rejected by St. Cyprian, did apply themselves to Pope Cornelius for his communion and countenance, St. Cyprian affirmed that to be an irregular and unjust course; subjoining, "Except to a few desperate and wicked persons, the authority of the bishops constituted in Afric, who have already judged of them, do seem less;"* that is, inferior to any other authority, particularly to that of Rome, unto which they had recourse: what other meaning could he have? Doth not his argument require this meaning?

Another instance is that of the Fathers of the Antiochene synod† (being ninety-seven bishops), the which St. Hilary calleth "a synod of saints congregated"‡ (the decrees whereof the Catholic church did admit into its code, and the canons whereof popes have called "venerable:"||) these in their Epistle to Pope Julius, complaining of his demeanour in the case of Athanasius, did flatly assert to themselves an equality with him: "They did not," as Sozomen reciteth out of their Epistle, "therefore, think it equal, that they should be thought inferi-

* Nobis, post excessum nobilissimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum est episcopus propter rerum et temporum difficultatem constitutus, qui omnia ista moderetur ——: *Cl. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep 31.

† Viriis tunc ecclesia vexationibus oppressa, difficilis et infrequens erat provinciarum inter sese communicatio.—*Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 67.

‡ Verum enim est impeditam fuisse eo tempore non parum pontificis auctoritatem —— propter persecutiones continuas non potuisse Romanos pontifices libere exercere eam, quam a Christo acceperant auctoritatem, &c.—*Bell. de R. P.* ii. 17.

* Nisi si paucis desperatis et perditis minor esse videtur auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt——:

† Fides quam exposuerunt qui affuerunt episcopi 97. —— *Hilar. de Synodis.* (p. 367.)

‡ Congregatam sanctorum synodum.—*Hilar.* ibid.

|| Venerabiles Antiocheni canones.—*P. Nicol. I.* Ep. ix. (p. 519.)

ors, because they had not so big and numerous a church."*

That pope himself testifieth the same in his Epistle to them, extant in the second Apology of Athanasius: "If" (saith he) "ye do truly conceive the honour of bishops to be equal, and the same; and ye do not, as ye write, judge of bishops according to the magnitude of cities:"† which assertion of theirs, so flatly thwarting papal supremacy, he doth not at all confute, yea, not so much as contradict; and therefore reasonably may be interpreted to yield consent thereto; the rule, "He that holdeth his peace seemeth to consent,"‡ never holding better than in this case, when his copyhold was so nearly touched; indeed, he had been very blameable to waive such an occasion of defending so important a truth, or in letting so pestilent an error to pass without correction or reproof.

After the pope had climbed higher than at that time (upon the ladders of dissension and disorders in the church), yet he was reproved by Euphemius, bishop of Constantionple, for preferring himself before his brethren; as we may collect from those words of a zealous pope: "We desire not to be placed above others (as you say), so much as to have fellowship holy and well-pleasing to God with all the faithful."||

That Pope Gregory I. did not hold himself superior to other bishops, many sayings of his do infer: for in this he placeth the fault of the bishop of Constantinople, which he so often and so severely reprehendeth, that he did "prefer himself before, and extol himself above, other bishops."§

And would he directly assume that to himself which he chargeth on another, although only following his position by consequence?

And when Eulogius, the bishop of Alexandria, had complimentally said, "*Sicut jussistis*, As ye commanded:" he doth thus express his resentment: "That word of *command* I desire you let me not hear; because I know who I am, and who ye are: by place ye are my brethren; in goodness, fathers; I did not therefore command; but what seemed profitable I hinted to you."*

That many such instances may not be alleged out of antiquity, the reason is, because the ancient popes did not understand this power to belong to them, and therefore give no occasion for bishops to maintain their honour; or were more just, prudent, and modest than to take so much upon them, as their successors did, upon frivolous pretences.

VIII. The style used by the primitive bishops in their applications to the Roman bishop doth signify, that they did not apprehend him their sovereign, but their equal.

"Brother, colleague, fellow-bishop,"[x] are the terms which St. Cyprian doth use in speaking about the Roman bishops, his contemporaries, Fabianus, Cornelius, Lucius, Stephanus; and in his epistles to the three last of them; nor doth he ever use any other, importing higher respect due to them; as indeed his practise demonstrateth he did not apprehend any other due, or that he did take them for his superiors in office. "Know now, brother,"† was the compellation of Dionysius (bishop of Alexandria) to Pope Stephanus. The synod of Antioch, which rejected Paulus Samosatenus, inscribeth its epistle to "Dionysius" (then bishop of Rome) "and Maximus, and all our fellow-ministers through the world."‡

* Οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἠξίουν, ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει, ἢ πλήθει ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν.—Soz. iii. 8.

† Εἰ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡγεῖσθε τιμὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν πόλεων, ὡς γράφετε, κρίνετε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους.—P. Jul. I. apud Athan. in Apol. ii. (p. 744.)

‡ Qui tacet consentiri videtur.

|| Hic non tam optamus præponi aliis (sicut prædicas) quam cum fidelibus cunctis sanctum et Deo placitum habere consortium.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 1. (*ad Euphemium.*)

§ —— In elatione sua Antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se cæteris præponit.—*P. Greg. I.* Ep. vi. 30. Super cæteros sacerdotes se extollit.—*Ibid.* Christi sibi student membra judicare.—*Id.* Ep. iv. 36. Solus omnibus præesse.—*Id* Ep. iv. 38. —— quibus (episcopis) cupis temetipsum vocabulo elationis præponere.—*Id. ibid.*

* Quod verbum jussionis peto a meo auditu removeri; quia scio quis sum, qui estis; loco enim mihi fratres estis, moribus patres, non ergo jussi, sed quæ utilia visa sunt, indicare curavi, &c.—*Greg. I.* Ep. vii. 30. (*ad Eulog. Alex.*)

† Ἴσθι νῦν ἀδελφέ.—Euseb. vii. 5.

‡ Διονυσίῳ καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν.—Euseb. vii. 30.

[x] Cypr. Ep. 4, 41, 58, 67, 68, 45, 49, &c.

The old synod of Arles directeh their epistle "to Seignior Sylvester, their brother." Athanasius saith, "These things may suffice, which have been written by our beloved and fellow-minister Damasus, bishop of great Rome."* Marcellus inscribed to Pope Julius, to his "Most blessed fellow-minister."† So Cyril spake of Pope Celestine I., "Our brother and fellow-minister, the bishop of Rome."‡ So St. Basil, and his fellow-bishops of the east, did inscribe their Epistle,|| "To the beloved of God, and our most holy brethren and fellow-ministers, the unanimous bishops through Italy and France." In this style do the Fathers of Sardica salute Pope Julius; those of Constantinople, Pope Damasus;[7] those of Ephesus, Pope Celestine I.: "Our brother and fellow-minister, Celestine;"§ those of Carthage, Pope Celestine I., in the very same terms wherein St. Austin doth salute Maximinus, a Donatist bishop, "Seignior, my beloved and most honoured brother."¶ The oriental bishops, Eustathius, Theophilus, and Silvanus, did inscribe their remonstrance to Pope Liberius, "To seignior, our brother and fellow-minister, Liberius."** So John of Antioch to Nestorius writeth, "To my master."†† The synod of Illyricum call Elpidius, "Our Seignior, and fellow-minister."‡‡

In which instances, and some others of later date, we may observe that the word κύριος, or *domius*, was then (as it is now) barely a term of civility, being then usually given to any person of quality, or to whom they would express common respect; so that St. Chrysostom in his epistles commonly doth give it, not only to meaner bishops, but even to priests; and St. Austin doth thus salute even Donatist bishops, reflecting thereon thus: "Since therefore by charity I serve you in this office of wiriting letters to you, I do not improperly call you master, for the sake of our oue true Master, who has commanded us so to do."* "——my most honoured master."† "——now therefore having with me my most honoured seignior and most reverend presbyter," &c.‡ "——my most honoured master, Asyncritus the elder."||

Pope Celestine himself did salute the Ephesine Fathers, κύριοι, ἀδελφοί, "masters, brethren,"§ Even in the sixth council, Thomas, bishop of Constantinople, did inscribe according to the old style, to Pope Vitalianus, "his brother and fellow-minister."[8]

The French bishops had good reason to expostulate with Pope Nicholas I. "You may know that we are not, as you boast and brag, your clerks; whom, if pride would suffer, you ought to acknowledge for your brethren and fellow-bishops."¶

Such are the terms and titles which primitive integrity, when they meant to speak most kindly and respectfully, did allow to the pope, being the same which all bishops did give to one another (as may be seen in all solemn addresses and reports concerning them:) which is an argument sufficiently plain, that bishops in those times did not take themselves to

* Ἱκανὰ μὲν τὰ γραφέντα παρά τε τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ Δαμάσου.—Athan. Ep. ad Afr. (p. 931.)

† Τῷ μακαριωτάτῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἰουλίῳ.—Marcell. ad P. Jul. Epiph. Hær. 72.

‡ Ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου ——. Cyril. ad Nest. in Syn. Eph. p. 207.

|| Τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ὁσιωτάτοις ἀδελφοῖς συλλειτουργοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Γαλλίαν ὁμοψύχοις ἐπισκόποις.—Bas. Ey. 69; Athanas. Apol. ii. (p. 761, 756.)

§ Τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Κηλεστίνου.—Syn. Eph. p. 217. Domino dilectissimo et honoratissimo fratri ——. *Conc. Afr.*

¶ Domino dilectissimo et honorabili fratri Maximino.—*Aug.* Ep. 203.

** Κυρίῳ ἀδελφῷ. καὶ συλλειτουργῷ Λιβερίῳ Εὐστάθιος, Θεόφιλος, Σιλβανὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν ——. Socr. iv. 12.

†† Τῷ δεσπότῃ μοῦ.—Conc. Eph. 202.

‡‡ Τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ συλλειτουργόν.—Theod. iv. 9.

[7] Thod. v. 9.

* Cum ergo vel hoc ipso officio literarum per charitatem tibi serviam, non absurde te dominum voco, propter unum et verum Dominum nostrum qui nobis ista præcepit.—*Aug.* Ep. 103.

† Δέσποτά μου τιμιώτατε.—Chrys. Ep. 26.

‡ Νῦν γοῦν ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ κυρίου μοῦ τιμιωτάτου καὶ εὐλαβεστάτου πρεσβυτέρου.—Id. ibid.

|| Δεσπότην μοῦ τιμιώτατον Ἀσύγκριτον τὸν πρεσβύτερον.—Ep. 68. (71, 75, 77, 84, 91, &c.)

§ Κύριοι ἀδελφοί. P. Celest. I. Ep. ad Syn. Eph. Act. ii. (p. 324).

¶ Scias nos non tuos esse, ut te jactas et extollis, clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiscopos recognoscere, si elatio permitteret, debueras.—*An. Franc. Pith.* (an. 858)

[8] Conc. 6, Act. xiii. p. 224.

be the pope's subjects, or his inferiors in office; but his fellows and mates, coordinate in rank.

Were not these improper terms for an ordinary gentleman or nobleman to accost his prince in? yet hardly is there such a distance between any prince and his peers, as there is between a modern pope and other bishops.

It would now be taken for a great arrogance and sauciness for an underling bishop to address to the pope in such language, or to speak of him in that manner; which is a sign that the world is altered in its notion of him, and that he beareth a higher conceit of himself than his primitive ancestors did. Now nothing but *Beatissimus Pater*, Most blessed Father; and *Dominus noster Papa*, Our Lord the Pope, in the highest sense, will satisfy him.

Now a pope in a general synod, in a solemn oration, could be told to his face, that "the most holy senate" of cardinals had chosen "a brother into a father, a colleague into a lord."* Verily so it is now, but not so anciently.

In the same ancient times, the style of the Roman bishops writing to other bishops was the same; he calling them brethren and fellow-ministers.

So did Cornelius write to Fabius of Antioch, "Beloved brother:"† so did he call all other bishops,—"Be it known to all our fellow-bishops and brethren."‡ So Julius to the oriental bishops, "To our beloved brethren."|| So Liberius to the Macedonion bishops, "To our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers:"§ and to the oriental bishops, "To our brethren and fellow-bishops."¶ So Damasus to the bishops of Illyricum.[a] So Leo himself frequently in his epistles. So Pope Celestine calleth John of Antioch, "Most honoured brother;"* to Cyril and to Nestorius himself, "Beloved brother;"† to the fathers of Ephesus, "Seigniors, brethren."‡ Pope Gelasius to the bishops of Dardania, "Your brotherhood." St. Gregory to Cyriacus, "Our brother and fellow-priest, Cyraicus."||

If it be said, the popes did write so then out of condescension, or humility and modesty; it may be replied, that if really there was such a difference as is now pretended, it may seem rather affectation, and indecency or mockery: for it would have more become the pope to maintain the majesty and authority of his place, by appellations apt to cherish their reverence, than to collogue with them in terms void of reality, or signifying that equality which he did not mean.

But Bellarmine hath found out one instance (which he maketh much of) of Pope Damasus,[b] who writing (not as he allegeth, to the Fathers of Constantinople, but) to certain eastern bishops, calleth them *most honoured sons*.§ That whole epistle I do fear to be foisted into Theodoret; for it cometh in abruptly; and doth not much become such a man: and if it be supposed genuine, I should suspect some corruption in the place: for why, if he writ to bishops, should he use a style so unsuitable to those times, and so different from that of his predecessors and successors? Why should there be such a disparity between his own style now and at other times? for, writing to the bishops of Illyricum, he calleth them "beloved brethren:"¶ why then is he so inconstant and partial as to yield these oriental bishops less respect? wherefore perhaps *υἱοὶ* was thrust in for *ἀδελφοί*: or perhaps the word *ἐπισκόποις* was intruded, and he did write to laymen; "those who governed the east," who well might be called "most honoured sons;"** otherwise the epithet doth not seem well to

* Vere divina providentia factum consendum est, quod te sacerrimus iste senatus —— fratrem, et ita dixerim filium in patrem, collegam in dominum — elegerit, assumpserit, adoraverint.—*Balt. Delrio. in Conc. Later. ad Leonem X.* sess. viii. (p. 85.)

† Ἀδελφὲ ἀγαπητέ.—Euseb. vi. 43.

‡ Omnibus coepiscopis nostris et fratribus innotescat.—*P. Corn. apud Cypr. Epist.* 48.

|| Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.—Athan. p. 739.

§ Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ συλλειτουργοῖς.—Socr. iv. 12.

¶ Fratribus et coepiscopis.—*Hil. Frag.* p. 450.

[a] Soz. vi. 23.

* Τιμιώτατε ἀδελφέ.—Conc. Eph. p. 196.

† Τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἀδελφῷ.—P. 179, 183.

‡ Κύριοι ἀδελφοί.—Act. ii. p. 324.

|| Fraternitas vestra.—*P. Gelas.* Ep. 12; *Greg.* Ep. vi. 24. Fratris et consacerdotis nostri Cyriaci ——.

§ Vales. in Theod. ib. υἱοὶ τιμιώτατοι.

¶ Ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.—Soz. vi. 23.

** Τοῖς τὴν ἑῴαν ἰθύνουσι.

[b] Bell. ii. 14; Theod. v. 10.

suit; but however, a single example of arrogance or stateliness (or of what shall I call it?) is not to be set against so many modest and mannerly ones.

In fine, that this salutation doth not always imply superiority, we may be assured by that inscription of Alexander, bishop of Thessalonica, to Athanasius of Alexandria, "To my beloved son and unanimous colleague, Athanasius."*

IX. The ground of that eminence which the Roman bishop did obtain in the church, so as in order to precede other bishops, doth shake this pretence.

The church of Rome was indeed allowed to be "the principal church,"† as St. Cyprian calleth it: but why? Was it preferred by divine institution? No, surely; Christianity did not make laws of that nature, or constitute difference of places. Was it in regard to the succession of St. Peter? No; that was a slim, upstart device; that did not hold in Antioch, nor in other apostolical churches.

But it was for a more substantial reason; the very same on which the dignity and pre-eminency of other churches was founded; that is, the dignity, magnitude, opulency, opportunity of that city in which the bishop of Rome did preside; together with the consequent numerousness, quality, and wealth of his flock; which gave him many great advantages above other his fellow-bishops: it was, saith Rigaltius, called by St. Cyprian the principal church, "because constituted in the principal city."‡

That church, in the very times of severest persecutions, "by the providence of God" (as Pope Cornelius said in his Epistle to Fabius), "had a rich and plentiful number, with a most great and innumerable people;"|| so that he reckoneth forty-four presbyters, seven deacons (in imitation of the number in the acts), seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi, fifty-two others of the inferior clergy, and above fifteen hundred alms-people.

To that church there must needs have been a great resort of Christians, going to the seat of the empire in pursuit of business; as in proportion there was to each other metropolis; according to that canon of the Antiochene synod, which ordered, that "the bishop of each metropolis should take care of the whole province, because all that had business did resort to the metropolis."*

That church was most able to yield help and succour to them who needed it; and accordingly did use to do it; according to that of Dionysius (bishop of Corinth) in his epistle to bishop Soter of Rome: "This" (saith he) "is your custom from the beginning, in divers ways to do good to the brethren, and to send supplies to many churches in every city, so refreshing the poverty of those who want."†

Whence it is no wonder that the head of that church did get most reputation, and the privilege of precedence without competition.

"To this church" (said Irenæus) "it is necessary that every church (that is, the faithful who are all about) should resort, because of its more powerful principality:"‡ what is meant by that "resort" will be easy to him who considereth how men here are wont to go up to London, drawn thither by interests of trade, law, &c. What he did understand "by more powerful principality,"|| the words themselves do signify, which exactly do agree to the power and grandeur of the imperial city, but do not well suit to the authority of a church; especially then when no church did appear to have either principality or

* Ἀγαπητῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁμοψύχῳ συλλειτουργῷ Ἀθανασίῳ.—Apud Athan. Apol. ii. p. 783.

† Ecclesia principalis.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55.

‡ Ecclesia principalis, id est in urbe principali constituta.—*Rigalt. in Cypr.* Ep. 55.

|| Διὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός τε καὶ πλήθων ἀριθμὸς μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ.—Euseb. vi. 43. Et quanquam sciam frater, pro mutua dilectione quam debemus et exhibemus invicem nobis florentissimo illic clero tecum præsidenti, et sanctissimæ atque umplissimæ plebi, legere te semper literas nostras ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Corn.*)

* Καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδίχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας. Διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας.—Syn. Ant. can. 9.

† Ἐξ ἀρχῆς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ τοῦτο, πάντας μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ποικίλως εὐεργετεῖν, ἐκκλησίαις τε πολλαῖς ταῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐφόδια πέμπειν, ὧδε μὲν τὴν τῶν δεομένων πενίαν ἀναψύχοντας, &c.—Dionys. Corinth. apud Euseb. iv. 23.

‡ Ad hanc ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt ubique fideles. —*Iren.* iii. 3.

|| (Δυνατωτέραν ἀρχήν.—I conjecture he said.)

puissance. And that sense may clearly be evinced by the context, wherein it doth appear, that St. Irenæus doth not allege the judicial authority of the Roman church, but its credible testimony, which thereby became more considerable, because Christians commonly had occasions of recourse to it.

Such a reason of precedence St. Cyprian giveth in another case: "Because" (saith he) "Rome for its magnitude ought to precede Carthage."*

For this reason a pagan historian did observe, the Roman bishop "had a greater authority" (that is, a greater interest and reputation) "than other bishops."†

This reason Theodoret doth assign in his Epistle to Pope Leo, wherein he doth highly compliment and cajole him: "For this city" (saith he) "is the greatest, and the most splendid, and presiding over the world; and flowing with multitude of people; and which, moreover, hath produced the empire now governing."——‡

This is the sole ground upon which the greatest of all ancient synods, that of Chalcedon, did affirm the papal eminency to be founded; for, "To the throne" (say they) "of ancient Rome, because that was the royal city, the Fathers reasonably conferred the privileges:"|| the fountain of papal eminence was in their judgment not any divine institution, not the authority of St. Peter deriving itself to his successors; but the concession of the Fathers, who were moved to grant it upon account that Rome was the imperial city.

To the same purpose the Empress Placidia, in her Epistle to Theodosius in behalf of Pope Leo, saith, "It becometh us to preserve to this city (the which is mistress of all lands) a reverence in all things."§

This reason had indeed in it much of equity, of decency, of conveniency; it was equal, that he should have the preference, and more than common respect, who was thence enabled and engaged to do most service to religion. It was decent, that out of conformity to the state, and in respect to the imperial court and senate, the pastor of that place should be graced with repute; it was convenient, that he who resided in the centre of all business, and had the greatest influence upon affairs, who was the emperor's chief counsellor for direction, and instrument for execution of ecclesiastical affairs, should not be put behind others.

Hence did the Fathers of the second general synod advance the bishop of Constantinople "to the next privileges of honour after the bishop of Rome, because it was new Rome,"* and a seat of the empire.

And the Fathers of Chalcedon assigned "equal privileges to the most holy See of new Rome, with good reason" (say they), "judging that the city which was honoured with the royalty and senate, and which" (otherwise) "did enjoy equal privileges with the ancient royal Rome, should likewise in ecclesiastical affairs be magnified as it, being second after it."†

Indeed upon this score the church of Constantinople is said to have aspired to the supreme principality, when it had the advantage over old Rome, the empire being extinguished there; and sometime was styled "the head of all churches."‡

* Quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere.—*Cypr.* Ep. 49.

† Auctoritate qua potiores æternæ urbis episcopi.—*Amm. Marcell.* lib. xv. (p. 47.)

‡ Ἡ γὰρ αὕτη πασῶν μεγίστη, καὶ γαμπροτάτη, καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης προκαθημένη, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν οἰκητόρων κυμαίνουσα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ νῦν κρατοῦσαν ἡγεμονίαν ἐβλάστησε ——. Theod. Ep. 113.

|| Τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ Πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα.—Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. can. 28.

§ Πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γεῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας παραφυλάξαι.—Placid. in Syn. Chalc. p. 27.

* Τὸν μέντοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην ——. Syn. Const. can. 3.

† Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἐκένειμαν τῷ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες τὴν βασιλεῖα καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ' ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν.—Syn. Chal. can. 28.

‡ Sacrosanctam quoque hujus religiosissimæ civitatis ecclesiam, et matrem nostræ pietatis, et Christianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium, et ejusdem regiæ urbis sanctissimam sedem, &c.—*Imp. Leo.* Cod. lib. i. tit. 2, § 16. The holy church of this most religious city, the mother of our devotion, and of all orthodox Christians, and the most holy see of that imperial city. Bonifacius III. a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna tamen contentione, ut sedes B. Petri apostoli, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum, ita et diceretur, et haberetur ab

It is also natural, and can hardly be otherwise, but that the bishop of a chief city (finding himself to exceed in wealth, in power, in advantages of friendships, dependencies, &c.) should not affect to raise himself above the level: it is an ambition that easily will seize on the most moderate, and otherwise religious minds. Pope Leo objected it to Anatolius, and Pope Gregory to John (from his austere life called "the Faster.")

Upon the like account it was that the bishops of other cities did mount to a pre-eminency, "metropolitan, primatical, patriarchal."

Thence it was that the bishop of Alexandria, before Constantine's time, did acquire the honour of second place to Rome; because that city, being head of a most rich and populous nation, did in magnitude and opulency (as Gregory Nazianzen saith) "approach next to Rome, so as hardly to yeild the next place to it."*

Upon that account also did Antioch get the next place; as being the most large, flourishing, commanding city of the east; "the which," as Josephus saith, "for bigness and for other advantages, had without controversy the third place in all the world subject to the Romans;"† and the which St. Chrysostom calleth "the head of all cities seated in the east."*

St. Basil seemeth to call the church thereof the principal in the world; for, "What" (saith he) "can be more opportune to the churches over the world than the church of Antioch? the which, if it should happen to be reduced to concord, nothing would hinder but that as a sound head it would supply health to the whole body."†

Upon the same account the bishop of Carthage did obtain the privilege to be standing primate of his province (although other primacies there were not fixed to places, but followed seniority), and a kind of patriarch over all the African provinces.

Hence did Cæsarea, as exceeding in temporal advantages, and being the political metropolis of Palestine, overtop Jerusalem, that most ancient, noble, and venerable city, the source of our religion.

It was indeed the general rule and practice to conform the privileges of ecclesiastical dignity in a proportion convenient to those of the secular government, as the synod of Antioch in express terms did ordain; the ninth canon whereof runneth thus: "The bishops in every province ought to know, that the bishop presiding in the metropolis doth undertake the care of all the province; because all that have business do meet together in the metropolis; whence it hath been ordained that he should precede in honour, and that the bishops should do nothing extraordinary without him; according to a more ancient canon holding from our Fathers"† (that is, accord-

omnibus; quem quidem locum ecclesia Constantinopolitana sibi vendicare conabatur; faventibus interdum principibus, affirmantibusque eo loci primam sedem esse debere, ubi imperii caput esset.—*Plat. in Bonif. III.* (p. 161.) Boniface III. (though with a great deal of stir) obtained of the Emperor Phocas, that the see of St. Peter the apostle, which is the head of all churches, should be so called and accounted by all; which dignity the church of Constantinople did indeed endeavour to assert to itself, princes sometime favouring them, and affirming that there the chief see ought to be, where the head of the empire was. Phocas rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ ecclesiæ caput esse omnium ecclesiarum, quia ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium ecclesiarum scribebat.—*Anastas in Bonif. III. Idem Sabellicus, Blondus, Lætus,* &c. *tradunt.* Phocas, at the entreaty of Pope Boniface, appointed that the Roman see should be the head of all churches, because the church of Constantinople wrote herself the chief of all churches.

* Ὑμεῖς ἡ μεγάλη πόλις, οἱ μὲν τὴν πρώτην εὐθέως, ἢ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραχωροῦντες.—Greg. Naz. Orat. 27. Ἡ Ἀλεξανδρέων, μεγαλόπολις.—Evagr. ii. 4, et passim.

† Ἡ μητρόπολίς ἐστι τῆς Συρίας, μεγέθους ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας τρίτον ἀδηρίτως ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις οἰκουμένης ἔχουσα τόπον.—Joseph. de Bello. Jud. iii. 3.

* Πόλις οὕτω μεγάλη, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω κειμένων ἡ κεφαλή—Chrys. Ἀνδρ. β'.

† Τί δ' ἂν γένοιτο ταῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καιριώτερον; ἣν εἰσυνέβη πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, ὥσπερ κεφαλὴν, ἐρρωμένην, παντὶ τῷ σώματι ἐπιχορηγεῖν τὴν ὑγίειαν.—Bas. Ep. 48. (ad Athanas.)

‡ Τοὺς ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, (καὶ) τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας· διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας· ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν, μηδέν τε πράττειν περιττὸν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπισκόπους ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον κρατήσαντα ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν κανόνα.—Syn. Ant. can. 9; Syn. Chalc. 17.

ing to the thirty-fourth canon of the apostles.)

It is true, that the Fathers do sometimes mention the church of Rome being founded by the two great apostles, or the succession of the Roman bishop to them in pastoral charge, as a special ornament of that church, and a congruous ground of respect to that bishop, whereby they "did honour the memory of St. Peter:"* but even some of those who did acknowledge this, did not avow it as a sufficient ground of pre-eminence; none did admit it for an argument of authoritative superiority.

St. Cyprian did call the Roman See "the chair of St. Peter," and "the principal church;"[c] yet he disclaimed any authority of the Roman bishops above his brethren.

Firmilian did take notice, that Pope Stephanus "did glory in the place of his bishopric, and contend that he held the succession of Peter;"† yet did not he think himself thereby obliged to submit to his authority, or follow his judgment; but sharply did reprehend him, as a favourer of heretics, an author of schisms, and one who had cut himself off from the communion of his brethren.

The Fathers of the Antiochene synod "did confess, that in writings all did willingly honour the Roman church, as having been from the beginning the school of the apostles, and the metropolis of religion; although yet from the east the instructors of the Christian doctrine did go and reside there; but from hence they desired not to be deemed inferiors; because they did not exceed in the greatness and numerousness of their church."‡

They allowed some regard (though faintly and with reservation) to the Roman church upon account of their apostolical foundation; they implied a stronger ground of pretence from the grandeur of that city; yet did not they therefore grant themselves to be inferiors, at least as to any substantial privilege importing authority.

If by divine right, upon account of his succession to St. Peter, he had such pre-eminence, why are the other causes reckoned as if they could add any thing to God's institution, or as if that did need human confirmation? The pretence to that surely was weak, which did need corroboration, and to be propped by worldly considerations.

Indeed, whereas the apostles did found many churches, exercising apostolical authority over them (eminently containing the episcopal), why in conscience should one claim privileges on that score rather than or above the rest?

Why should the See of Antioch, *that most ancient and truly apostolical church*,* where the Christian name began, where St. Peter at first (as they say) did sit bishop for seven years, be postponed to Alexandria?

Especially why should the church of Jerusalem, "the seat of our Lord himself, the mother of all churches,"† the fountain of Christian doctrine, the first consistory of the apostles, ennobled by so many glorious performances (by the life, preaching, miracles, death, burial, resurrection, ascension of our Saviour; by the first preaching of the apostles, the effusion of the Holy Spirit, the conversion of so many people, and constitution of the first church, and celebration of the first synods),[d] upon these considerations, not obtain pre-eminence to other

* Sedis apostolicæ primatum S. Petri meritum (qui princeps est episcopalis coronæ) Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ etiam synodi firmavit authoritas.—*Valentin. Nov.* 24: *in fin. Cod. Theod.*

† Atque ego in hac parte juste indignor ad hanc tam apertam et manifestam Stephani stultitiam, quod qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur, et se successionem Petri tenere contendit ——. Stephanus qui per successionem cathedram Petri habere se prædicat ——. *Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

‡ *Φέρειν γαρ πὶν μᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ὡμολόγουν, ὡς ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον, καὶ εὐσεβείας μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἑω ἐνεδήμησαν αὐτῇ οἱ τοῦ δόγματος ἐξηγηταί· οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἠξίουν, ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει ἢ πλήθει ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν.*—Soz. iii. 8.

* Cypr. Ep. lv. 52.

* *Τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ὄντως ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.* ——. Ep. Synod. Const. Theodoret. Hist. 1. v. cap. 9, p 211. Quæ quantumlibet a Petro ante Alexandrinam fuerat instituta, tamen quoniam præfectura Alexandrina Augustalis dicta —— longe præstabat Syriæ præfecturæ, &c.—*Baron.* ann. 39, § 10.

† Epiph. Synod. Constant. ibid.—*Τῆς δέ γε μητρὸς ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.*

[d] Opt. I. vi. (p. 169;) Hier. Ep. 61; Conc. Nic. can. 7.

churches, but in honour be cast behind divers others; and as to power be subjected to Cæsarea, the metropolis of Palestine?

The true reason of this even Baronius himself did see and acknowledge; for, "That" (saith he) "the ancients observed no other rule in instituting the ecclesiastical sees, than the division of provinces, and the prerogative before established by the Romans, there are very many examples."*

Of which examples that of Rome is the most obvious and notable; and what he so generally asserteth may be so applied thereto, as to void all other grounds of its pre-eminence.

X. The truth is, all ecclesiastal presidencies and subordinations or dependencies of some bishops on others in administration of spiritual affairs, were introduced merely by human ordinance, and established by law or custom upon prudential accounts, according to the exigency of things: hence the prerogatives of other Sees did proceed; and hereto whatever dignity, privilege, or authority the pope with equity might at any time claim, is to be imputed.

To clear which point we will search the matter nearer the quick; propounding some observations concerning the ancient forms of discipline, and considering what interest the pope had therein.

At first each church was settled apart, under its own bishop and presbyters; so as independently and separately to manage its own concernments; each was αὐτοκέφαλος, and αὐτόνομος, "governed by its own head, and had its own laws." Every bishop, as a prince in his own church, did act freely, according to his will and discretion, with the advice of his ecclesiastical senate, and with the consent of his people (the which he did use to consult), without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, further than his obligation to uphold the verity of Christian profession, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring churches did require; in which regard, if he were notable peccant, he was liable to be disclaimed by them as no good Christian, and rejected from communion, together with his church, if it did adhere to him in his misdemeanours. This may be collected from the remainders of state in the times of St. Cyprian.*

But because little, disjointed, and incoherent bodies were like dust, apt to be dissipated by every wind of external assault or intestine faction; and peaceable union could hardly be retained without some ligature of discipline; and churches could not mutually support and defend each other without some method of intercourse and rule of confederacy engaging them: therefore for many good purposes† (for upholding and advancing the common interests of Christianity, for protection and support of each church from inbred disorders and dissensions,

* Majores enim in instituendis sedibus ecclesiarum non aliam iniisse rationem, quam secundum divisionem provinciarum, et prærogativas a Romanis antea stabilitas, quam plurima sunt exempla.—*Id. ibid.*

* Cypr. Ep. 52, 55, 72, 73, 76. Omnis hic actus populo erat insinuandus.—*P. Corn. apud Cypr.* Ep. 46. All this business was to have been imparted to the people. Secumdum arbitrium quoque vestrum, et omnium nostrum commune consilium—ea quæ agenda sunt disponere.—*Cypr.* Ep. 40. (*Plebi Univ.*) To order what was to be done according to your judgment, and the common advice of us all. Et limanda plenius, ratio non solum cum collegis meis, sed et cum plebe ipsa universa.—*Id.* Ep. 28. And the reason is more thoroughly to be examined, not only with my colleagues, but with the whole people. Præjudicare ego et soli mihi rem communem vindicare non audeo.—*Ep.* 18. I dare not therefore prejudge, nor assume to myself alone a matter which is common to all.

† Hoc enim et verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium nostrum convenit, ut episcopi plures in unum convenientes, præsente et stantium plebe (quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est), disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 14. For it becomes the modesty, the discipline, and the manner of our living, that many bishops meeting together, the people being also present (to whom respect ought to be had for their faith and fear), we may order all things with the common advice. —— quoniam non paucorum, nec ecclesiæ unius aut unius provinciæ, sed totius orbis hæc causa est——*Cypr.* Ep. 14.——because this is the concern, not of a few men, or of one church, or one province, but of the whole world. Idcirco copiosum corpus est sacerdotum——ut si quis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri——*Id.* Ep. 76. Therefore the clergy is a large body——that if any one of our own society should vent an heresy, an attempt to rent and waste the flock of Christ, the rest might come in to their help.

for preserving the integrity of the faith, for securing the concord of divers churches, for providing fit pastors to each church, and correcting such as were scandalously bad or unfaithful*) it was soon found needful that divers churches should be combined and linked together in some regular form of discipline; that if any church did want a bishop, the neighbour bishops might step in to approve and ordain a fit one;[e] that if any bishop did notoriously swerve from the Christian rule, the others might interpose to correct or void him;[f] that if any error or schism did peep up in any church, the joint concurrence of divers bishops might avail to stop its progress, and to quench it, by convenient means of instruction, reprehension, and censure; that if any church were oppressed by persecution, by indigency, by faction, the others might be engaged to afford effectual succour and relief: for such ends it was needful that bishops in certain precincts should convene, with intent to deliberate and resolve about the best expedients to compass them; and that the manner of such proceeding (to avoid uncertain distraction, confusion, arbitrariness, dissatisfaction, and mutinous opposition) should be settled in an ordinary course, according to rules known and allowed by all.†

In defining such precincts it was most natural, most easy, most commodious, to follow the divisions of territory or jurisdiction already established in the civil state; that the spiritual administrations, being in such circumstances aptly conformed to the secular, might go on more smoothly and expeditely, the wheels of one not clashing with the other; according to the judgment of the two great synods, that of Chalcedon and the Trullane; which did ordain, that "if by royal authority any city be, or should hereafter be re-established, the order of the churches shall be according to the civil and public form."‡

Whereas therefore in each nation or province subject to one political jurisdiction there was a metropolis, or head city, to which the greatest resort was for dispensation of justice, and despatch of principal affairs emergent in that province;[g] it was also most convenient that also the determination of ecclesiastical matters should be affixed thereto; especially considering that usually those places were opportunely seated; that many persons upon other occasions did meet there; that the churches in those cities did exceed the rest in number, in opulency, in ability and opportunity to promote the common interest in all kinds of advantages.

Moreover, because in all societies and confederacies of men for ordering public affairs (for the setting things in motion, for effectual despatch, for preventing endless dissensions and confusions both in resolving upon and executing things), it is needful that one person should be authorised to preside among the rest, unto whom the power and care should be intrusted to convoke assemblies in fit season, to propose matters for consultation, to moderate the debates and proceedings, to declare the result, and to see that what is agreed upon may be duly executed;* such a charge then naturally would devolve itself upon the prelate of the metropolis, as being supposed constantly present on the place; as being at home in his own seat of presidence, and receiving the rest under his wing; as incontestably surpassing others in all advantages answerable to the secular advantages of his city; for that it was unseemly and hard, if he at home should be postponed in dignity to others repairing thither; for that also commonly he was in a manner the spiritual father of

* Particularly in the dispensation of church goods. *Conc. Ant.* can. 25.

† (οἰκονομίαι ἐκκλησιαστικαί.—Syn. Const. can. 2.)

‡ Εἰ δὲ καὶ τις ἐκ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαινισθη πόλις, ἢ αὖθις καινισθείη τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παροικιῶν ἡ ταξις ἀκολουθείτω.—Conc. Chalced. can. 17, et Conc. Trull. can. 38.

[e] Nov. cxxxvii. cap. 4; cxxiii. cap. 10.

[f] *Vide* Can. Apost. 38. (al. 30,) de Synodis.

* Ad hoc divinæ dispensationis provisio gradus et diversos constituit ordines in se distinctos, ut dum reverentiam minores potioribus exhiberent, et potio res minoribus diligentiam impenderent, una concordiæ fieret a diversitate contentio et recte officiorum gereretur administratio singulorum. *Joh. VIII.* Ep. 95. To this end Divine Providence hath appointed degrees and divers orders distinct from one another, that while the less reverence the greater, and the greater take care of the less, from this diversity there might arise one frame of concord, and all offices be duly administered.

[g] P. Anacl. Dist. xcix. cap. 1; P. Greg. VII. Ep. vi. 35.

the rest (religion being first planted in great cities, and thence propagated to others), so that the reverence and dependence on colonies to the mother city was due from other churches to his see.

Wherefore, by consent of all churches, grounded on such obvious reason of things, the presidency in each province was assigned to the bishop of the metropolis, who was called the first bishop, the *metropolitan* (in some places the *primate*, the *archbishop*, the *patriarch*, the *pope*) of the province.* The Apostolical Canons call him the first bishop (which sheweth the antiquity of this institution ;‡) the African synods did appoint that name to him as most modest, and calling him primate in that sense ;[h] other ancient synods style him the metropolite; and to the metropolites of the principal cities they gave the title of *archbishop*. The bishops of Rome and Alexandria peculiarly were called *popes;* although that name was sometimes deferred to any other bishop.

During this state of things the whole church did consist of so many provinces, being αὐτοκέφαλοι, independent on each other in ecclesiastical administrations; each reserving to itself the constitution of bishops, the convocation of synods, the enacting of canons, the decision of causes, the definition of questions; yet so that each province did hold peaceful and amicable correspondence with others; upon the like terms as before each παροικία, or episcopal precinct, did hold intercourse with its neighbours.

And whoever in any province did not comply with or submit to the orders and determinations resolved upon in those assemblies, was deemed a schismatical, contentious, and contumacious person ;[i] with good reason, because he did thwart a discipline plainly conducible to public good; because declining such judgments he plainly shewed that he would admit none (there not being any fairer way of determining things than by common advice and agreement of pastors;) because he did in effect refuse all good terms of communion and peace.

Thus, I conceive, the metropolitical governance was introduced, by human prudence following considerations of public necessity or utility. There are indeed some who think it was instituted by the apostles: but their arguments do not seem convincing; and such a constitution doth not (as I take it) well suit to the state of their times, and the course they took in founding churches.

Into such a channel, through all parts of Christendom (though with some petty differences in the methods and measures of acting), had ecclesiastical administrations fallen of themselves; plain community of reason and imitation insensibly propagating that course; and therein it ran for a good time, before it was by general consent and solemn sanction established.

The whole church then was a body consisting of several confederations of bishops, acting in behalf of their churches under their respective metropolitans, who did manage the common affairs in each province;[j] convoking synods at stated times and upon emergent occasions; in them deciding causes and controversies incident, relating to faith or practice;* framing rules serviceable to common edification and decent uniformity in God's service; quashing heresies and schisms, declaring truths impugned or questioned; maintaining the harmony of communion and concord with other provinces adjacent or remote.

Such was the state of the church, unto which the Apostolical Canons and and Constitutions do refer, answerable to the times in which they were framed; and which we may discern in the practice of ancient synods.

Such it did continue, when the great synod of Nice was celebrated ;† which by its authority (presumed to represent the authority of all bishops in the world, who were summoned thereto), backed by the imperial authority and power, did

* Primas provinciæ. *Cod. Afr.* can. 19.

† Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον.—Can. Apost. 27. The bishops of each nation ought to know who is chief among them.

[h] Cod. Afr. can. 39; Dist. xcix. cap. 3.

[i] Παράταξις.—Syn. Nic. can. 18.

* Διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων διαλύσεις ——. Syn. Ant. can. 20.

† Παλαιός τε ὡς ἔστε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατέρων ὅρος ——. Syn. Constant. Theod. v. 9.

[j] Can. Apost. 38; Tertull. de Jej. cap. 13; Syn. Nic. can. 5.

confirm those orders, as they found them standing by more general custom and received rules in most provinces;* reducing them into more uniform practice; so that what before stood upon reason, customary usage, particular consent, by so august sanction did become universal law; and did obtain so great veneration, as by some to be conceived everlastingly and immutably obligatory; according to those maxims of Pope Leo.

It is here further observable, that whereas divers provinces did hold communion and intercourse; so that upon occasion they did (by their formed letters) render to one another an account of their proceedings, being of great moment, especially of those which concerned the general state of Christianity and common faith; calling, when need was, for assistance one of another, to resolve points of faith, or to settle order and peace; there was in so doing a special respect given to the metropolites of great cities: and to prevent dissensions, which naturally ambition doth prompt men to, grounded upon degrees of respect, an order was fixed among them, according to which in subscriptions of letters, in accidental congresses, and the like occasions, some should precede others (that distinction being chiefly and commonly grounded on the greatness, splendour, opulency of cities; or following the secular dignity of them;) whence Rome had the *first* place, Alexandria the *second*, Antioch the *third*, Jerusalem the *fourth*, &c.

Afterward, Constantine having introduced a new partition of the empire, whereby divers provinces were combined together into one territory, under the regiment of a vicar, or a lieutenant of a *præfectus-prætorio*, which territory was called a *diocese*;[k] the ecclesiastical state was adapted in conformity thereto; new ecclesiastical systems, and a new sort of spiritual heads, thence springing up; so that in each diocese, consisting of divers provinces, an ecclesiastical exarch† (otherwise sometimes called a *primate*, sometimes a *diocesan*,‡ sometimes a *patriarch**) was constituted, answerable to the civil exarch of a diocese; who by such constitution did obtain a like authority over the metropolitans of provinces, as they had in their province over the bishops of cities;† so that it appertained to them to call together the synods of the whole diocese, to preside in them, and in them to despatch the principal affairs concerning that precinct, to ordain metropolitans, to confirmt he ordinations of bishops, to decide causes and controversies between bishops upon appeal from provincial synods.

Some conceive the synod of Nice did establish it; but that can hardly well be; for that synod was held about the time of that division (after that Constantine was settled in a peaceful enjoyment of the empire), and scarce could take notice of so fresh a change in the state; that doth not pretend to innovate, but professeth in its sanctions specially to regard "ancient custom, saving to the churches their privileges" of which they were possessed;‡ that only mentioneth provinces, and representeth the metropolitans in them as the chief governors ecclesiastical then being; that constituteth a peremptory decision of weighty causes in provincial synods, which is inconsistent with the diocesan authority; that taketh no notice of Constantinople,‖ the principal diocese in the east, as seat of the empire (and the synod of Antioch, insisting in the footsteps of the Nicene, doth touch only metropolitans (can. 19), and the synod of Laodicea doth only sup-

* Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι.—Can. 20.

† Ἐπικολούθησα τῷ ἐξάρχῳ μου.—Syn. Chalc. Act. x. p. 388.

‡ Διοικητής.—Epist. Orient. ad Rufum. in Syn. Eph. p. 396; Dist. xcix. cap. 1, 2.

[k] Zos. lib. ii. p. 63; Sextus Rufus, Brev.

* Οἱ δοτιώτατοι πατριάρχαι διοικήσεως ἑκάστης.—Syn. Chalc. Act. 2. (p. 311.) Ephesi δίκαιον πατριαρχικόν.—Evag. iii. 6.

† Τινὲς μὲν ἐξάρχους τῶν διοικήσεων τοὺς πατριάρχους φασί.—Zon. ad 28; Can. Chalc. Novell. cxxxvii. cap. 5, et cxxiii. cap. 10; P. Greg. I. Ep. 11, 56. Ordo episcoporum quadripartitus est, id est, in patriarchis, archiepiscopis, metropolitanis, atque episcopis.—*Isid. Dist.* xxi. cap. 1. Dionysius Ex. translates ἔξαρχον, *primatem*, in *Syn. Chalc.* can. 9, 17.

‡ Ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκεν. ——. Can. 18, Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω.—Can. 6. Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία ——. Can. 7. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις τὰ πρεσβεῖα σώζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.—Ibid.

‖ Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν μητροπολιτῶν, καὶ τῶν πέριξ ἐπισκόπων καθίστασθαι ——. Syn. Laod. can. 12. The bishops should be constituted by the judgment of the metropolitans and the neighbouring bishops.

pose that order.) In fine, that synod is not recorded by any old historian to have framed such an alteration; which indeed was so considerable, that Eusebius, who was present there, could not well have passed it over in silence.

Of this opinion was the synod of Carthage, in their Epistle to Pope Celestine I., who understood no jurisdiction but that of metropolitans, to be constituted in the Nicene synod.

Some think the Fathers of the second general synod did introduce it, seeing it expedient that ecclesiastical administrations should correspond to the political; for they did innovate somewhat in the form of government; they do expressly use the new word *diocese*, according to the civil sense, as distinct from a province; they do distinctly name the particular dioceses of the oriental empire, as they stood in the civil establishment; they do prescribe to the bishops in each diocese to act unitedly there, not skipping over the bounds of it; they order a kind of appeal to the synod of the diocese, prohibiting other appeals: the historians expressly do report of them, that they did *distinguish and distribute diocese*, that they did *constitute patriarchs*, that they did prohibit that any of one diocese should intrude upon another.*

But if we shall attently search and scan passages, we may perhaps find reason to judge that this form did soon after the synod of Nice creep in, without any solemn appointment, by spontaneous assumption and submission, accommodating things to the political course; the great bishops (who by the amplification of their city, in power, wealth, and concourse of people, were advanced in reputation and interest) assuming such authority to themselves; and the lesser bishops easily complying: and of this we have some arguments.[1] Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, being deposed and extruded by Acacius, metropolitan of Palestine, "did appeal to a greater judicatory;" being the first (as Socrates noteth) who ever did use that course; because, it seemeth, there was no greater in being till about that time; which was some years before the synod of Constanople; in which there is mention "of a greater synod of the diocese."*——

There was a convention of bishops of the Pontic diocese at Tyana (distinguished from the Asian bishops), whereof Eusebius of Cæsarea is reckoned, in the first place, as president, in the time of Valens.[m]

Nectarius, bishop of Constanople, is said by the synod of Chalcedon to have presided in the synod of Constantinople.†

A good argument is drawn from the very canon of the synod of Constantinople itself; which doth speak concerning "bishops over dioceses," as already constituted, or extant; not instituting that order of bishops, but supposing it, and together with an implicit confirmation regulating practice according to it, by prohibiting bishops to leap over the bounds of their diocese, so as to meddle in the affairs of other diocese; and by ordering "appeals to the synod of a diocese."‡

Of authority gained by such assump-

* Εἰ δὲ συμβαίη ἀδυνατῆσαι τοὺς ἐπαρχιῶτας πρὸς διόρθωσιν ἐπιφερομένων ἐγκλημάτων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, τότε αὐτοὺς προσιέναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων ἐκείνης ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης συγκαλουμένων ——. Syn. Const. can. 6. But if it so happen that the bishops of any province cannot rectify those things which are laid to the charge of a bishop, they shall then go to a greater synod of the bishops of that diocese, met together for that purpose. The Fathers of Constantinople, in their synodic Epistle, distinguish the province and diocese of Antioch, οἵ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες ——. Theod. v. 9. Καὶ πατριάρχας κατέστησαν διανειμάμενοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας.—Socr. v. 8. Ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει συνελθόντες οἱ μακάριοι πατέρες συμφώνως τοῖς ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ συνεθροισθεῖσι τὰς διοικήσεις διέκριναν, καὶ ἑκάστῃ διοικήσει τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπενείμαν, ἄντικρυς ἀπαγορεύοντες ἐξ ἑτέρας τινὰς διοικήσεως ἑτέρᾳ μὴ ἐπιέναι.—Theodor. Ep. 86. (ad Flavianum.) For (says Theodoret) the blessed Fathers meeting together in the imperial city, distinguished dioceses agreeably to what the Nicene Fathers had done, and allotted to every diocese what belonged to it: on the contrary, charging that no one of one diocese should encroach upon another.

* Βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μείζον ἐπικαλέσατο δικαστήριον —— τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τῷ σύνηθες ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν ——. Socr. ii. 40.

† Τῶν δὲ Νεκτάριος σὺν Γρηγορίῳ ἡγεμονίαν ἦρατο.—(In prosphonetico ad Imper.)

‡ Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους ——. Can. 2. Προσιέναι μείζονι συνόδῳ τῶν τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπων ——. Can. 6.

[1] Theod. ii. 26; Soz. iv. 25.

[m] Soz. vi. 12.

tion and concession, without law, there might be produced divers instances.

As particularly that the See of Constantinople did assume to itself ordination, and other acts of jurisdiction, in three dioceses, before any such power was granted to it by any synodical decree; the which to have done divers instances show; some whereof are alleged in the synod of Chalcedon;[n] as St. Chrysostom, of whom it is there said, "That going into Asia he deposed fifteen bishops, and consecrated others in their room."*

He also deposed Gerontius, bishop of Nicomedia, belonging to the diocese of Pontus.[o]

Whence the Fathers of Chalcedon did aver, "That they had in a synod confirmed the ancient custom which the holy church of God in Constantinople had, to ordain metropolitans in the Asian, Pontic, and Thracian dioceses."†

The which custom (consistent with reason, and becoming the dignity of the empire, and grateful to the court) that great synod did establish, although the Roman church, out of jealousy, did contest and protest against it.[p]

But the most pertinent instances are those of the Roman, Alexandrine, and Antiochene churches, having by degrees assumed to themselves such power over divers provinces; in imitation of which churches the other diocesan bishops may well be thought to have enlarged their jurisdiction.

This form of government is intimated in the synod of Ephesus, by those words in which dioceses and provinces are distinguished: "and the same shall be observed in all dioceses and all provinces every where."‡

However, that this form of discipline was perfectly settled in the times of the fourth general synod is evident by two notable canons thereof, wherein it is decreed, that "if any bishop have a controversy with his metropolitan of his province, he shall resort to, and be judged by, the exarch of the diocese, or by the See of Constantinople."*

This was a great privilege conferred on the Bishop of Constantinople; the which perhaps did ground (to be sure it did make way for) the plea of that bishop to the title of *Œcumenical Patriarch*, or *Universal Bishop*, which Pope Gregory did so exagitate; and indeed it soundeth so fairly toward it, that the pope hath nothing comparable to it to allege in favour of his pretences; this being the decree of the greatest synod that ever was held among the ancients, where all the patriarchs did concur in making these decrees; which Pope Gregory did reverence as *one of the Gospels*. If any ancient synod did ever constitute any thing like to *universal* monarchy, it was this; wherein a final determination of greatest causes was granted to the See of Constantinople, without any exception or reservation: I mean as to semblance, and the sound of words; for as to the true sense, I do indeed conceive that the canon did only relate to causes emergent in the eastern parts; and probably it did only respect the three dioceses (of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace) which were immediately subjected to his patriarchal jurisdiction.

Pope Nicholas I. doth very jocularly expound this canon; affirming that by the primate of the diocese is understood the pope (*diocese* being put by a notable figure for *dioceses*), and that an appeal is to be made to the bishop of Constantinople only by permission, in case the party will be contentthere with.†

* Ἰωάννης δεκαπέντε ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν, ἀπελθὼν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ ἐχειροτόνησεν ἄλλους ἀντ' αὐτῶν.—Syn. Chalc. Act. 11. (p. 411.)

† Τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ κρατῆσαν ἔθος ὅπερ ἔσχεν ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἁγία Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία εἰς τὸ χειροτονεῖν μητροπολίτας τῶν διοικήσεων τῆς τε Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ Ποντικῆς, καὶ Θρακικῆς καὶ νὺν κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον.—Syn. Chalc. in Epist. ad P. Leonem.

‡ Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλον διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται.—Syn. Eph. can. 8. [There is mention of dioceses in Strabo.]

[n] Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. (p. 463.)

[o] Soz. viii. 6.

[p] Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. (p. 462.—

* Εἰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀλφισβητοίη, καταλαμ βανέτω ἢ τὸν ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δικαζέσθω.—Syn. Chalc. can. 19, 17.

† Quem autem primatem diœceseos S. synodus dixerit, præter apostoli primi vicarium, nullus penitus intelligitur ——. None can understand whom the holy synod should call primate of a diocese, except the vicar of the prime apostle. Tantundem valet dixisse prima-

We may note, that some provincial churches were by ancient custom exempted from dependence on any primacy or patriarchate.

Such an one the Cyprian church was adjudged to be in the Ephesine synod; wherein the privileges of such churches were confirmed against the invasion of greater churches, and to that purpose this general law enacted: "Let the same be observed in all dioceses and provinces every where—that none of the bishops most beloved of God invade another province, which did not formerly belong to him or his predecessors; and if any one have invaded one, and violently seized it, that he restore it."*

Such a church was that of Britain anciently, before Austin did introduce the papal authority here against that canon; as by divers learned pens hath been shewed.

Such was the church of Afric, as by their canons against transmarine appeals, and about all other matters, doth appear.

It is supposed by some, that discipline was screwed yet one peg higher, by setting up the order of patriarchs higher than primates, or diocesan exarchs:[q] but I find no ground of this supposal, except in one case; that is, of the bishop of Constantinople being set above the bishops of Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea, which were the primates of the three dioceses.

It is a notable fib which Pope Nicholas II. telleth, as Gratian citeth him: "That the church of Rome instituted all patriarchal supremacies, all metropolitan primacies, episcopal sees, all ecclesiastical orders and dignities whatsoever."†

Now things standing thus in Christendom, we may, concerning the interest of the Roman bishop in reference to them, observe,

1. In all these transactions about modelling the spiritual discipline, there was no canon established any peculiar jurisdiction to the bishop of Rome, only the

2. Synod of Nice did suppose that he, by custom, did enjoy some authority within certain precincts of the west; like to that which it did confirm to the bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, and the countries adjacent thereto.

3. The synods of Constantinople did allow him "honorary privileges," or precedence before all other bishops, assigning the next place after him to the bishop of Constantinople.*

4. In other privileges the synod of Chalcedon did equal the See of Constantinople to the Roman.

5. The canons of the two first and fourth general synods, ordering all affairs to be despatched, and causes to be determined in metropolitan or diocesan synods, do exclude the Roman bishop from meddling in those concerns.

6. The popes (out of a humour natural to them, to like nothing but what they did themselves, and which served their interests) did not relish those canons, although enacted by synods which themselves admitted for œcumenical. "That subscription of some bishops made above sixty years since, as you boast, does no whit favour your persuasion; a subscription never transmitted to the knowledge of the apostolic see by your predecessors, which, from its very beginning, being weak, and long since ruinous, you endeavour now, too late and unprofitably, to revive."†

So doth Pope Leo I. treat the second great synod, writing to Anatolius; and Gregory speaking of the same says,

tem diœceseos, quantum si perhibuisset diœceseon.—*P. Nich. I.* Eph. 8. (p. 607.) To say, the primate of a diocese, is as much as to say of dioceses.

* Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων καὶ τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται—ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν οὐκ οὖσαν ἔνωθεν καὶ ἐξαρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἤγουν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις κατέλαβεν, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ πεποίηται, βιασάμενος τοῦτον ἀποδιδόναι, &c. Conc. Eph. can. 8.

† Omnes sive patriarchæ cujuslibet apices, sive metropolean primatus, aut episcopatuum cathedras, vel ecclesiarum cujusilbet ordinis dignitates instituit Romana ecclesia.—*Pic. Nic. II. Dist.* xxii. cap. 1.

[q] Isid. Dist. ii. cap. 1.

* Πρεσβεῖα τιμῆς.—Can. 3. Τὰ πρωτεῖα καὶ ἐξαίρετος τιμή.—Syn. Ch. Act. 16. Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα.

† Persuasioni enim tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur quorundam episcoporum ante sexaginta, ut jactas, annos facta subscriptio, nunquamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad apostolicæ sedis transmissa notitiam, cui ab initio sui caducæ, dudumque collapsæ sera nunc et inutilia subjicere fomenta voluisti—. *P. Leo.* Ep. 53. (*ad Anatol.*) *vide* Ep. 54, 55, 61.

"That the Roman church has not the acts of that synod, nor received its canons."*

7. Wherefore in the west they did obtain no effect, so as to establish diocesan primacies there.

The bishops of cities, which were heads of dioceses, either did not know of these canons (which is probable, because Rome did smother the notice of them), or were hindered from using them; the pope having so winded himself in, and got such hold among them, as he would not let go.†

8. It indeed turned to a great advantage of the pope, in carrying on his encroachments, and enlarging his worldly interests, that the western churches did not, as the eastern, conform themselves to the political frame in embracing diocesan primacies; which would have engaged and enabled them better to protect the liberties of their churches from papal invasions.‡

9. For hence, for want of a better, the pope did claim to himself a patriarchal authority over the western churches; pretending a right of called synods, of meddling in ordinations, of determining causes by appeal to him; of dictating laws and rules to them, against the old rights of metropolitans, and the later constitutions for primacies.

Of this we have an instance in St. Gregory; where he alleging an imperial constitution importing that in case a clergyman should appeal from his metropolitan, "the cause should be referred to the archbishop and patriarch of that diocese, who judging according to the canons and laws should give an end thereto;" doth consequentially assume an appeal from a bishop to himself, adjoining, "If against these things it be said that the bishop had neither metropolitan nor patriarch, it is to be said that this cause was to be heard and decided by the apostolical see, which is the head of all churches."*

10. Having got such advantage, and, as to extent, stretched his authority beyond the bounds of "his suburbicarian precincts,"[r] he did also extend it in quality far beyond the privileges by any ecclesiastical law granted to patriarchs, or claimed or exercised by any other patriarch; till at length, by degrees, he had advanced it to an exorbitant omnipotency, and thereby utterly enslaved the western churches.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch or primate to call a synod of the bishops in his diocese, and with them to determine ecclesiastical affairs by majority of suffrages: but he doth not do so; but setting himself down in his chair, with a few of his courtiers about him, doth make decrees and dictates, to which he pretendeth all must submit.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch to ordain metropolitans duly elected in their dioceses; leaving bishops to be ordained by the metropolitans in their provincial synods: but he will meddle in the ordination of every bishop, suffering none to be constituted without his confirmation, for which he must soundly pay.

The ancient order did allow a patriarch, with the advice and consent of his synod, to make canons for the well-ordering his diocese: but he sendeth about his decretal letters, composed by an infallible secretary, which he pretendeth must have the force of laws, equal to the highest decrees of the whole church.

The ancient order did suppose bishops, by their ordination, sufficiently obliged to render unto their patriarch due observance, according to the canons, he being liable to be judged in a synod for the transgression of his duty: but he forceth all bishops to take the most slav-

* Romana autem ecclesia eosdem canones velgesta synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accepit.—*Greg. M.* Ep. vi. 31 (*ad Eulog. Alex.*)

† *N. B.* A Roman synod, anno 378, consisting of Italian bishops, did give the pope such a privilege as the synod of Constantinople did to the bishop of that See.—(*Marc. de Primat.* p. 103, *ex App. Cod. Thedos. Vide* Baron) But there is difference between a general synod and an Italian synod: and what had an Italian synod to prescribe to all the provinces of the Roman Empire, or rather of the west?—*P. Greg. I.* Ep. 7, 8.

‡ Balusius thinketh that Hilarius of Arles did pretend and offer at this primatical power, *apud Marc.* v. 32; but Pope Leo did mainly check and quash his attempt.

* Contra hæc si dictum fuerit, quia nec metropolitam habuit nec patriarcham; dicendum est quia a sede apostolica, quæ omnium ecclesiarum caput est, causa hæc audienda ac dirimenda fuerat.—*Greg. I.* Ep. xi. 56.

[r] Ruffin. Hist. i. 6.

ish oaths of obedience to him that can be imagined.

The ancient order did appoint, that bishops accused for offences should be judged in their provinces; or, upon appeal from them, in patriarchal synods: but he receiveth appeals at the first hand, and determineth them in his court, without calling such a synod in an age for any such purpose.

The ancient patriarchs did order all things, as became good subjects, with leave and under submission to the emperor, who as he pleased did interpose his confirmation of their sanctions: but this man pretendeth to decree what he pleaseth without the leave, and against the will of princes.

Wherefore he is not a patriarch of the western churches (for that he acteth according to no patriarchal rule), but a certain kind of sovereign lord, or a tyrannical oppressor of them.

11. In all the transactions for modelling the church, there never was allowed to the pope any dominion over his fellow-patriarchs, or of those great primates who had assumed that name to themselves;[s] among whom indeed, for the dignity of his city, he had obtained a priority of honour or place: but never had any power over them settled by a title of law, or by clear and uncontested practice.

Insomuch, that if any of them had erred in faith, or offended in practice, it was requisite to call a general synod to judge them; as in the cases of Athanasius, of Gregory Nazianzen and Maximus, of Theophilus and St. Chrysostom, of Nestorius and of Dioscorus, is evident.

12. Indeed all the oriental churches did keep themselves pretty free from his encroachments, although, when he had swollen so big in the west, he sometimes did take occasion to attempt on their liberty; which they sometimes did warily decline, sometimes stoutly did oppose.

But as to the main, those flourishing churches constantly did maintain a distinct administration from the western churches, under their own patriarchs and synods, not suffering him to interlope in prejudice to their liberty.[t]

They, without his leave or notice, did call and celebrate synods (whereof all the first great synods are instances;) their ordinations were not confirmed or touched by him; appeals were not (with public regard or allowance) thence made to him in causes great or little, but they decided them among themselves: they quashed heresies springing up among them, as the second general synod the Macedonians, Theophilus, the Origenists, &c. Little in any case had his worship to do with them, or they with him, beyond what was needful to maintain general communion and correspondence with him; which they commonly, as piety obliged, were willing to do.

And sometimes, when a pert pope, upon some incidental advantage of differences risen among them, would be more busy than they deemed convenient in tampering with their affairs, they did rap his fingers: so Victor, so Stephanus, so Julius and Liberius, of old did feel to their smart: so afterwards Damasus and other popes in the case of Flavianus; Innocent in the case of St. Chrysostom; Felix and his successors in the case of Acacius, did find little regard had to their interposals.

So things proceeded, till at length a final rupture was made between them, and they would not suffer him at all to meddle with their affairs.

Before I proceed any further, I shall briefly draw some corollaries from this historical account which I have given of the original and growth of metropolitical, primatical, and patriarchal jurisdiction.

1. Patriarchs are an human institution.

2. As they were erected by the power and prudence of men, so they may be dissolved by the same.

3. They were erected by the leave and confirmation of princes; and by the same they may be dejected, if great reason do appear.

4. The patriarchate of the pope beyond his own province or diocese doth not subsist upon any canon of a general synod.

5. He can therefore claim no such power otherwise than upon his invasion or assumption.

6. The primates and metropolitans of the western church cannot be supposed

[s] Isid. in Dist. 21, cap. 1.
[t] *Vide* de Marc. lib. vii. cap. 4, 5.

otherwise than by force, or out of fear, to have submitted to such an authority as he doth usurp.

7. It is not really a patriarchal power (like to that which was granted by the canons and princes), but another sort of power, which the pope doth exercise.

8. The most rightful patriarch, holding false doctrine, or imposing unjust laws, or tyrannically abusing his power, may and ought to be rejected from communion.

9. Such a patriarch is to be judged by a free synod, if it may be had.

10. If such a synod cannot be had by consent of princes, each church may free itself from the mischiefs induced by his perverse doctrine or practice.

11. No ecclesiastical power can interpose in the management of any affairs within the territory of any prince without his concession.

12. By the laws of God, and according to ancient practice, princes may model the bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, erect bishoprics, enlarge, diminish, or transfer them as they please.

13. Wherefore each prince (having supreme power in his own dominions, and equal to what the emperor had in his) may exclude any foreign prelate from jurisdiction in his territories.

14. It is expedient for peace and public good that he should do thus.

15. Such prelate, according to the rules of Christianity, ought to be content with his doing so.

16. Any prelate, exercising power in the dominion of any prince, is *eatenus* his subject; as the popes and all bishops were to the Roman emperors.

17. Those joints of ecclesiastical discipline, established in the Roman empire by the confirmation of emperors, were (as to necessary continuance) dissolved by the dissolution of the Roman empire.

18. The power of the pope in the territories of any prince did subsist by his authority and favour.

19. By the same reason as princes have curbed the exorbitancy of papal power in some cases (of entertaining legates, making appeals, disposing of benefices, &c.) by the same they might exclude it.

20. The practice of Christianity doth not depend upon the subsistence of such a form instituted by man.

Having shewed at large that this universal sovereignty and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome over the Christian church hath no real foundation either in scripture or elsewhere, it will be requisite to shew by what ways and means so groundless a claim and pretence should gain belief and submission to it from so considerable a part of Christendom; and that from so very slender roots* (from slight beginnings, and the slimmest pretences one can well imagine) this bulk of exorbitant power did grow, the vastest that ever man on earth did attain, or did ever aim at, will be the less wonderful, if we do consider the many causes which did concur and contribute thereto; some whereof are proposed in the following observations:—

1. Eminency of any kind (in wealth, in honour, in reputation, in might, in place, or mere order of dignity) doth easily pass into advantages of real power and command over those who are inferior in those respects, and have any dealings or common transactions with such superiors.

For to persons endowed with such eminency, by voluntary deference the conduct of affairs is wont to be allowed; none presuming to stand in competition with them, every one rather yielding place to them than to their equals.

The same conduct of things, upon the same accounts, and by reason of their possession, doth continue fast in their hands, so long as they do retain such advantages.

Then from a custom of managing things doth spring up an opinion or a pretence of right thereto; they are apt to assume a title, and others ready to allow it.

Men naturally do admire such things, and so are apt to defer extraordinary respect to the possessors of them.

Advantages of wealth and might are not only instruments to attain, but incentives spurring men to affect the getting authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours: for men will not be content with bare eminency, but will desire real power and sway, so as to obtain their

* De pusillo crescere.—*P. Leo.* Ep. 55.

wills over others, and not to be crossed by any. Pope Leo had no reason to wonder that Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople, was not content with dry honour.* Men are apt to think their honour is precarious, and standeth on an uncertain foundation, if it be not supported with real power; and therefore they will not be satisfied to let their advantages lie dead, which are so easily improvable to power, by inveigling some, and scaring or constraining others to bear their yoke: and they are able to benefit and gratify some, and thereby render them willing to submit; those afterwards become serviceable to bring others under, who are disaffected or refractory.

So the bishops of Constantinople and of Jerusalem, at first, had only privileges of honour; but afterward they soon hooked in power.

Now the Roman bishops from the beginning were eminent above all other bishops in all kinds of advantages.

He was seated in the imperial city, the place of general resort; thence obvious to all eyes, and his name sounding in all mouths. He had a most numerous, opulent, splendid flock and clergy. He had the greatest income (from liberal oblations) to dispose of. He lived in greatest state and lustre. He had opportunities to assist others in their business, and to relieve them in their wants. He necessarily thence did obtain great respect and veneration.† Hence, in all common affairs, the conduct and presidence were naturally devolved on him, without contest.

No wonder, then, that after some time the pope did arrive to some pitch of authority over poor Christians, especially those who lay nearest to him; improving his eminency into power, and his pastoral charge into a kind of empire; according to that observation of Socrates, that "long before his time the Roman episcopacy had advanced itself beyond the priesthood into a potentacy."‡

And the like he observeth to have happened in the church of Alexandria, upon the like grounds, or by imitation of such a pattern.[u]

2. Any small power is apt to grow and spread itself; a spark of it soon will expand itself into a flame: it is very like to *the grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.*[v] "Encroaching" (as Plutarch saith) "is an innate disease of potentacies."* Whoever hath any pittance of it, will be improving his stock; having tasted the sweetness of having his will (which extremely gratifieth the nature of man), he will not be satisfied without having more; he will take himself to be straitened by any bounds; and will strive to free himself of all restraints.

Any pretence will serve to ground attempts of enlarging power, and none will be balked. For power is bold, enterprising, restless: it always watcheth, or often findeth, "never passeth opportunities of dilating itself."† Every accession doth beget further advantages to amplify it; as its stock groweth, so it with ease proportionably doth increase; being ever out at use. As it groweth, so its strength to maintain and enlarge itself doth grow: it gaining more wealth, more friends, more associates and dependents.

None can resist or obstruct its growth without danger and manifold disadvantages: for as its adherents are deemed loyal and faithful, so its opposers are branded with the imputations of rebellion, contumacy, disloyalty; and not succeeding in their resistance, they will be undone.

None ever doth enterprise more than to stop its career; so that it seldom loseth by opposition; and it ever gaineth by composition. If it be checked at one

* Quid illi satisfaciet, si tantæ urbis magnificentia et claritudo non sufficit?—*Leo.* Ep 55.

† Euseb. vi. 43. (an. 254.)—Oblationibus matronarum ditati. Circumspecte vestiti.—*Amm. Marc.* 1. xvii. (p. 337), an. 367, Euseb.

‡ Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης.—Socr. vii. 11.

* Τὸ συμφυτον νοσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία.—Plut. in Pyrrh.

† Subrependi occasiones non prætermittit ambitio ——. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 62. Facilius crescit dignitas quam incipit.—*Sen.* Ep. 101. Primæ dominandi spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus, adsunt studia et ministri.—*Tacit. Ann.* iv. (p. 143.)

[u] Socr. vii. 7.

[v] Matt. xiii. 31, 32.

time, or in one place, it will, like the sea, at another season, in another point, break in. If it is sometimes overthrown in a battle, it is seldom conquered in the war.

It is always on its march forward, and gaineth ground; for one encroachment doth countenance the next, and is alleged for a precedent to authorize or justify it. It seldom moveth backward; for every successor thinketh he may justly enjoy what his predecessor did gain, or which is transmitted into his possession; so that there hardly can ever be any restitution of ill-gotten power.

Thus have many absolute kingdoms grown: the first chief was a leader of volunteers; from thence he grew to be a prince with stated privileges; after, he became a monarch invested with high prerogatives; in fine, he creepeth forward to be a grand seignior, usurping absolute dominion: so did Augustus Cæsar first only assume the style of prince of the senate, demeaning himself modestly as such; but he soon drew to himself the administration of all things; and upon that foundation his successors very suddenly did erect a boundless power. If you trace the footsteps of most empires to the beginning, you may perceive the like.

So the pope, when he had got a little power, continually did swell it. The puny pretence of the succeeding St. Peter, and the name of the apostolical see; the precedence, by reason of the imperial city; the honorary privileges allowed him by councils; the authority deferred to him by one synod of revising the causes of bishops; the countenance given to him in repressing some heresies, he did improve to constitute himself sovereign lord of the church.

3. Spiritual power especially is of a growing nature, and more especially that which deriveth from divine institution; for it hath a great awe upon the hearts and consciences of men: which engageth them to a firm and constant adherence. It useth the most subtle arms, which it hath always ready, which needeth no time or cost to furnish, which cannot be extorted from its hand; so that it can never be disarmed. And its weapons make strong impression, because it proposeth the most effectual encouragements to its abettors, and discouragements to its adversaries; alluring the one with promises of God's favour and eternal happiness, terrifying the other with menaces of vengeance from heaven, and endless misery: the which do ever quell religious, superstitious, weak people; and often daunt men of knowledge and courage.

It is presumed unchangeable and unextinguishable by any human power, and thence is not (as all other power) subject to revolutions. Hence, like Achilles, it is hardly vincible, because almost immortal. If it be sometimes rebuffed or impaired, it soon will recover greater strength and vigour.

The popes derive their authority from divine institution; and their weapons always are sentences of scripture:[v] they pretend to dispense remission of sins, and promise heaven to their abettors. They excommunicate, curse, and damn the opposers of their designs.

They pretend they never can lose any power that ever did belong to their see: they are always stiff, and they never recede or give back. "The privileges of the Roman church can sustain no detriment."*

4. Power is easily attained and augmented upon occasion of dissensions. Each faction usually doth make itself a head, the chief in strength and reputation which it can find inclinable to favour it; and that head it will strive to magnify, that he may be the abler to promote its cause; and if the cause doth prosper, he is rewarded with accession of privileges and authority: especially those who were oppressed, and find relief by his means, do become zealously active for his aggrandizement.

Thus usually in civil broils the captain of the prevalent party groweth a prince, or is crowned with great privileges (as Cæsar, Octavian, Cromwell, &c.)

So upon occasion of the Arian faction, and the oppression of Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, and other bishops, the pope (who by their application to him had occasion to head the catholic party) did grow in power; for thereupon the

* Privilegia Romanæ ecclesiæ nullum possunt sustinere detrimentum.—*P. Nic. I.* Ep. xxxvi. (32—.)

[v] Dist. xxi. cap. 2, 3.

Sardican synod did decree to him that privilege, which he infinitely enhanced, and which became the main engine of rearing himself so high.

And by his interposal in the dissensions raised by the Nestorians, the Pelagians, Eutychians, the Acacians, the Monothelites, the Image-worshippers, and Image-breakers, &c., his authority was advanced; for he, adhering in those causes to the prevailing party, was by them extolled, obtaining both reputation and sway.

5. All power is attended by dependencies of persons sheltered under it, and by it enjoying subordinate advantages; the which proportionably do grow by its increase.

Such persons, therefore, will ever be inciting their chief and patron to amplify his power; and in aiding him to compass it, they will be very industriously, resolutely, and steadily active, their own interest moving them thereto.

Wherefore their mouths will ever be open in crying him up, their heads will be busy in contriving ways to further his interests, their care and pains will be employed in accomplishing his designs; they with their utmost strength will contend in his defence against all oppositions.

Thus the Roman clergy first, then the bishops of Italy, then all the clergy of the west, became engaged to support, to fortify, to enlarge the papal authority; they all sharing with him in domination over the laity; and enjoying wealth, credit, support, privileges, and immunities thereby. Some of them especially were ever putting him on higher pretences; and furthering him by all means in his acquist and maintenance of them.

6. Hence if a potentate himself should have no ambition, nor much ability to improve his power; yet it would of itself grow, he need only be passive therein; the interests of his partisans would effect it: so that often power doth no less thrive under sluggish and weak potentates, especially if they are void of goodness, than under the most active and able: let the ministers alone to drive on their interest.

7. Even persons otherwise just and good do seldom scruple to augment their power by undue encroachment, or at least to uphold the usurpations of their foregoers: for even such are apt to favour their own pretences, and afraid of incurring censure and blame, if they should part with any thing left them by their predecesors. They apprehend themselves to owe a dearness to their place, engaging them to tender its own weal and prosperity, in promoting which they suppose themselves not to act for their own private interest; and that it is not out of ambition or avarice, but out of a regard to the grandeur of their office, that they stickle and bustle; and that in so doing they imitate St. Pual, who did *magnify his office.* They are encouraged hereto by the applause of men, especially of those who are allied with them in interest, and who converse with them; who take it for a maxim, *Boni principis est ampliare imperium;* the extenders of empire are admired and commended, however they do it, although with cruel wars, or by any unjust means.

Hence usually the worthiest men in the world's eye are greatest enlargers of power; and such men being appearances of virtue, ability, reputation, to aid their endeavours, do most easily compass designs of this nature, finding less obstruction to their attempts; for men are not so apt to suspect their integrity, or to charge them with ambition and avarice; and the few, who discern their aims and consequences of things, are overborne by the number of those who are favourably conceited and inclined toward them.

Thus Julius I., Damasus I., Innocent I., Gregory I., and the like popes, whom history representeth as laudable persons, did yet confer to the advancement of papal grandeur. But they who did most advance that interest, as Pope Leo I., Gelasius I., Pope Nicholas I., Pope Gregory VII., in the esteem of true zealots, pass for the best popes.[x] Hence the distinction between a good man, a good prince, a good pope.

8. Men of an inferior condition are apt to express themselves highly in commendation of those who are in a superior rank, especially upon occasion of address and intercourse; which commendations are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments or attestations of right, and

[x] Sixtus V.

thence do sometimes prove means of creating it.

Of the generality of men it is truly said, that it "doth fondly serve fame, and is stunned with titles and images,"* readily ascribing to superiors whatever they claim, without scanning the grounds of their title. Simple and weak men, out of abjectedness or fear, are wont to crouch, and submit to any thing upon any terms. Wise men do not love brangling, nor will expose their quiet and safety without great reason; thence being inclinable to comply with greater persons. Bad men, out of design to procure advantages or impunity, are prone to flattery and gloze with them. Good men, out of due reverence to them, and in hope of fair usage from them, are ready to compliment them, or treat them with the most respectful terms. Those who are obliged to them will not spare to extol them; paying the easy return of good words for good deeds.

Thus all men conspire to exalt power; the which snatcheth all good words as true, and construeth them to the most favourable sense; and allegeth them as verdicts and arguments of unquestionable right. So are the compliments, or terms of respect, used by Jerome, Austin, Theodoret, and divers others, toward popes, drawn into an argument for papal authority; whenas the actions of such Fathers, and their discourses upon other occasions, do manifest their serious judgment to have been directly contrary to his pretences: wherefore the emperor of Constantinople, in the Florentine synod, had good reason to decline such sayings† for arguments; for, "If" (saith he) "any of the saints doth in an epistle honour the pope, shall he take that as importing privileges?"†

9. Good men commonly (out of charitable simplicity, meekness, modesty, and humility, love of peace, and averseness from contention) are apt to yeild to the encroachments of those who anywise do excel them; and when such men do yield, others are ready to follow their example. Bad men have little interest to resist, and no heart to stand for public good; but rather strike in presently, taking advantage by their compliance to drive a good market for themselves. Hence so many of all sorts in all times did comply with popes, or did not obstruct them; suffering them without great obstacle to raise their power.

10. If in such cases a few wise men do apprehend the consequences of things, yet they can do little to prevent them. They seldom have the courage with sufficient zeal to bustle against encroachments; fearing to be overborne by its stream, to lose their labour, and vainly to suffer by it: if they offer at resistance, it is usually faint and moderate: whereas power doth act vigorously, and push itself forward with mighty violence; so that it is not only difficult to check it, but dangerous to oppose it.

Ambiguity of words (as it causeth many debates, so) yieldeth much advantage to the foundation and amplification of power:* for whatever is said of it, will be interpreted in favour of it, and will afford colour to its pretences. Words innocently or carelessly used are by interpretation extended to signify great matters, or what you please. For instance,

The word *bishop* may import any kind of superintendency or inspection: hence St. Peter came to be reckoned bishop of Rome, because in virtue of his apostolic office he had inspection over that church founded by him, and might exercise some episcopal acts.

The word *head* doth signify any kind of eminency; the word *prince*, any priority; the word to *preside*, any kind of superiority or pre-eminence:† hence some Fathers attributing those names to St. Peter, they are interpreted to have thought him sovereign in power over the apostles. And because some did give like terms to the pope, they infer his superiority in power over all bishops; notwithstanding such Fathers did express a contrary judgment.

* —— qui famæ servit ineptus,
Ac stupet in titulis et imaginibus ——.
Hor.

† Κατὰ ῥητὰ τῶν ἁγίων.

‡ Μήπως, φησὶ, τὶς τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τὸν πάπαν, καὶ ἐκλάβῃ τοῦτο ἀντὶ προνομ.....—Syn. Flor. sess. xxv. (p. 848.)

* Ita de vocabulorum occasionibus plurimum quæstiones subornantur, sicut et de verborum in communionibus.—*Tertull. de Resur. Carn.* 54.

† Καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κεφαλήν. Can. Apost. 34.

The word *successor* may import any derivation of power: hence because St. Peter is said to have founded the church of Rome, and to have ordained the first bishop there, the pope is called his successor.

The word *authority* doth often import any kind of influence upon the opinions or actions of men (grounded upon eminence of place, worth, reputation, or any such advantage:) hence, because the pope of old sometimes was desired to interpose his authority, they will understand him to have had right to command or judge in such cases;* although authority is sometimes opposed to command, as where Livy saith, that "Evander did hold those places by authority, rather than by command,"† and Tacitus of the German princes saith, "They are heard rather according to their authority of persuading, than power of commanding."‡ "The word *judge*" (saith Canus) "is frequently used to signify no more than, I do think or conceive;"|| whereby he doth excuse divers popes from having decreed a notable error; (for Alexander III. says of them, "That they judged, that after a matrimony contracted, not consummated, another may be valid, that being dissolved.") Yet if the pope is said to have *judged* so or so in any case, it is alleged for a certain argument of proper *jurisdiction*.

11. There is a strange enchantment in words; which being (although with no great colour of reason) assumed, do work on the fancies of men, especially of the weaker sort. Of these power doth ever arrogate to itself such as are most operative, by their force sustaining and extending itself.

So divers prevalent factions did assume to themselves the name of *catholic;* and the Roman church particularly hath appropriated that word to itself, even so as to commit a bull, implying Rome and the universe to be the same place; and the perpetual canting of this term hath been one of its most effectual charms to weak people: "I am a catholic," that is, "an universal; therefore all I hold is true:" this is their great argument.

The words *successor of Peter*, *apostolic see*, *prima sedes*, have been strongly urged for arguments of papal authority; the which have, beyond their true force (for indeed they signify nothing), had a strange efficacy upon men of understanding and wisdom.

12. The pope's power was much amplified by the importunity of persons condemned or extruded from their places, whether upon just accounts, or wrongfully and by faction; for they finding no other more hopeful place of refuge and redress, did often apply to him:* for what will not men do, whither will not they go in straits?

Thus did Marcion go to Rome, and sue for admission to communion there. So Fortunatus and Felicissimus in St. Cyprian, being condemned in Afric, did fly to Rome for shelter; of which absurdity St. Cyprian doth so complain. So likewise Martianus and Basilides, in St. Cyprian, being outed of their Sees for having lapsed from the Christian profession, did fly to Stephen for succour, to be restored.† So Maximus (the Cynic) went to Rome to get a confirmation of his election at Constantinople. So Marcellus, being rejected for heterodoxy, went thither to get attestation to his orthodoxy (of which St. Basil complaineth.) So Apiarius, being condemned in Afric for his crimes, did appeal to Rome.

And, on the other side, Athanasius being with great partiality condemned by the synod of Tyre;† Paulus and other

* Quia duobus episcopis, quorum ea tempestate summa authoritas erat non illuserat ——. *Sulp. Sev.* ii. 63. Because he had not deluded the two bishops who had the greatest authority in those times. Non mediocris authoritatis episcopus Carthag.—*Aug.* Ep. 162. The bishop of Carthage was of no mean authority.

† Evander —— ea authoritatemagis quam imperio retinebat loca.—*Liv.* 1.

‡ —— audiuntur authoritate suadendi potius quam jubendi potestate.—*Tac. de Mor. Ger.* (p. 640.)

|| Verbum *judico* frequenter in ea significatione usurpatur, ut idem sit quod sentio seu opinor.—*Can.* loc. vi. cap. 8. (Comp. lib. vi. 1.)

* —— ut ad domini mei tanti pontificis et piissimi patris, omnium ad se confugientium tutissimi defensoris ac protectoris, &c.—*Rothaldi Appell.* (*in P. Nich. I.* Ep. xxxvii. p. 563.) —— my lord so great a pontiff, and most pious a father, the safe defender and protector of all those that flee unto him for succour.

† Calendion of Antioch, liber. cap. 18.

† Cypr. Ep. 55, 68.

bishops being extruded from their Sees for orthodoxy; St. Chrysostom being condemned and expelled by Theophilus and his complices; Flavianus being deposed by Dioscorus and the Ephesine synod; Theodoret being condemned by the same—did cry out for help to Rome.[a] Chelidonius, bishop of Resanon, being deposed by Hilarius of Arles (for crimes), did fly to Pope Leo. Ignatius, patriarch of Constntinople, being extruded from his See by Photius, did complain to the pope.

13. All princes are forward to heap honour on the bishop of their imperial city; it seeming a disgrace to themselves that so near a relation be an inferior to any other; who is, as it were, their spiritual pastor, who is usually by their special favour advanced. The city itself, and the court, will be restless in assisting him to climb.

Thus did the bishop of Constantinople arise to that high pitch of honour, and to be second patriarch; who at first was a mean suffragan to the bishop of Heraclea: this, by the synods of Constantinople and Chalcedon, is assigned for the reason of his advancement.[a]

And how ready the emperors were to promote the dignity of that bishop, we see by many of their edicts to that purpose; as particularly that of Leo.

So, for the honour of their city, the emporors usually did favour the pope, assisting him in the furtherance of his designs, and extending his privileges by their edicts at home, and letters to the eastern emperors, recommending their affairs.

So in the synod of Chalcedon we have the letters of Valentinian, together with those of Placidia and of Eudoxia, the empresses, to Theodosius, in behalf of Pope Leo, for retractation of the Ephesine synod; wherein they do express themselves engaged to maintain the honour of the Roman See: "Seeing that" (saith Placidia, mother of Theodosius) "it becometh us in all things to preserve the honour and dignity of this chief city, which is the mistress of all others."*

So Pope Nicholas confesseth, that the emperors had "extolled the Roman See with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits"* (or benefices), &c.

14. The popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to suggest what they pleased to the court, and thereby to procure his edicts (directed or dictated by themselves) in their favour, for extending their power, or repressing any opposition made to their encroachments.

Baronius observeth, that the bishops of Constantinople did use this advantage for their ends: for thus he reflecteth on the edict of the emperor Leo in favour of that see: "These things Leo;† but questionless conceived in the words of Acacius, swelling with pride."

And no less unquestionably did the popes conceive words for the emperor in countenance of their authority.[b]

Such was that edict of Valentinian in favour of Leo against Hilarius, bishop of Arles (in an unjust cause, as Binius confesseth), who contested his authority to undo what was done in a Gallican synod.[c] And we may thank Baronius himself for this observation: "By this, reader, thou understandest that when the emperors ordained laws concerning religion, they did it by transcribing and enacting the laws of the church, upon the admonition of the holy bishops requiring them to do their duty."‡ It was a notable edict which Pope Hilarius allegeth: "It was also decreed by the laws of Christian princes, that whatsoever the bishop of the apostolic see should upon examination pronounce concerning churches and their

* Ὅτότε πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἥτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γεῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας παραφυλάξαι.—Syn. Chalc. (p. 27.)

[a] P. Leo Ep. 89; Marc. v. 32; P. Nich. I. Ep. xxxviii. (p. 564,) Rothaldus.

[a] Cod. Lib. i. tit. 2. cap. 16.

*Qualiter (imperatores) eam diversis beneficiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint, qualiter illam, &c.—*P. Nich. I.* Ep. viii. (p. 513.)

——Romanus tempore prisco
Pauper erat præsul, regali munere crevit, &c.
Gunth. Lig. lib. 6.

† Hæc Leo, sed Acacii fastu tumentis proculdubio verbis concepta, et stylo superbiæ exarata.—*Baron.* ann. 473, § 4.

‡ Ex his intelligis, lector, cum de rebus sacris imperatores leges sanxivere, id ipsum admonitione ss. præsulum requirentium eorum officium ex scriptis legibus statuisse.—*Baron.* ann. 458, § 4.

[b] Apud Marc. v. 22.

[c] Bin. ad P. Hill. Ep. 11. (p. 576.)

governors, &c. should with reverence be received, and strictly observed,"* &c.

Such edicts, by crafty suggestions, being at opportune times from easy and unwary princes procured, did hold, not being easily reversed: and the power which the pope once had obtained by them, he would never part with; fortifying it by higher pretences of divine immutable right.[d]

The Emperor Gratian, having gotten the world under him, did order the churches to those who would communicate with Pope Damasus.[e] This and the like countenances did bring credit and authority to the Roman See.

15. It is therefore no wonder that popes, being seated in the metropolis of the western empire (the head of all the Roman state), should find interest sufficient to make themselves by degrees what they would be: for they not only surpassing the provincial bishops in wealth and repute, but having power in court, who dared to pull a feather with them, or to withstand their encroachments? What wise man would not rather bear much, than contest upon such disadvantages, and without probable grounds of success?

16. Princes who favoured them with such concessions, and abetted their undertakings, did not foresee what such increase of power in time would arise to; or suspect the prejudice thence done to imperial authority. They little thought that in virtue thereof popes would check and mate princes, or would claim superiority over them: for the popes at that time did behave and express themselves with modesty and respect to emperors.

17. Power once rooted doth find seasons and favourable junctures for its growth; the which it will be intent to embrace.

The confusions of things, the eruptions of barbarians, the straits of emperors, the contentions of princes, &c. did all turn to account for him; and in confusion of things he did snatch what he could to himself.

The declination and infirmity of the Roman empire gave him opportunity to strengthen his interests, either by closing with it, so as to gain somewhat by its concession; or by opposing it, so as to head a faction against it. As he often had opportunity to promote the designs of emperors and princes, so those did return to him increase of authority; so they trucked and bartered together. For when princes were in straits, or did need assistance (from his reputation at home) to the furtherance of their designs, or support of their interest in Italy, they were content to honour him, and grant what he desired; as in the case of Acacius, which had caused so long a breach, the emperor, to engage Pope Hormisdas, did consent to his will. And at the Florentine synod, the emperor did bow to the pope's terms, in hopes to get his assistance against the Turks.

When the eastern emperors, by his means chiefly, were driven out of Italy, he snatched a good part of it to himself, and set up for a temporal prince.*

When princes did clash, he, by yielding countenance to one side, would be sure to make a good market for himself: for this pretended successor to the fisherman was really skilled to angle in troubled waters.

They have been the incendiaries of Christendom, the kindlers and fomenters of war; and would often stir up wars;[f] and inclining to the stronger part, would share with the conqueror; as when he stirred up Charles against the Lombards. They would, upon spiritual pretence, be interposing in all affairs.†

He did oblige princes by abetting their cause when it was unjust or weak; his spiritual authority satisfying their conscience: whence he was sure to receive good acknowledgment and reccompense. As when he did allow Pepin's usurpation. (An. 752.)

* Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, &c.—*P. Hilarius*, Ep. xi. (p. 576.)

[d] P. Nich. I. Ep. 36.

[e] Theod. v. 2.

* Δρυὸς πεσούσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλίζεται ——. When the oak is fallen, every one gets some wood.

† Non sine suspicione, quod illorum temporum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atque nutrirent.—*Modruviensis Episc. in Conc. Lat. sub Leo. X.* ses. vi. (p. 72.)

[f] Anast. in Vit. Zach. P. Nich. I. Ep. 25, 30, &c.

He pretended to dispose of kingdoms, and to constitute princes; reserving obeisance to himself. Gregory VII. granted to Robert Guislard Naples and Sicily (An. 1060), *beneficiario jure*. Innocent II. gave to Roger the title of king. (An. 1139.)

There is scarce any kingdom in Europe which he hath not claimed the sovereignty of, by some pretence or other. Princes sometime, for quiet sake, have desired the pope's consent and allowance of things appertaining of right to themselves, whence the pope took advantage to claim an original right of disposing such things.

The proceeding of the pope upon occasion of wars is remarkable: when he did enter league with a prince, to side with him in a war against another, he did covenant to prosecute the enemy with spiritual arms (that is, with excommunications and interdicts), engaging his confederates to use temporal arms. So making ecclesiastical censures tools of interest.

When princes were in difficulties (by the mutinous disposition of princes, the emulation of antagonists), he would, as served his interest, interpose; hooking in some advantage to himself.

In the tumults against our King John, he struck in, and would have drawn the kingdom to himself.

He would watch opportunity to quarrel with princes, upon pretence they did intrench on his spiritual power: as about the point of the investiture of bishops, and receiving homage from them.

Gregory VII. did excommunicate	Hen. III. (an. 1076.)
Calixtus II. - - - - - - - -	Hen. IV. (an. 1120.)
Adrian IV. - - - - - - - -	Fred. (an. 1160.)
Clestinus III. - - - - - - - -	Hen. V. (an. 1195.)
Innocent III. - - - - - - - -	Otho (an. 1219.)
Honorius III. and Gregory IX. } Innocent IV. in the Lugd. Conc. }	Fred. II. (an. 1220.) (1245.)

18. The ignorance of times did him great service: for then all the little learning which was, being in his clients and factors, they could instil what they pleased into the credulous people. Then his dictates would pass for infallible oracles, and his decrees for inviolable laws: whence his veneration was exceedingly increased.

19. He was forward to support factious churchmen against princes, upon pretence of spiritual interest and liberty.* And usually by his importunity and arts getting the better in such contests, he thereby did much strengthen his authority.

20. He making himself the head of all the clergy, and carrying himself as its protector and patron, did engage thereby innumerable most able heads, tongues, and pens, who were devoted to maintain whatever he did, and had little else to do.

21. So great a party he cherished with exorbitant liberties, suffering none to rule over them, or touch them, beside himself.

22. He did found divers militias and bands of spiritual janizaries, to be combatants for his interests; who, depending immediately upon him, subsisting by his charters, enjoying exemptions by his authority from other jurisdictions, being sworn to a special obeisance of him, were entirely at his devotion, ready with all their might to advance his interests, and to maintain all the pretences of their patron and benefactor.

These had great sway among the people, upon account of their religious guises and pretences to extraordinary heights of sanctimony, austerity, contempt of the world. And learning being mostly confined to them, they were the chief teachers and guides of Christendom; so that no wonder if he did challenge and could maintain any thing by their influence.

They did cry up his power, as superior to all others. They did attribute to him titles strangely high, *Vice-god*, *Spouse of the church*, &c., strange attributes of *omnipotency*, *infallibility*, &c.

23. Whereas wealth is a great sinew of power, he did invent divers ways of drawing great store thereof to himself.†

By how many tricks did he proll money from all parts of Christendom? as by

Dispensations for marriage within degrees prohibited, or at uncanonical times;—for vows and oaths; for observance of fasts and abstinences; for

* Anselme, anno 1109. Becket, anno 1154. *Eadmer. Matt. Par.*

† Pro pallio omnino aliquid dare prohibeo.—*Greg. I.* Ep. iv. 44.

pluralities and incompatible benefices, non-residences, &c.

Indulgences, and pardons, and freeing souls from the pains of purgatory.

Reservations, and provisions of benefices, not bestowed *gratis*.*

Consecrated presents; *Agnus Dei's*, *roses*, *swords*,† &c.

Confirmation of bishops; sending palls.‡

Appeals to his court.

Tributes of *Peter-pence*, *annates*, *tithes*,—introduced upon occasion of holy wars, and continued.||

Playing fast and loose, tying knots, and undoing them for gain.

Sending legates to drain places of money.

Commutations of penance for money.

Inviting to pilgrimage at Rome.

Hooking in legacies. What a mass of treasure did all this come to! What a trade did he drive!§

24. He did indeed easily, by the help of his mercenary divines, transform most points of divinity in accommodation to his interests of power, reputation, and gain.

25. Any pretence, how slender soever, will in time get some validity; being fortified by the consent of divers authors, and a current of suitable practice.

Any story serving the designs of a party will get credit by being often told, especially by writers bearing a semblance of gravity; whereof divers will never be wanting to abet a flourishing party.

26. The histories of some ages were composed only by the pope's clients, friars and monks, and such people; which therefore are partial to him, addicted to his interests, and under awe of him.

For a long time none dared open his mouth to question any of his pretences, or reprehend his practices, without being called *heretic*, and treated as such.

27. Whereas the pope had two sorts of opposites to subdue temporal princes and bishops; his business being to overtop princes and to enslave all bishops, or to invade and usurp the rights of both; he used the help of each to compass his designs on the other; by the authority of princes oppressing bishops, and by the assistance of bishops mating princes.

28. When any body would not do as he would have them, he did incessantly clamour or whine that "St. Peter was injured."*

29. The forgery of the Decretal Epistles (wherein the ancient popes are made expressly to speak and act according to some of his highest pretences, devised long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men) did hugely conduce to his purpose; authorizing his encroachments by the suffrage of ancient doctrine and practice: a great part of his canon law is extracted out of these, and grounded on them.

The donation of Constantine, fictitious acts of councils, and the like counterfeit stuff, did help thereto; the which were soon embraced, as we see in Pope Gregory II.——

As also legends, fables of miracles, and all such *deceivableness of unrighteousness*.†

30. Popes were so cunning as to form grants, and impute that to privileges derived from them, which princes did enjoy by right or custom.‡

31. Synods of bishops called by him at opportune seasons, consisting of his votaries or slaves. None dared therein to whisper any thing to the prejudice of his authority. He carried whatever he pleased to propose, without check or contradiction. Who dared to question any thing done by such numbers of pastors, styling themselves the "representative of Christendom?"

32. The having hampered all the clergy with strict oaths of universal obedience to him (beginning about the times of Pope Gregory VII.), did greatly assure his power.

* Vendit plumbum pro auro.

† Taxa camerariæ.——

‡ In the times of Henry I., the Bishop of York did pay £10,000 sterling for his pall.—*Matt. Par.* (p. 274.)

|| Peter-pence.—*Plat.* p. 257.

§ Quantas nobis divitias perperit hæc fabula Christi?

* Quando et apostolica præceptio ad injuriam B. Petri in illis partibus non observatur, et a te spernitur et violatur.—*P. Nich. I.* Ep. 37.

† Ἀπάτῃ τῆς ἀδικίας.—2 Thess. ii. 10.

‡ Twisd. p. 17. Non necessitatis, sed honoris causa peto. Extortis assentationibus.—*P. Leo. Epist.* (*ad Syn. Chalc.*)

33. When intolerable oppressions and exactions did constrain princes to struggle with him, if he could not utterly prevail, things were brought to composition; whereby he was to be sure for that time a gainer, and gained establishment in some points, leaving the rest to be got afterward in more favourable junctures.

Witness the Concordates between { Henry II. and P. Alex. III. anno. 1172. Edw. III. and P. Greg. XI. anno 1373. Henry V. and P. Mart. V. anno 1418.

34. When princes were fain to curb their exorbitances by *Pragmatical Sanctions*, they were restless till they had got those sanctions revoked. And when they found weak princes, or any prince in circumstances advantaging their design, they did obtain their end. So Pope Leo X. got Lewis XI. to repeal the *Pragmatical Sanctions* of his ancestors.

35. The power he did assume to absolve men from oaths and vows, to dispense with prohibited marriages, &c., did not only bring much grist to his mill, but did enable him highly to oblige divers persons (especially great ones) to himself. For to him they owed the quiet of their conscience from scruples; to him they owed the satisfaction of their desires, and legitimation of their issue, and title to their possessions.

36. So the device of indulgences did greatly raise the veneration of him: for who would not adore him, that could loose his bands, and free his soul from long and grievous pains?

SUPPOSITION VI.

The next Supposition is this, "That in fact the Roman bishops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power."

THIS is a question of fact, which will best be decided by a particular consideration of the several branches of sovereign power; that so we may examine the more distinctly whether in all ages the popes have enjoyed and exercised them, or not.

And if we survey the particular branches of sovereignty, we shall find that the pope hath no just title to them, in reason, by valid law, or according to ancient practice; whence each of them doth yield a good argument against his pretences.

I. If the pope were sovereign of the church, he would have power to convocate its supreme councils and judicatories; and would constantly have exercised it.

This power, therefore, the pope doth claim; and indeed did pretend to it a long time since, before they could obtain to exercise it: "It is manifestly apparent," saith Pope Leo X., with approbation of his Lateran synod, "that the Roman bishop for the time being (as who hath authority over all councils) hath alone the full right and power of indicting, translating, and dissolving councils:"* and long before him, "To the apostolical authority," saith Pope Adrian I., "by our Lord's command, and by the merits of St. Peter, and by the decrees of the holy canons, and of the venerable Fathers, a right and special power of convocating synods hath manywise been committed:"† and yet before him, "The authority" (saith Pope Pelagius II.) "of convocating synods hath been delivered to the apostolical see by the singular privilege of St. Peter."‡

But it is manifest that the pope cannot pretend to this power by virtue of any old ecclesiastical canon, none such being extant or produced by him; nor can he allege any ancient custom; there having been no general synod before Constantine: and as to the practice from that time, it is very clear, that for some ages the popes did not assume or exercise such a power, and that it was not taken for their due. Nothing can be more evident, and it were extreme impudence to deny, that the emperors, at their pleasure, and by their authority, did congre-

* Distinct. 17. Cum etiam solum Rom. pontificem pro tempore existentem, tanquam auctoritatem super omnia concilia habentem, conciliorum indicendorum, transferendorum ac dissolvendorum plenum jus et potestatem habere —— manifeste constet.—*Conc. Lat.* sess. xi. (p. 152), ann.

† —— Cui jussione Domini, et meritis B. Petri apostoli, singularis congregandarum synodorum authoritas, et sanctorum canonum ac verandorum Patrum decretis multipliciter privata tradita est potestas.—*P. Hadrian I. apud Bin.* tom. v. p. 565, (an. 785.)

‡ Cum generalium synodorum convocandi auctoritas apostolicæ sedi B. Petri singulari privilegio sit tradita ——. *P. Pelag. II.* Ep. 8, (*Bin.* tom. iv. p. 476), ann. 587. *Qu.* An hæc epistola sit Pelagii II.? Negat Launoius.

gate all the first general synods; for so the oldest historians in most express terms do report, so those princes in their edicts did aver, so the synods themselves did declare. The most just and pious emperors, who did bear greatest love to the clergy, and had much respect for the pope, did call them without scruple; it was deemed their right to do it; none did remonstrate against their practice; the Fathers in each synod did refer thereto, with allowance, and commonly with applause; popes themselves did not contest their right, yea commonly did petition them to exercise it.

These things are so clear and so obvious, that it is almost vain to prove them; I shall therefore but touch them.

In general, Socrates doth thus attest to the ancient practice: "We" (saith he) "do continually include the emperors in our history, because upon them, ever since they became Christians, ecclesiastical affairs have depended, and the greatest synods have been and are made by their appointment:"* and Justinian, in his prefatory type to the fifth general council, beginneth thus: "It hath been ever the care of pious and orthodox emperors, by the assembling of the most religious bishops, to cut off heresies, as they did spring up; and by the right faith, sincerely preached, to keep the holy church of God in peace:"† and to do this was so proper to the emperors, that when Ruffin did affirm St. Hilary to have been excommunicated in a synod, St. Jerome, to confute him, did ask; "Tell me, what emperor did command this synod to be congregated?"‡ implying it to be illegal or impossible that a synod should be congregated without the imperial command.

Particularly Eusebius saith of the first Christian emperor, that "as a common bishop appointed by God he did summon synods of God's ministers;" so did he "command a great number of bishops to meet at Arles" (for decision of the Donatists' cause;) so did he also "command" the bishops from all quarters to meet at Tyre, for examination of the affairs concerning Athanasius; and that he did convocate the great synod of Nice (the first and most renowned of all general synods) all the historians do agree, he did himself affirm, the Fathers thereof in their synodical remonstrances did avow; as we shall hereafter, in remarking on the passages of that synod, shew.*

The same course did his son Constantius follow, without impediment; for although he was a favourer of the Arian party, yet did the Catholic bishops readily at his call assemble in the great synods of Sardica,† of Ariminum,‡ of Seleucia,‖ of Sirmium,§ of Milan,¶ &c. Which he, out of a great zeal to compose dissensions among the bishops, did convocate.

After him the emperor Valentinian, understanding of dissensions about divine matters, to compose them, did indict a synod in Illyricum.**

A while after, for settlement of the Christain state (which had been greatly disturbed by the persecution of Julian and of Valens, and by divers factions), Theodosius I. did "command," saith Theodoret, "the bishops of his empire

* Συνεχῶς καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῇ ἱστορίᾳ περιλαμβάνομεν, διότι ἀφ' οὗ Χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτητο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ αἱ μέγισται σύνοδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται.—Socr. 5, Procem.

† Semper studium fuit orthodoxis et piis imperatoribus, protempore exortas hæreses per congregationem religiosissimorum episcoporum amputare, et recta fide sincere prædicata in pace sanctam, Dei ecclesiam custodire ——*Justin. in Syn.* 5, *Collat.* i. (p. 209), Græce p. 368, magis emphatice.

‡ Doce —— quis imperator hanc synodum jusserit congregari?—*Hier.*

* Οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ Θεοῦ καθιστάμενος συνόδους τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει.—Euseb. de Vit. Const. I. 44. Πλείστους ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων τόπων ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρελατησίων πόλιν συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν.—Euseb. Hist. x. 5, Ep. ad Chrestum. Ad Arelatensium civitatem piissimi imperatoris voluntate adducti, say the Fathers in their Epistle to P. Sylvester himself.—*Vide* Euseb. de Vit. Const. lib. iv. cap. 41, 42, 43, et Socr. i. 28.

† Προσέταξεν εἰς Σαρδικὴν συνδραμεῖν ἐπισκόπους. —Theod. ii. 4; Soz. iii. 11; Socr. ii. 16, 20; Athan. tom. i. p. 761; Hil. in Fragm. p. Jubet ex toto orbe apud Sardicam episcopos congregari.—*Sulp.* ii. 52.

‡ Ἐκ τε τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ κελεύσεως, καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας προστάγματος, &c.—Syn. Arim. Ep. ad Const. Socr. ii. 37.

‖ Socr. ii. 39. ἦν—γενέσθαι τὸ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε πρόσταγμα.—Ann. 381.

§ Ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνοδον ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῷ Σιρμίῳ γεσθαι ἐκέλευσε.—Socr. ii. 29; Soz. iv. 6.

¶ Πρόσταγμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν σύνοδον.—Socr. i. 36; Soz. i. 9.

** Ἐν μὲν τῷ Ἰλλυρικῷ σύνοδον γενέσθαι προσέταξε.—Theod. iv. 7.

to be assembled together at Constantinople;"* the which meeting accordingly did make the second general synod: in the congregation of which the pope had so little to do, that Baronius saith it was celebrated against his will.

Afterwards, when Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, affecting to seem wiser than others in explaining the mystery of Christ's incarnation, had raised a jangle to the disturbance of the church; for removing it, the Emperor Theodosius II. did "by his edict command the bishops to meet at Ephesus;"† who there did celebrate the third general council: in the beginning of each action it is affirmed, that the synod was "convocated by the imperial decree;"‡ the synod itself doth often profess it; the pope's own legate doth acknowledge it; and so doth Cyril the president thereof.‖

The same emperor, upon occasion of Eutyches being condemned at Constantinople, and the stirs thence arising, did indict the second general synod of Ephesus) which proved abortive by the miscarriages of Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria), as appeareth by his imperial letters to Dioscorus, and the other bishops, summoning them to that synod: "We have decreed, that the most holy bishops meeting together,"§ &c. "After the same manner the other most reverend bishops were written to, to come to the synod."* And, as Pope Leo doth confess, calling it "the council of bishops, which you" (Theodosius) "commanded to be held at Ephesus."†

The next general synod of Chalcedon (An. 451) was convocated by the authority of the Emperor Marcian; as is expressed in the beginning of each action,‡ as the emperor declareth, as the synod itself, in the front of its Definition,‖ doth avow: "The holy, great, and œcumenical synod, gathered together by the grace of God and the command of our most dread emperors, &c. has determined as follows."

The fifth general synod (An. 533) was also congregated by the authority of Justinian I.;§ and the emperors letter authorizing it, beginneth (as we saw before) with an assertion (backed with a particular enumeration), that all former great synods were called by the same power: the Fathers themselves do say, that they had "come together according to the will of God, and the command of the most pious emperor."§

So little had the pope to do in it, that, as Baronius himself telleth us, it was congregated "against his will, or with his resistance."¶

The sixth general synod at Constantinople was also indicted by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus; as doth appear by his letters, as is intimated at the entrance of each action, as the synod doth acknowledge, as Pope Leo II. (in whose time it was concluded) doth affirm. The synod, in its Definition, as also in its Epistle to Pope Agatho, doth inscribe it-

* Σύνοδον ὁμοδόξων αὐτῷ συνεκάλεσε.—Soz. vii. 7; Socr. v. 8. Μόνης τῆς οἰκείας βασιλείας τοὺς ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν συναθροισθῆναι προσέταξεν. Theod. v. 7. Repugnante Damaso celebrata. &c.—*Baron.* ann. 553, § 224.

† Πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν σύνοδον συνιέναι ἐκέλευσεν.—Socr. vii. 34; Evagr. i. 3.

‡ Ἐκ θεσπίσματος τῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα.

‖ Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ θέσπισμα τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συγκροτηθεῖσα.—Syn. Eph. Act. i. p. 291. The holy synod assembled by the grace of God, according to the decree of our most religious emperors, &c. ——ἡ χάριτι Θεοῦ καὶ πνεύματι τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους συναχθεῖσα. p. 297. Τὰ προστεταγμένα τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ παρὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους, &c.—Act. v. p 347. Τοῖς ἀθροισθεῖσι κατὰ πρόσταγμα τῶν βασιλέων. p. 401. Ἥντινα σύνοδον οἱ Χριστιανικώτατοι καὶ φιλανθρωπότατοι βασιλεῖς ὥρισαν. Which synod our most Christian and gracious emperors appointed, saith Philip, the pope's legate.—*Act* iii. p. 330. Τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τῇ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων βασιλέων συναχθείσῃ ——. To the holy synod assembled by the grace of God, and the command of our emperors, &c. So do Cyril and Memnon inscribe their Epistle.—*Act.* iv. p. 337.

§ Ἐθεσπίσαμεν κατὰ ταῦτα συνελθόντων ὁσιοτάτων, &c.

* Τῷ αὐτῷ τύπῳ ἐγράφη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐλαβεστάτοις ἐπισκόποις ὥστε παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὴν σύνοδον. —Syn. Chalc. pars. i. p. 53.

† Episcopale consilium, quod haberi apud Ephesum præcepistis.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 25. (et 24.) *ad Theod.*

‡ Κατὰ θεῖον θέσπισμα συναθροισθεῖσα. Τὴν ἁγίαν ὑμῶν ἠθροίσαμεν σύνοδον.—(Act. vi. p. 345.)

‖ Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, καὶ θέσπισμα τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων καὶ φιλοχρίστων ἡμῶν βασιλέων συναχεῖσα —— ὥρισε τὰ ὑποτεταγμένα.—Act. vi. 346.

§ Pro Dei voluntate, et jussione piisimi imperatoris ad hanc urbem convenimus.—*Collat.* 8.

¶ Ut quæ resistente Romano pontifice fuerit congregata.—*Baron.* ann. 553, § 219.

‖ Act. p. 368; Gr. p. 309, Lat.

self, "The holy and œcumenical synod, congregated by the grace of God, and the altogether religious sanction of the most pious and most faithful great Emperor Constantine:"* and in their Definition they say, "By this doctrine of peace dictated by God, our most gracious emperor, through the divine wisdom being guided, as a defender of the true faith, and an enemy to the false, having gathered us together in this holy and œcumenical synod, has united the whole frame of the church,"† &c. In its acclamatory oration to the emperor, it saith, *Τοῖς θειοτάταις ὑμῶν προστάξεσιν εἴκοντος ὅτε τῆς πρεσβυτάτης καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκρομόλεως ἀρχιεραπικώτατος πρόεδρος καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐγάχιστοι*, &c. Act. xviii. p. 271. "We all acquiescing in your most sacred commands; both the most holy president of" (Rome) "the most ancient and apostolical city, and we the least," &c.‡

These are all the great synods which posterity with clear consent did admit as general: for the next two have been disclaimed by great churches (the seventh by most of the western churches, the eighth by the eastern), so that even divers popes after them did not reckon them for general councils;[h] and all the rest have been only assemblies of western bishops, celebrated after the breach between the oriental and occidental churches.

Yet even that second synod of Nice, which is called the seventh synod, doth avow itself to have "convened by the emperor's command;"|| and in the front of each action, as also of their synodical Definition, the same style is retained.

Hitherto it is evident, that all general synods were convocated by the imperial authority; and about this matter divers things are observable.

It is observable in how peremptory a manner the emperors did require the bishops to convene at the time and place appointed by them. Constantine, in his letter indicting the synod of Tyre, hath these words: "If any one presuming to violate our command and sense,"[i] &c.

Theodosius II. summoneth the bishops to the Ephesine synod in these terms: "We, taking a great deal of care about these things, will not suffer any one, if he be absent, to go unpunished; nor shall he find excuse either with God or us, who presently without delay does not by the time set appear in the place appointed."*

In like terms did he call them to the second Ephesine synod: "If any one shall choose to neglect meeting in a synod so necessary and grateful to God, and by the set time do not with all diligence appear in the place appointed, he shall find no excuse,"‡ &c.

Marcian thus indicteth the synod of Nice (after by him translated to Chalcedon:) "It properly seemeth good to our clemency, that an holy synod meet in the city of Nice, in the province of Bithynia"‡

Again we may observe, that in the imperial edicts, or epistles, whereby councils effectually were convened, there is nothing signified concerning the pope's having any authority to call them; it is

* Ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ἡ κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ πανευσεβὲς θέσπισμα τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ πιστοτάτου μεγάλου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναχθεῖσα.—Act. xviii. p. 255, 285, (in Epist. ad P. Agath.)

† Τούτῳ τῷ θεολέκτῳ τῆς εἰρήνης διδασκαλίᾳ θεοσόφως ὁ πραότατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς ὁδηγούμενος, ὁ τῆς μὲν ὀρθοδοξίας ὑπέρμαχος, τῆς δὲ κακοδοξίας ἀντίμαχος, τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγίαν ταύτην καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν ἀθροίσας δημήγυριν, τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπαν ἤνωσε συγκρίμα.—Act. xviii. p. 256, in Definitione Synodica.

‡ Καὶ γὰρ ἐπίγνωμεν ὅτι ἡ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος, ἥτις κατὰ Θεοῦ χάριν, τῷ βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἔναγχος ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι συνεθρόισθη πόλει—.P. Leo II. in Ep. ad Con. Imp. p. 305.

|| Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἡ κατ' εὐδοκίαν Θεοῦ, πρωτάξει τε τῆς φιλοχρίστου ὑμῶν βασιλείας συνελθοῦσα.—Act. vii. p. 831; i. 519; ii. 551; iii. 586; iv. 609; v. 696; vi. 722; vii. 812; Defin. Synod. Act. vii. p. 817.

[h] P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 247; P. Nic. I. Ep. 7, 8, 10; P. Hadr. II. Ep. 26.

* Καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων πολλὴν ποιούμενοι φροντίδα ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι οὐδένα φορητῶς ἀνεξόμεθα· οὐδεμίαν τε ἕξει πρὸς Θεὸν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπολογίαν, ὁ μὴ παραχρῆμα κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον καιρὸν, εἰς τὸν ἀφορισθέντα τόπον σπουδαίως παραγενόμενος.—Theod. Jun. Ep. ad Cyril. Conc. Eph. pars. i. p. 2. 6.

† Εἰ δέ τις τὴν οὕτως ἀναγκαίαν καὶ τῷ Θεῷ φίλην παριδεῖν ἔλοιτο σύνοδον, καὶ μὴ πάσῃ δυνάμει κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον καιρὸν τὸν ἀφορισθέντα καταλάβοι τόπον, οὐδεμίαν ἕξει πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐσέβειαν ἀπολογίαν.—Theod. in Ep. ad Dioec. in Conc. Chalc. Act. i. p. 53.

‡ Τοῦτο ἰδικῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἤρεσεν ἡμερότητι, ἵνα ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν τῇ Νικαιέων πόλει τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας συγκροτηθῇ.—In Epist. ad Episc. Syn. Chalc. pars. i. p. 34.

[i] Euseb. de Vit. Const. iv. 42; (*vide* in v. p. 20.)

not as by licence from the pope's holiness, but in their own name and authority they act: which were very strange, if the popes had any plea then commonly approved for such a power.

As commonly emperors did call synods by the suggestion of other bishops,* so again there be divers instances of popes applying themselves to the emperors with petitions to indict synods; wherein sometimes they prevailed, sometimes they were disappointed: so Pope Liberius did request of Constantius to indict a synod for deciding the cause of Athanasius. "Ecclesiastical judgment" (said he, as Theodoret reports) "should be made with great equity: wherefore, if it please your piety, command a judicatory to be constituted;"† and in his epistle to Hosius, produced by Baronius, he saith: "Many bishops out of Italy met together, who together with me had beseeched the most religious emperor that he would command, as he had thought fit, the council of Aquileia to meet."‡

So Pope Damasus, having a desire that a general synod should be celebrated in Italy for repressing heresies and factions then in the church, did obtain the imperial letters for that purpose directed to the eastern bishops, as they in their epistle to the western bishops do intimate: "But because expressing a brotherly affection toward us, ye have called us, as your own members, by the most pious emperor's letters, to that synod which by the will of God ye are gathering at Rome."‖

It is a wonder that Bellarmine should have the confidence to allege this passage for himself.ʲ

So again Pope Innocent I., being desirous to restore St. Chrysostom, "did" (as Sozomen telleth us*) "send five bishops and two priests of the Roman church to Honorius, and to Arcadius the emperor, requesting a synod, with the time and the place thereof:" in which attempt he suffered a repulse; for the courtiers of Arcadius did repel those agents, "as troubling another government which was beyond their bounds,"† or wherein the pope had nothing to do that they knew of.

So also Pope Leo I.‡ (whom no pope could well exceed in zeal to maintain the privileges and advance the eminence of his See) did in these terms request Theodosius to indict a synod: "Whence if your piety shall vouchsafe consent to our suggestion and supplication, that you would command an episcopal council to be held in Italy; soon, God aiding, may all scandals be cut off."‖ Upon this occasion the emperor did appoint a council (not in Italy, according to the pope's desire, but) at Ephesus; the which not succeeding well, Pope Leo again did address to Theodosius in these words: "All the churches of our parts, all bishops with groans and tears, do supplicate your grace, that you would command a general synod to be celebrated within Italy."§ To which request (although backed with the desire of the western emperor) Theodosius would by no means consent: for, as Leontius reporteth, "when Valentinian, being importuned by Pope Leo, did write to Theodosius II. that he would procure another synod to be held for examining whether Dioscorus had judged rightly or

* Κύριλλος —— εἰκότως ἐδέησε νεύμασι τοῦ νέου Θεοδοσίου τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς ἑώας διέποντος τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτην σύνοδον ἁλισθῆναι.—Evagr. i. 3.

† Διόπερ εἴ σου δοκεῖ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ κριτήριον συνασθῆναι κέλευσον.—Theod. ii. 16.

‡ Multi ex Italia episcopi convenerunt, qui mecum religiosissimum imperatorem fuerant deprecati, ut juberet sicut ipsi placuerat, dudum concilium Aquileiense congregari.—*Baron.* ann. 353, § 19.

‖ Ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τὴν ἀδελφικὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, σύνοδον ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης Θεοῦ βουλήσει συγκροτοῦντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς οἰκεῖα μέλη προσεκαλέσασθε, διὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως γραμμάτων.—Theod. v. 9.

ʲ Bell. de Pont. R. ii. 13.

* Πέπομφεν ἐπισκόπους πέντε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους δύο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρὸς Ὀνώριον, καὶ Ἀρκάδιον τὸν βασιλέα, σύνοδον αἰτήσοντας, καὶ καιρὸν ταύτης καὶ τόπον.—Soz. viii. 28.

† Ὡς ὑπερορίαν ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλήσαντας.—Ibid.

‡ Humiliter ac sapienter exposcite, ut petitioni nostræ, qua plenariam indici synodum postulamus, clementissimus imperator dignetur annuere (saith Pope Leo, to the clergy and people of Constantinople, *Ep.* 23.)

‖ Unde si pietas vestra suggestioni ac supplicationi nostræ dignetur annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis episcopale concilium, cito auxiliante Deo poterunt omnia scandala resecari.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 9.

§ Omnes partium ecclesiæ nostrarum, omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus et lacrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut generalem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 42.

no, Theodosius did write back to him, saying, I shall make no other synod."*

The same pope did again of the same emperor petition for a synod to examine the cause of Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople: "Let your clemency" (saith he) "be pleased to grant an universal council to be held in Italy; as with me the synod, which for this cause did meet at Rome, doth request." Thus did that pope continually harp upon one string, to get a general synod to be celebrated at his own doors; but never could obtain his purpose, the emperor being stiff in refusing it.

The same pope, with better success (as to the thing, though not as to the place), did request of the Emperor Marcian a synod;† for he (concurring in opinion that it was needful) "did," saith Liberatus, "at the petition of the pope and the Roman princes, command a general council to be congregated at Nice."‡

Now if the pope had himself a known right to convocate synods, what needed all this supplication, or this application to the emperors? Would not the pope have endeavoured to exercise his authority? would he not have clamoured or whined at any interruption thereof? Would so spiritful and sturdy a pope as Leo|| have begged that to be done by another, which he had authority to do of himself, when he did apprehend so great necessity for it, and was so much provoked thereto? Would he not at least have remonstrated against the injury therein done to him by Theodosius?

All that this daring pope could adventure at was to wind in a pretence, that the synod of Chalcedon was congregated by his consent; for, "It hath been the pleasure" (of whom? I pray) "that a general council should be congregated, both by the command of the Christian princes and with the consent of the apostolical see,"* saith he very cunningly; yet not so cunningly, but that any other bishop might have said the same for his See.

This power, indeed, upon many just accounts, peculiarly doth belong to princes; it suiteth to the dignity of their state, it appertaineth to their duty, they are most able to discharge it. They are the guardians of public tranquillity, which constantly is endangered, which commonly is violated, by dissensions in religious matters (whence we must pray for them, that by their care *we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty;*[k]) they alone can authorize their subjects to take such journeys, or meet in such assemblies; they alone can well cause the expenses needful for holding synods to be exacted and defrayed; they alone can protect them, can maintain order and peace in them, can procure observance to their determinations; they alone have a sword to constrain resty and refractory persons (and in no cases are men so apt to be such as in debates about these matters), to convene, to confer peaceably, to agree, to observe what is settled; they, as *nursing fathers of the church*, as *ministers of God's kingdom*, as *encouragers of all good works*,[l] as the stewards of God, intrusted with the great talents of power, dignity, wealth, enabling them to serve God, are obliged to cause bishops in such cases to perform their duty; according to the example of good princes in holy scripture, who are commended for proceedings of this nature: for so king Josias did convocate a general synod of the church in his time: *Then* (saith the text) *the king sent, and gathered together all the elders of Judah and Jerusalem.* In this synod he presided, *standing in his place, and making a*

* Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὀχλούμενος ὑπὸ Λέοντος τοῦ πάπα γράφει Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ μικρῷ, ἵνα ἐπιτρέψῃ σύνοδον γενέσθαι, εἰς τὸ γνῶναι εἰ καλῶς ἔκρινεν ὁ Διόσκορος ἢ οὐ· ὁ δὲ Θεοδόσιος ἀντέγραφεν αὐτῷ λέγων, ὅτι οὐ ποιῶ ἄλλην σύνοδον.—Leont. de Sect. Act. 4.

† Sanctum clementiæ vestræ studium, quo ad reparationem pacis ecclesiasticæ synodum habere voluistis, adeo libenter accepi, ut quamvis eam fieri intra Italiam poposcissem, &c.—*Leo*, Ep. 50. Poposceram quidem a gloriosissima clementia vestra, ut synodum, quam pro reparanda orientalis ecclesiæ pace a nobis etiam petitam necessariam judicastis, aliquantisper differi ad tempus opportunius juberetis——*P. Leo*, Ep. 43, 44, 50.

‡ Sed eo defuncto, cum martianus imperii culmen fuisset adeptus, pro illa papæ et principum Romanorum petitione universale concilium in Nicena congregari jussit.—*Lib. Brev.* cap. 13.

|| Fortissimus Leo.—*Liber.* cap. 12.

* —— in causa fidei, propter quam generale concilium et ex præcepto Christianorum principum, et ex consensu apostolicæ sedis placuit congregari.—*Ep.* 61.

[k] 1 Tim. ii. 2.

[l] Isa. xlix. 23; Wisd. vi. 4; Rom. xiii. 3.

covenant before the Lord; its resolutions he confirmed, *causing all that were present in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to that covenant:* and he took care of their execution, *making all present in Israel effectually to serve the Lord their God.*[m]

So also did king Hezekiah *gather the priests and Levites together*, did warn, did command them to do their duty, and reform things in the church: *My sons*, said he, *be not now negligent; for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and that ye should minister unto him, and burn incense.*[n]

Beside them none other can have reasonable pretence to such a power, or can well be deemed able to manage it: so great an authority cannot be exercised upon the subject of any prince, without eclipsing his majesty, infringing his natural rights, and endangering his state. He that at his pleasure can summon all Christian pastors, and make them trot about, and hold them when he will, is in effect emperor, or in a fair way to make himself so. It is not fit therefore that any other person should have all the governors of the church at his beck, so as to draw them from remote places whither he pleaseth; to put them on long and chargeable journeys; to detain them from their charge; to set them on what deliberations and debates he thinketh good. It is not reasonable that any one, without the leave of princes, should authorize so great conventions of men, having such interest and sway; it is not safe that any one should have such dependencies on him, by which he may be tempted to clash with princes, and withdraw his subjects from their due obedience. Neither can any success be well expected from the use of such authority by any, who hath not power by which he can force bishops to convene, to resolve, to obey; whence we see that Constantine, who was a prince so gentle and friendly to the clergy, was put to threaten those bishops who would absent themselves from the synod indicted by him at Tyre; and Theodosius (also "a very mild and religious prince") did the like in his summoning the two Ephesine synods.* We likewise may observe, that when the "pope and western bishops," in a synodical Epistle, "did invite those of the east to a great synod indicted at Rome, these did refuse the journey, alleging that it would be to no good purpose;"† so also when the western bishops did call those of the east, for resolving the difference between Flavianus and Paulinus, both pretending to be bishops of Antioch, what effect had their summons? And so will they always or often be ready to say, who are called at the pleasure of those who want force to constrain them: so that such authority in unarmed hands (and God keep arms out of the pope's hand!) will be only a source of discords.

Either the pope is a subject, as he was in the first times, and then it were too great a presumption for him to claim such a power over his fellow-subjects in prejudice to his sovereign (nor indeed did he presume so far, until he had in a manner shaken off subjection to the emperor;) or he is not a subject, and then it is not reasonable that he should have such power in the territories of another prince.

The whole business of general synods was an expedient for peace, contrived by emperors, and so to be regulated by their order. Hence even in times and places where the pope was most reverenced, yet princes were jealous of suffering the pope to exercise such a power over the bishops their subjects;‡ and to obviate it, did command all bishops not to stir out of their territories without licence; particularly our own nation, in the council at Clarendon, where it was decreed,‖ "That they should not go out of the kingdom without the king's leave."

To some things above said, a passage

[m] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29, &c.

[n] 2 Chron. xxix. 4, 15, 20, 21, &c., ver. 11.

* Τῇ πραότητι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀληθῶς ἱερωμένους ἐνίκα. ——ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος πρᾶος σφόδρα παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ὄντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.—Socr. vii. 42.

† Τὴν ἀποδημίαν παρῃτήσαντο ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν κέρδος.—Theod. v. 8. Ἔγραψεν αὐτοί τε, καί Γρατιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς, συγκαλοῦντες εἰς τὴν δόσιν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους.—Soz. vii. 11. Both they and Gratian the emperor wrote, calling the eastern bishops into the west.

‡ Philip of France.—*Bin.* tom. vii. p. 906. (an. 1302.)

‖ Decretum est —— non licere —— exire regnum absque licentia regis.—*Conc. Clarend.*; vide *Matt. Par.* ann. 1164.

may be objected which occurreth in the acclamation of the sixth synod to the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus; wherein it is said, that Constantine and Sylvester did collect the synod of Nice; Theodosius I. and Damasus (together with Gregory and Nectarius), the synod of Constantinople; Theodosius II., with Celestine and Cyril, the Ephesine synod;* and so of the rest. To which I answer, that the Fathers mean only for the honour of those prelates to signify, that they in their places and ways did concur and co-operate to the celebration of those synods; otherwise we might, as to matter of fact and history, contest the accurateness of their relation; and it is observable, that they join other great bishops, then flourishing, with the popes; so that if their suffrage prove any thing, it proveth more than our adversaries would have, viz. that all great bishops and patriarchs have a power or right to convocate synods.

As for passages alleged by our adversaries, that no synod could be called, or ecclesiastical law enacted, without consent of the pope, they are nowise pertinent to this question; for we do not deny that the pope had a right to sit in every general synod; and every other patriarch at least have no less; as all reason and practice do shew;† and as they of the seventh synod do suppose, arguing the synod of Constantinople, which condemned the worship of images, to be no general council, "because it had not the pope's co-operation, nor the consent of the eastern patriarchs."‡ Syncellus, the patriarch of Jerusalem's legate in the eighth synod, says, "For this reason did the Holy Spirit set up patriarchs in the world, that they might suppress scandals arising in the church of God:"* and Photius is in the same synod told, "That the judgment passed against him was most equal and impartial, as proceeding not from one, but all the four patriarchs."†

That a general synod doth not need a pope to call it, or preside in it, appeareth by what the synods of Pisa and Constance define, for provision in time of schisms.°

II. It inseparably doth belong to sovereigns in the general assemblies of their states to preside, and moderate affairs; proposing what they judge fit to be consulted or debated; stopping what seemeth unfit to be moved; keeping proceedings within order and rule, and steering them to a good issue; checking disorders and irregularities, which the distemper or indiscretion of any persons may create in deliberations or disputes.

This privilege, therefore, the pope doth claim; not allowing any general council to be legitimate, wherein he in person, or by his legates, doth not preside and sway. "All Catholics" (says Bellarmine) "teach this to be the chief pontiff's proper office, that either in person or by his legate he preside, and as chief judge moderate all."‡

But for this prerogative no express grant from God, no ancient canon of the church, no certain custom, can be produced.

Nor doth ancient practice favour the pope's claim to such a prerogative, it appearing that he did not exercise it in the first general synods.

St. Peter himself did not preside in the apostolical synod at Jerusalem, where he was present; but rather St. James, as we before have shewed.•

* Syn. Sext. Act. xviii. p. 272.—Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ δεισέβαστος, καὶ Σίλβεστρος ὁ δοίδιμος τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ μεγάλην τε καὶ περίβλεπτον συνέλεγεν σύνοδον. —— ἀλλ' ὁ μέγιστος βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος, καὶ Δάμασος ὁ δόξας τῆς πίστεως——Γρηγόριός τε καὶ Νεκτάριος τὸν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βασιλίδι πόλει συνήθροιζον σύλλογον. Πάλιν Νεστόριος, καὶ πάλιν Κελεστῖνος, καὶ Κύριλλος, ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Χριστὸν διήρει, καὶ κατεδίχαζεν, οἱ δὲ τῷ δεσπότῃ συλλαμβανόμενοι σὺν τῷ τῶν σκήπτρων δεσπόζοντι τὸν κατατομέα κατέβαλλον

† Ἀναγνωσθέντων τίνων συνοδικῶν τῶν διαγορευόντων μὴ δεῖν γίνεσθαι ποτὲ σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν παρεκτὸς συμφωνίας τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγιωτάτων πατριάρχων.—Anteacta Syn. Nic. II. p. 518.

‡ Οὐκ ἔσχε συνεργὸν τὸν τηνικαῦτα τῆς Ῥωμαίων τάξιν——καθὼς νόμος ἐστὶ ταῖς συνόδοις· ἀλλ' οὔτε συμφρονοῦντας αὐτὴ τοὺς πατριάρχας τῆς ἕω, &c.—Syn. 7, Act. vi. p. 725.

* Διὰ τοῦτο τὰς πατριαρχικὰς κεφαλὰς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἔθετο τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναφυόμενα σκάνδαλα δι' αὐτῶν ἀναφανίζωνται.—Syn. 8, Act. i. p. 930.

† Ἀπροσωπόληπτος ἡ κρίσις, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἑνὸν μόνου θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῶν τεσσάρων πατριαρχικῶν γινομένη.—Act. v. p. 945.

‡ Catholici omnes id munus proprium esse docent summi pontificis, ut per se, vel per legatos præsideat, et tanquam supremus judex omnia moderetur.—*Bell de Conc.* i. 19.

° Sess. xxxix. (p. 1109.)

• Acts xv.

In all the first synods, convocated by emperors, they did either themselves in person, or by honourable persons authorized by them, in effect preside, governing the proceedings.

In the synod of Nice, Constantine was the chief manager, director, and moderator of the transactions;* and under him other chief bishops did preside; but that the pope's legates had any considerable influence or sway there, doth by no evidence appear, as we shall hereafter out of history declare.

In the synod of Sardica (which in design was a general council, but in effect did not prove so, being divided by a schism into two great parts), Hosius, bishop of Corduba, did preside, or (by reason of his age and venerable worth) had the first place assigned to him, and bore the office of prolocutor: so the synod itself doth imply; "All we bishops" (say they in their Catholic Epistle) "meeting together, and especially the most ancient Hosius, who, for his age, and for his confession, and for that he hath undergone so much pains, is worthy all reverence;"† so Athanasius expressly doth call him: "The holy synod," saith he, "the prolocutor of which was the great Hosius, presently sent to them."‡ &c. The canons of the synod intimate the same, wherein he proposeth matters, and asketh the pleasure of the synod: the same is confirmed by the subscriptions of their general Epistle, wherein he is set before Pope Julius himself: ("Hosius from Spain, Julius of Rome, by the presbyters Archidamus and Philoxenus."||) In this all ecclesiastical histories do agree; none speaking of the pope's presiding there by his legates.

In the second general synod at Constantinople the pope had plainly no stroke; the oriental bishops alone did there resolve on matters, "being headed" by their patriarchs (of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem), as Sozomen saith; "being guided by Nectarius and St. Gregory Nazianzen,"* as the council of Chalcedon in its Epistle to the emperor doth aver.

In the third general synod at Ephesus, Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, did preside, as Pope Leo himself doth testify: he is called "the head of it,"† in the Acts.

We may note, that the bishop of the place where the synod is held did bear a kind of presidency in all synods;[q] so did St. James, bishop of Jerusalm, in the first synod, as St. Chrysostom noteth; so did Protogenes at Sardica, and Nectarius at Constantinople, and Memnon in this of Ephesus.

It is true, that according to the acts of that synod, and the reports of divers historians, Pope Celestine (according to a new politic device of popes) did authorize Cyril to represent his person, and act as his proctor in those affairs; assigning to him, as he saith, "jointly both the authority of his throne" (that is, his right of voting), "and the order of his place" (the first place in sitting;) but it is not consequent thence, that Cyril upon that sole account did preside in the synod.‡ He thereby had the disposal of one so considerable suffrage, or a legal concurrence of the pope with him in his actings; he thereby might pretend to the first place of sitting and subscribing (which kind of advantages it appeareth that some bishops had in synods by the

* Προεδίδου τὸν λόγον τοῖς προέδροις.—Euseb. iii. 13.

† Πάντων ἡμῶν συνελθόντων ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ εὐγηροτάτου Ὁσίου, τοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸν τοσοῦτον κάματον ὑπομεμενηκέναι, πάσης αἰδοῦς ἄξιον τυγχάνοντος, &c —Athan. Apol. ii. p. 761.

‡ Εὐθὺς ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, ἧς προήγορος ἦν ὁ μέγας Ὅσιος, ἔγραψεν αὐτοῖς, &c.—Athan. ad Solit. p. 819. Ἀμέλει Ὅσιος, καὶ πρωτογένης, οἳ τότε ὑπῆρχον ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνεληλυθότων——. Soz. xii. 13. Τῶν ἐν Σαρδικῇ συνεληλυθότων πρωτεύσας.—Theod. ii. 15. Τῶν μὲν Ὅσιος ἐξῆρχε τῆς γνώμης ——. Syn. Chalc. ad Imp. Marc. p. 468.

|| Ὅσιος ἀπὸ Σπανίας, Ἰούλιος Ῥώμης δι' Ἀρχιδάμου, καὶ Φιλοξένου πρεσβυτέρων, &c. apud Athan. p. 767.

* Baron. ann, 553, § 224. Ἡγοῦντο. Soz. vii. 7. Τῶν δὲ Νεκτάριος σὺν Γρηγορίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἤρατο.—Conc. Chalc. in Epist. ad Imp. Marc. (p. 469.)

† Prioris Ephesinæ synodi, cui sanctæ memoriæ Cyrillus episcopus tunc præsedit.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 47. Κεφαλὴ τῶν συνειλεγμένων ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων Κύριλλος.—Relat. Act. Eph. cap. 60.

‡ Συναφθείσης σοι τῆς αὐθεντίας τοῦ ἡμετέρου θρόνου, καὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τοῦ τόπου διαδοχῇ.—Celest. ad Cyril. Relat. cap. 16. *N.* Yet the Fathers in their Epistle to Pope Celestine do only take notice of Arcadius, Projectus, and Philippus supplying his place.—*Act.* p. 353.

[q] Digress.

virtue of the like substitution in place of others), but he thence could have no authoritative presidency; for that the pope himself could by no delegation impart, having himself no title thereto warranted by any law or by any precedent; that depended on the emperor's will, or on the election of the Fathers, or on a tacit regard to personal eminence in comparison to others present: this distinction Evagrius seemeth to intimate, when he saith, that the divine Cyril did "administer it, and the place of Celestine"* (where a word seemeth to have fallen out:) and Zonaras more plainly doth express, saying, that "Cyril, Pope of Alexandria, did preside over the orthodox Fathers, and also did hold the place of Celestine:"† and Photius; "Cyril did supply the seat and the person of Celestine."‡ If any latter historians do confound these things, we are not obliged to comply with their ignorance or mistake.

Indeed as to presidency there we may observe, that sometime it is attributed to Cyril alone, as being the first bishop present, and bearing a great sway; sometimes to Pope Celestine, as being in representation present, and being the first bishop of the church in order; sometimes to both Cyril and Celestine; sometimes to Cyril and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, who, as being very active, and having great influence on the proceedings are styled the presidents and rulers of the synod.|| The which sheweth, that presidency was a lax thing, and no peculiarity in right or usage annexed to the pope; nor did altogether depend on his grant or representation, to which Memnon had no title.

The pope himself and his legates are divers times in the Acts said *συνεδρεύειν*, "to sit together" with the bishops; which confidence doth not well comport with his special right to presidency.*

Yea, it is observable, that the oriental bishops, which with John of Antioch did oppose the Cyrilian party in that synod, did charge on Cyril, that "he (as if he lived in a time of anarchy) did proceed to all irregularity;"† and that "snatching to himself the authority, which neither was given him by the canons, nor by the emperor's sanctions, did rush on to all kind of disorder and unlawfulness;"‡ whence it is evident, that, in the judgment of those bishops (among whom were divers worthy and excellent persons),|| the pope had no right to any authoritative preisdency.

This word "presidency" indeed hath an ambiguity, apt to impose on those who do not observe it; for it may be taken for a privilege of precedence, or for authority to govern things: the first kind of presidence the pope without dispute, when present at a synod, would have had among the bishops, (as being the bishops of the first see,"◊ as the sixth synod calleth him; and "the first of priests,"¶ as Justinian calleth him;) and in his absence his legates might take up his chair (for in general synods each see had its chair assigned to it, according to its order of dignity by custom.) And according to

* Κυρίλλου τοῦ θεσπεσίου διέποντος καὶ τὸν Κελεστίνου τόπον.—Evagr. i. 4.

† Προεστημένου τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Κυρίλλου πάπα Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἐπέχοντος δὲ καὶ τὸν τόπον Κελεστίνου.—Zon. in Syn. Eph. can. 1.

‡ Τοῦ Ῥώμης Κελεστίνου ἐπλήρου τὴν καθέδραν καὶ πρόσωπον.

|| Ἧς ἡγεῖτο ὁ μακάριος πατὴρ ἡμῶν Κύριλλος.—Conc. Chalc. Act. iv. p. 302. Συνόδου καθηγητής.—Cler. Const. in Syn. Eph. p. 418. Cui præfuit Cyrillus.—*Syn. Chalc* Act. i. p. 173. Ἧς ἡγεμόνες οἱ ἁγιώτατοι Κελεστῖνος καὶ Κύριλλος.—Syn. Chalc. Defin. in Act. v. p. 338; iv. p. 300. The bishops of Isauria to the Emperor Leo, say, that Cyril was partaker with Pope Celestine. &c. Dum. B. Celestino incolumis ecclesiæ Romanorum particeps ——. *Part.* 3, *Syn Chalc.* p. 522. Τῆς συνόδου πρόεδροι.—Eph. Act. iv. p. 338. (p. 420, 422.) Πρόεδροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Act. v. p. 347. Ἡμέτεροι πρόεδροι.—Relat. Syn. p. 406. Ἔξαρχοι τῆς συνόδου.—Relat. p. 411.

* Σύνοδος ἣ συνεδρεύει καὶ ὁ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης ἀρχιεπίσκοπος.—Relat. ad Imp. p. 422. Συνεδρευσάντων ἀπὸ τῆς ἑσπέρας, &c —Act. ii. p. 322. Τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον συνεδρεύοντα ἡμῖν.—Act. iv. p. 340.

† Ὡς ἐν ἀβασιλεύτοις καιροῖς χωρεῖ πρὸς πᾶσαν παρανομίαν ——.

‡ Ἁρπάσας ἑαυτῷ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τὴν μήτε παρὰ τῶν κανόνων αὐτῷ δεδομένην, μήτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων θεσπισμάτων, ὁρμᾷ πρὸς πᾶν εἶδος ἀταξίας καὶ παρανομίας.—Relat. ad Imper. Act. Eph. p 380.

|| The bishops of Syria being then the most learned in the world; as John of Antioch doth imply, p. 377.

◊ Πρωτόθρονος τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Syn. vi. p. 285. Τῶν τε συνθρόνων αὐτῷ μετ'αὐτὴν ἁγιωτάτων πατριαρχῶν.—Ibid. p. 297.

¶ Πρῶτος ἱερέων.—Justin. Cod. tit.1.

this sense the patriarchs and chief metropolitans are also often (singly or conjunctly) said to preside, as sitting in one of the first chairs.

But the other kind of presidency was (as those bishops in their complaint against Cyril do imply, and as we shall see in pratice) disposed by the emperor, as he saw reason; although usually it was conferred on him who, among those present, in dignity did precede the rest: this is that authority, αὐθεντία, which the Syrian bishops complained against Cyril for assuming to himself, without the emperor's warrant, and whereof we have a notable instance in the next general synod at Ephesus. For,

In the second Ephesine synod (which in design was a general synod, lawfully convened, for a public cause of determining truth and settling peace in the church; but which by some miscarriages proved abortive), although the pope had his legates there, yet by the emperor's order Dioscorus, bishop of Alexandria, did preside: "We" (saith Theodosius in his Epistle to him) "do also commit to thy godliness the authority and the preeminency of all things appertaining to the synod now assembled:"* and in the synod of Chalcedon it is said of him, "he had received the authority of all affairs, and of judgment:"† and Pope Leo I. in his Epistle to the emperor saith, that Dioscorus did "challenge to himself the principal place;"‡ (insinuating a complaint, that Dioscorus should be preferred before him, although not openly contesting his right.)

The emperor had indeed some reason not to commit the presidency to Pope Leo, because he was looked upon as prejudiced in the cause, having declared in favour of Flavianus, against Eutyches; whence Eutyches declined his legate's interessing in the judgement of his cause, saying, "They were suspected to him, because they were entertained by Flavianus with great regard."* And Dioscorus, being bishop of the next See, was taken for more indifferent, and otherwise a person (however afterward it proved) of much integrity and moderation: "He did" (saith the emperor) "shine by the grace of God, both in honesty of life, and orthodoxy of faith;"† and Theodoret himself, before those differences arose, doth say of him, that he was by common fame "reported a man adorned with may other kinds of virtue, and that especially he was celebrated for his moderation of mind."‡

It is true, that the legates of Pope Leo did take in dudgeon this preferment of Dioscorus; and (if we may give credence to Liberatus) "would not sit down in the synod, because the presession was not given to their holy See;" and afterwards, in the synod of Chalcedon, the pope's legate, Paschasinus (together with other bishops), did complain that Dioscorus was preferred before the bishop of Constantinople:§ but notwithstanding those ineffectual mutinies, the emperor's will did take place, and according thereto Dioscorus had (although he did not use it so wisely and justly as he should) the chief managery of things.

It is to be observed, that to other chief bishops the presidency in that synod is also ascribed, by virtue of the emperor's appointment: "Let the most reverend bishops" (say the imperial commissaries in the synod of Chalcedon), "to whom the authoritative management of affairs was by the royal sovereignty granted, speak why the epistle of the most holy

* Καὶ μὴν (συνῆν) καὶ Ἰούλιος ἐπίσκοπος τόπον πληρῶν Λέοντος, τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου.——Evag. i. 10. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν ἀνηκόντων τῇ νῦν συναθροιζομένῃ συνόδῳ τὴν αὐθεντίαν, καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα τῇ σῇ θεοσεβείᾳ παρέχομεν. —Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 59.

† Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πάντων εἰληφὼς πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς κρίσεως.—Ibid. p. 160. Ἧς ἔξαρχος καθεστήκει Διόσκαρος.—Evag. i. 10.

‡ ——Si is qui sibi locum principalem vindicabat, sacerdotalem moderationem custodire voluisset ——*Leo I.* Ep. 25, 26, &c.

* Ὑποπτοί μοι γεγόνασι, &c.—Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 80.

† —— τῇ σῇ ἁγιωσύνῃ ἐλλαμπόμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν ἐπί τε τῇ τοῦ βίου σεμνότητι, καὶ τῇ ὀρθοτάτῃ πίστει.—Theod. Ep. ad Diosc. in Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 59.

‡ Πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις εἴδεσιν ἀρετῶν κοσμεῖσθαι τὴν σὴν ἁγιωσύνην ἀκούομεν—οὐκ ἧκιστα δὲ ἅπαντες ἄδουσι τὸ τοῦ φρονήματος μέτριον.—Theod. Ep. 60.

|| Ecclesiæ Romanæ diaconi, vices habentes P. Leonis assidere non passi sunt, eo quod non data fuerit præsessio sanctæ sedi eorum.—*Liber.* cap. 12.

§ Πασχασῖνος εἶπεν—ἧδε ἡμεῖς Θεοῦ θέλοντος Κύριον τὸν Ἀνατόλιον πρῶτον ἔχομεν· οὗτοι πέμπτον ἔτοξαν τὸν μακάριον Φλαυιανόν.—Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 62.

Archbishop Leo was not read;"* and "You" (say they again), "to whom the power of judging was given;"† and of Dioscorus, Juvenalis (bishop of Jerusalem), Thalassius (of Cæsarea), Eusebius (of Ancyra), Eustathius (of Beristus), Basilius (of Seleucia), it is by the same commissioners said, that they "had received the authority, and did govern the synod which was then;"‡ and Elpidius, the emperor's agent in the Ephesine synod itself, did expressly style them "presidents;" and Pope Leo himself calleth them "presidents and primates of the synod."||

Whence it appeareth, that at that time, according to common opinion and practice, authoritative presidency was not affixed to the Roman chair.

In the synod of Chalcedon, Pope Leo did indeed assume to himself a kind of presidency by his legates;§ and no wonder that a man with a stout and ardent spirit (impregnated with high conceits of his See, and resolved with all his might to advance its interests, as his legates themselves did in effect declare to the world) should do so; having so favourable a time, by the misbehaviour of Dioscorus and his adherents; against whom the clergy of Constantinople, and other Fathers of the synod, being incensed, were ready to comply with Leo (who had been the champion and patron of their cause), in allowing him extraordinary respect, and whatever advantages he could pretend to.

Yet in effect, the emperor by his commissioners did preside there;[r] they propounding and allowing matters to be discussed; moderating debates by their interlocution, and driving them to an issue; maintaining order and quiet in proceedings; performing those things which the pope's legates at Trent or otherwhere, in the height of his power, did undertake.

To them supplicatory addresses were made for succour and redress by persons needing it; as, for instance, "Command" (said Eusebius of Dorylæum) "that my supplications may be read."*

Of them leave is requested for time to diliberate: "Command" (saith Atticus, in behalf of other bishops) "that respite be given, so that within a few days, with a calm mind, and undisturbed reason, those things may be formed which shall be pleasing to God and the holy Fathers."†

Accordingly they order the time for consultation; "Let" (say they "the hearing be deferred for five days, that in the mean time your holiness may meet at the house of the most holy Archbishop Anatolius, and deliberate in common about the faith, that the doubtful may be instructed."‡

They were acknowledged judges, and had thanks given them for the issue by persons concerned: "I" (saith Eunomius, bishop of Nicomedia) "do thank your honour for your right judgment."|| And in the cause between Stephanus and Bassianus concerning their title to the bishopric of Ephesus, they having declared their sense, "the holy synod cried, This is right judgment; Christ hath decided the case, God judgeth by you;"§ and in the result, upon their declaring their opinion, "the whole synod exclaim-

* Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἷς ἡ ἀσθενεία τότε τῶν πραττομένων παρὰ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐδίδοτο κορυφῆς, λεγέτωσαν ——. Ibid. p. 65.

† Ὑμεῖς, οἷς ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ δικάζειν ἐδέδοτο ——. Ibid. p. 77.

‡ Τοὺς ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότας, καὶ ἐξάρχοντας τῆς τότε συνόδου ——. Act. ii. p. 202; iv. 288. (Evagr. 24, ἔξαρχοι.) Κοινῆς ἁπάντων φωνῆς συνθεμένης τε καὶ εὐφημησάσης τὴν ὑμῶν τῶν προεδρευσάντων ψῆφον ——. Ibid. p. 70.

|| Siquidem pene omnes, qui in consensum præsidentium aut traducti fuerant, aut coacti. —*Leo.* Ep. 51. Ibi primates synodi nec resistentibus, &c.—*P. Leo I. Ep.*

§ In his fratribus—me synodo vestræfraternitas existimet præsidere.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 47. Ὦν σὺ μὲν ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν ἡγεμόνευες, ἐν τοῖς τὴν σὴν τάξιν ἐπέχουσι.—Syn. Chalc. Epist. ad Leon. p. 473.

[r] Act. i. p. 50, 202; ii. 211.

* Κελεύσατε τὰς δεήσεις τὰς ἐμὰς ἀναγνωσθῆναι.—Act. i. p. 50.

† Κελεύσατε ἐνδοθῆναι ἡμῖν, ὥστε ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀκυμάντῳ διανοίᾳ καὶ ἀταράχῳ λογισμῷ τὰ τῷ Θεῷ δοκοῦντα καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσι τυπωθῆναι.—Act. i. p. 219.

‡ Ὑπετεθήσεται ἡ ἀκρόασις ἕως ἡμερῶν πέντε, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ συνελθεῖν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἁγιωσύνην εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀνατολίου, καὶ κοινῶς περὶ τῆς πίστεως βουλεύσασθαι, ἵνα οἱ ἀμφιβάλλοντες διδαχθῶσι.—Act. iv. p. 289.

|| Εὐχαριστῶ τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ὑμῶν.—Act. xiii. p. 420.

§ Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐδόησεν, Αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, ὁ Χριστὸς ἐδίκασε τῇ ὑπνοθέσει, ὁ Θεὸς δι' ὑμῶν δικάζει. —Act. xii. p. 409.

ed, This is a right judgment, this is a pious order."*

When the bishops, transported with eagerness and passion, did tumultuously clamour, they gravely did check them, saying, "These vulgar exclamations neither become bishops, nor shall advantage the parties."†

In the great contest about the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see, they did arbitrate and decide the matter, even against the sense and endeavours of the pope's legates;‡ the whole synod concurring with them in these acclamations, "This is a right sentence; we all say these things; these things please us all; things are duly ordered: let the things ordered be held."||

The pope's legates themselves did avow this authority in them; for, "If" (saith Paschasinus, in the case of the Egyptian bishops) "your authority doth command, and ye enjoin that somewhat of humanity be granted to them," &c.§

And in another case, "If," said the bishops, "supplying the place of the apostolical see, your honours do command, we have an information to suggest."¶

Neither is the presidency of these Roman legates expressed in the Conciliar Acts; but they are barely said *συνελθεῖν* (to concur), and *συνεδρεύειν* (to sit together), with the other Fathers:• and accordingly, although they sometimes talked high, yet it is not observable that they did much there; their presidency was nothing like that at Trent, and in other like papal synods. It may be noted, that the emperor's deputies are always named in the first place, at the entrance of the Acts, before the pope's legates, so that they who directed the notaries were not popish. In effect, the the emperor was president, though not as a judge of spiritual matters, yet as an orderer of the conciliar transactions; as the synod doth report it to Leo: "The faithful emperors" (said they) "did preside" (or govern it) "for good order sake."*

In the fifth general synod, Pope Vigilius indeed was moved to be present, and (in his way) to preside; but he, out of state or policy, declined it;† wherefore the patriarch of Constantinople was the ecclesiastical president, as in the beginning of every collation doth appear: whence clearly we may infer that the pope's presidency is nowise necessary to the being of a general council.

In the sixth general synod the emperor in each Act is expressly said to preside, in person, or by his deputies;‡ although Pope Agatho had his legates there.

In the synod of Constance sometimes the cardinal of Cambray, sometimes of Hostia, did preside (by order of the synod itself), and sometimes the king of the Romans did supply that place;|| so little essential was the pope's presidency to a council deemed even then, when papal authority had mounted to so high a pitch.

Nor is there good reason why the pope should have this privilege, or why this prerogative should be affixed to any one See; so that (if there be cause; as if the pope be unfit, or less fit; if princes or the church cannot confide in him; if he be suspected of prejudice or partiality; if he be party in causes or controversies to be decided; if he do himself need correction) princes may not assign, or the church with allowance of princes may not choose any other president, more proper in their judgment for that charge:

* Πᾶσα ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐδόησεν, Αὕτη δικαία κρίσις, οὗτος εὐσεβὴς τόπος.—Ibid. p. 414.

† Αἱ ἐκβοήσεις αἱ δημοτικαὶ οὔτε ἐπισκόποις πρέπουσιν, οὔτε τὰ μέρη ὠφελήσουσιν.—Act. i. p 55.

‡ —— κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον.—Syn. Chalc. ad Leon. Ep. p. 475.

|| Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐδόησαν, αὕτη δικαία ψῆφος, ταῦτα πάντες λέγομεν, ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει, πάντα δεόντως ἐτυπώθη, τὰ τυπωθέντα κρατείτω.—Act. xvi. p. 464.

§ Εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐξουσία, καὶ κελεύετε τί ποτε αὐτοῖς παρασχεσθῆναι φιλανθρωπίας ἐχόμενον ——. Act. iv. p. 315.

¶ Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἐπίσχοντες τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου εἶπον· εἰ προστάττει ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλειότης, ἔχομεν διδασκαλίαν ὑποβαλεῖν. —Act. xvi. p. 451.

• Act. v. vii. viii. p. 366; ix. xi. xiii. xiv.; iii. (p. 230.)

* Βασιλεῖς δὲ πιστοὶ πρὸς εὐκοσμίαν ἐξῆρχον.—Relat. Syn. ad Leon. 473.

‡ Ideo petimus præsidente nobis vestra beatitudine, sub tranquillitate, et mansuetudine sacerdotali, sanctis propositis evangeliis, communi tractatu, &c.—*Coll.* i. p. 212, (*et in Const. Vigil.*)

‡ Προκαθημένου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου, &c.

|| Dominus Rom. rex indutus vestibus regalibus recessit de sede sua solita, et transivit ad aliam sedem positam in fronte altaris, tanquam præsidens pro tunc in concilio.—*Syn. Const.* sess. xiv. (p. 1044.)

in such cases the public welfare of church and state is to be regarded.

Were an erroneous pope (as Vigilius or Honorius) fit to govern a council, gathered to consult about defining truth in the matter of their error?

Were a lewd pope (as Alexander VI., John XII., Paul III., innumerable such, scandalously vicious) worthy to preside in a synod convocated to prescribe strict laws of reformation?

Were a furious pugnacious pope (as Julius II. ——) apt to moderate an assembly drawn together for settlement of peace?

Were a pope engaged in schism (as many have been) a proper moderator of a council designed to suppress schism?

Were a Gregory VII., or an Innocent IV., or a Boniface VIII., an allowable manager anywhere of controversies about the papal authority?

Were now, indeed, any pope fit to preside in any council wherein the reformation of the church is concerned, it being notorious that popes, as such, do most need reformation, that they are the great obstructers of it, that all Christendom hath a long time a controversy with them for their detaining it in bondage?

In this and many other cases we may reject their presidency, as implying iniquity, according to the rule of an old pope, "I would know of them, where they would have that judgment they pretend, examined? What! by themselves? that the same may be adversaries, witnesses, and judges? To such judgment as this even human affairs are not to be trusted, much less the integrity of the divine law?"*

It is not reasonable that any person should have such a prerogative, which would be an engine of mischief: for thereby (bearing sway in general assemblies of bishops) he would be enabled and irresistibly tempted to domineer over the world; to abuse princes and disturb states; to oppress and enslave the church; to obstruct all reformation; to enact laws; to promote and establish errors serviceable to his interests:[t] the which effects of such power, exercised by him in the synod of Trent, and in divers other of the later general synods, experience hath declared.

III. If the Pope were sovereign of the church, the legislative power, wholly or in part, would belong to him; so far, at least, that no synod, or ecclesiastical consistory, could, without his consent, determine or prescribe any thing; his approbation would be required to give life and validity to their decrees; he should at least have a negative, so that nothing might pass against his will: this is a most essential ingredient of sovereignty; and is therefore claimed by the pope, who long hath pretended that no decrees of synods are valid without his consent and confirmation.

"But the decrees made by the holy popes of the chief see of the Roman church, by whose authority and sanction all synods and holy councils are strengthened and established, why do you say, that you do not receive and observe them?"*

"Lastly, as you know nothing is accounted valid, or to be received in universal councils, but what the see of St. Peter has approved; so, on the other side, whatever she alone has rejected, that only is rejected."†

"We never read of any synod that was valid, unless it were confirmed by the apostolic authority."‡

"We trust no true Christian is now ignorant, that no See is above all the rest more obliged to observe the constitution of each council, which the consent of the universal church hath approved, than the prime See, which, by its authority, confirms every synod, and by

* Quæro tamen ab his, judicium quod prætendunt, ubinam possit agitari, an apud ipsos, ut iidem sint inimici, et testes, et judices? Sed tali judicio nec humana debent committi negotia, nedum divinæ legis integritas.—*P. Gel.* Ep. 4.

* Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes synodi, et sancta concilia roborantur et stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere, vel observare dicitis?—*Papa Nic. I* Ep. 6. (*ad Photium.*)

† Denique ut in universalibus conciliis, quid ratum vel quid prorsus acceptum, nisi quod se sedes B. Petri probavit (ut ipsi scitis) habetur; sicut e contrario quod ipsa sola reprobavit, hoc solummodo consistat hactenus reprobatum.—*P. Nich. I.* Ep. 7.

‡ —— Nulla quam synodus rata legatur, quæ apostolica auctoritate non fuerit fulta.—*P. Pelag.* ii. Epist. 8. (*Dist.* 17.)

[t] Nic. II. Lugd. Lat. IV. V.

continued moderating, preserves them according to its principality,"* &c.

But this pretence, as it hath no ground in the divine law, or in any old canon, or in primitive custom; so it doth cross the sentiments and practice of antiquity; for that in ancient synods divers things were ordained without the pope's consent, divers things against his pleasure.

What particular or formal confirmation did St. Peter yield to the assembly at Jerusalem?

That in some of the first general synods he was not apprehended to have any negative voice, is by the very tenor and air of things, or by the little regard expressed toward him, sufficiently clear. There is not in the synodical Epistles of Nice or of Sardica any mention of his confirmation.

Interpretatively all those decrees may be supposed to pass without his consent, which do thwart these pretences; for if these are now good, then of old they were known and admitted for such; and being such, we cannot suppose the pope willingly to have consented in derogation to them.

Wherefore the Nicene canons establishing ecclesiastical administrations without regard to him, and in authority equalling other metropolitians with him, may be supposed to pass without his consent.

The canons of the second general council, and of all others confirming those; as also the canons of all synods which advanced the see of Constantinople, his rival for authority, above its former state, first to a proximity in order, then to an equality of privileges with the see of Rome, may, as plainly contrary to his interest and spirit, be supposed to pass without his consent:† and so divers popes have affirmed. If we may believe Pope Leo (as I suppose), the canons of the second council were not transmitted to Rome: they did therefore pass, and obtain in practice of the catholic church, without its consent or knowledge. Pope Gregory I. saith, "that the Roman Church did not admit them:"* wherein it plainly discorded with the catholic church, which with all reverence did receive and hold them: and in despite to the canon of that synod, advancing the royal city to that eminency, Pope Gelasius I. would not admit it for so much as a metropolitian see.† O proud insolency! O contentious frowardness! O rebellious contumacy against the catholic church and its peace! (Such was the humour of that See, to allow nothing which did not suit with the interests of its ambition.)

But further, divers synodical decrees did pass expressly against the pope's mind and will: I pass over those at Tyre, at Antioch, at Ariminium, at Constantinople, in divers places of the east (the which do yet evince that commonly there was no such opinion entertained of this privilege belonging to the pope), and shall instance only in general synods.

In the synod of Chalcedon "equal privileges" were assigned to the bishop of Constantinople, as the bishop of Rome had;‡ this, with a general concurrence, "was decreed and subscribed," although the "pope's legates did earnestly resist, clamour, and protest against it;"|| the imperial commissioners and all

* Confidimus quod nullus jam veraciter Christianus ignoret uniuscujusque synodi constitutum, quod universalis ecclesiæ probavit assensus, non aliquam magis exequi sedem præ cæteris oportere, quam primam; quæ et unamquamque synodum sua auctoritate confirmat, et continuata moderatione custodit, pro suo scilicet principatu, &c.—*P. Gelas I.* Ep. 13. (*ad Episc. Dard.*) *vide* p. 647, Tract. de Anath. God hath promised to bless particular synods.—*Matt.* xviii. 19.

† Persuasioni tuæ in nullo penitus suffragatur quorundam episcoporum ante 60, ut jactas, annos, nunquamque a prædecessoribus tuis ad ostolicæ sedis transmissa notitiam ——. *Leo* Ep. 53. (*ad Anat.*) Conc. Constant. can. 3; Concil. Chalc. can. 9, 17, 28; Syn. Trull. can. 36.

* Romana autem ecclesia eosdem canones vel gesta synodi illius hactenus non habet, nec accipit; in hoc autem eandem synodum accepit quod est per eam contra Macedonium definitum.—*P. Greg. M.* Ep. vi. 31. The same Pope Leo I. doth affirm.—*Ep.* 53.

† —— ejus civitatis quæ non solum inter sedes numeratur, sed nec inter metropolitanorum jura censetur, &c.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13. (*ad Episc. Dard.*)

‡ Ἴσα πρεσβεῖα. Πάντα ἡ σύνοδος ἐκύρωσε.—(in fine Auctorum. p. 464.)

|| Inde enim fratres nostri, ab apostolica sede directi, qui vice mea synodo præsidebant, probabiliter atque constanter illicitis ausibus obstiterunt, aperte reclamantes, &c.—*Leo I.* Ep. 53, 54. Οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι ἔδοξαν, οὐδεὶς ἠναγκάσθη.—(Act. xvi p. 469, against P. Leo's assertion, that the consent was extorted.) Τὸ ἐκ πολλοῦ τραπεῖσαν ἔθος——κατὰ συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον, say the Fathers to Pope Leo (p

the bishops not understanding or not allowing the pope's negative voice.

And whereas Pope Leo (moved with a jealousy, that he who thus had obtained an equal rank with him should aspire to get above him) did fiercely dispute, exclaim, inveigh, menace against this order, striving to defeat it, pretending to annul it, labouring to depress the bishop of Constantinople from that degree, which both himself and his legates in the synod had acknowledged due to him;* in which endeavour divers of his successors did imitate him: "Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum, said, I have willingly subscribed, because I have read this canon to the most holy pope of Rome, the clergy of Constantinople being present, and he received it."*

Yet could not he or they accomplish their design; the veneration of that synod and consent of Christendom overbearing their opposition; the bishop of Constantinople sitting in all the succeeding general synods in the second place, without any contrast; so that at length popes were fain to acquiesce in the bishop of Constantinople's possession of the second place in dignity among the patriarchs.

In the fifth general synod Pope Vigilius did make a constitution, in most express terms, prohibiting the condemnation of the "three chapters" (as they are called), and the anathematization of persons deceased in peace of the church: "We dare not ourselves" (says he) "condemn Theodorus, neither do we yield to have him condemned by any other;"† and in the same constitution he orders and decrees, "That nothing be said or done by any to the injury or discredit of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, a man most approved in the synod of Chalcedon:"‡ "and the same" (says he) "have the decrees of the apostolical see determined, that no man pass a new judgment upon persons dead, but leave them as death found them.* Lastly, by that constitution he specially provides, that (as he had before said) nothing might be derogated from persons dying in the peace and communion of the universal church, by his condemning that perverse opinion."†

Yet did the synod (in smart terms reflecting on the pope, and giving him the lie, not regarding his opinion or authority) deeree, that persons deceased were liable to be anathematized; they did anathematize Theodorus, they did expressly condemn each of the "chapters;"‡ they threatened deposition or excommunication on whoever should oppose their constitution; they anathematize whoever doth not anathematize Theodorus.||

But Pope Vigilius did refuse to approve their doctrine and sentence; and therefore (which was the case of many other bishops, as Baronius himself doth con-

475.) By a synodical vote we have confirmed this ancient custom.

* Εὐσέβιος ἐπίσκοπος Δορυλαίου εἶπεν· ἑκὼν ὑπεγραψα· ἐπειδὰν καὶ τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πάπᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐγὼ ἀνέγνων, παρόντων κληρικῶν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ ἀπεδέξατο αὐτόν.—Syn. Chalc. Act xvi. (p. 462), supra.

† Eum (Theodorum) nostra non audemus damnare sententia, sed nec ab alio quopiam condemnari concedimus.—*Vig. Const.* p. 186.

‡ Statuimus atque decernimus nihil in injuriam atque obtrectationem probatissimi in Chalcedonensi synodo viri, hoc est Theodoreti episcopi Cyri, sub taxatione nominis ejus a quoquam fieri vel proferri.—*Ibid.*

* Ep. 53, 54, 55, 61, 62.

* Idemque regulariter apostolicæ sedis definiunt constituta, nulli licere noviter aliquid de mortuorum judicare personis; sed in hoc relinqui, in quo unumquemque supremus dies invenit ——. *Ibid.*

† Hac præsentis constitutionis dispositione quam maxime providemus, ne (sicut supra diximus) personis, quæ in pace et communione universalis ecclesiæ quieverunt, sub hac damnati a nobis perversi dogmatis occasione aliquid derogetur.—*Ibid.*

‡ Quoniam autem post hæc omnia impietatis illius defensoris injuriis contra Creatorem suum dictis gloriantes dicebant non oporter eum post mortem anathematizare——qui hæc dicunt nullam curam Dei judicatorum faciunt, nec apostolicarum pronunciationum, nec paternarum traditionum.—*Coll.* viii. p. 289. Condemnamus autem et anathematizamus una cum omnibus aliis hæreticis et Theodorum —*Coll.* viii. p 291. Quod dicitur a quibusdam quod in communicatione et pace, defunctus est Theodorus, mendacium est, et calumnia magis adversus ecclesiam.—*Coll.* v. p. 250. Si quis conatus fuerit contra hæc quæpie disposuimus, vel tradere, vel docere, vel scribere, siquidem episcopus vel clericus sit, iste tanquam aliena a sacerdotibus et statu ecclesiastico faciens, denudabitur episcopatu vel clericatu: si autem monachus vel laicus sit, anathematizabitur.—(*Coll.* viii. p. 293.)

|| Si quis defendit —— et non anathematizat eum —— anathema sit.—*Ibid.*

fess and argue) was driven into banishment;[v] wherein he did expire.*

Yet posterity hath embraced this synod as a legitimate and valid general synod; and the popes following did profess the highest reverence thereto, equally with the preceding general synods;† so little necessary is the pope's consent or concurrence to the validity of synodical definitions.

Upon this Baronius hath an admirable reflection: "Here stay," saith he, "O reader, and consider the matter attently" (ay, do so, I pray), "that it is no new thing that some synod, in which the pope was not even present by his legates, but did oppose it, should yet obtain the title of an Œcumenical Synod; whenas afterward the pope's will did come in, that it should obtain such a title."‡

So, in the opinon of this doctor, the pope can easily change the nature of things, and make that become a general synod which once was none; yea which, as it was held, did not deserve the name of any synod at all.|| O the virtue of papal magic! or rather, O the impudence of papal advocates!

The canons of the sixth general council, exhibited by the Trullane (or Quinisext) synod, clearly and expressly do condemn several doctrines and practices of Rome:[v] I ask whether the pope did confirm them? They will, to be sure, as they are concerned to do, answer, No: and indeed Pope Sergius, as Anastasius in his Life reporteth, did refuse them;§ yet did they pass for legitimate in the whole church; for in their general synod (the second Nicene), without contradiction, one of them is alleged (out of the very original paper, wherein the Fathers had subscribed) as a "canon of the holy general sixth synod;"* and avowed for such by the Patriarch Tarasius, both in way of argument of defence and of profession in his synodical Epistle to the patriarchs (where he saith, that "together with the divine doctrines of the sixth synod, he doth also embrace the canons enacted by it;"† of which Epistle Pope Adrian, in his answer thereto, doth recite a part containing those words, and applaud it for orthodox;‡ signifying no offence at his embracing the Trullane canons. And all those hundred and two canons are again avowed by the synod in their antithesis to the synod of Constantinople. In fine, if we believe Anastasius, Pope John VII. did, "being timorous, out of human frailty, direct these canons, without amendment, by two metropolites, to the emperor;"|| that is, he did admit them so as they stand.

But it may be instanced that divers synods have asked the pope's consent for ratification of their decrees and acts.

So the Fathers of the second general synod, having in an Epistle to Pope Damasus and the western bishops, declared what constitutions they had made, in the close speak thus: "In which things, being legally and canonically settled by us, we do exhort your reverence to acquiesce, out of spiritual charity and fear of the Lord."§

So the synod of Chalcedon did, with much respect, ask from Pope Leo the

* —— contra ipsius (pontificis Rom.) decreta ab ea (synodo) pariter sententia dicta —*Baron.* ann. 553, § 219. Non consentientes depositi in exilium missi sunt.—*Lib.* cap. 24.

† Greg. Ep. i. 24.—Quintam quoque synodum pariter veneror, &c.—i. 24; Pelag. II. Ep. —— Agatho Syn. vi. Act. 4; Leo. Syn. vi. Act. 18; Hadrian ad Nectar.

‡ Hic siste, lector, atque rem attente considera; non esse hoc novum, ut aliqua synodus, cui nec per legatos ipse pontifex interfuerit, sed adversatus fuerit, titulum tamen obtinuerit œcumenicæ: cum postea ut hujusmodi titulum obtineret, Romani pontificis voluntas accessit. —*Baron.* ann. 553, § 224.

|| Si ad numeros omnes, &c. Plene consentiens ipsam non œcumenicæ tantum, sed nec privatæ synodi mereri nomen.—*Id.* ann. 553, § 219.

§ —— in quibus diversa capitula Romanæ ecclesiæ contraria scripta inerant.—*Anast. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

[v] Baron. ann. 553, § 223.

[v] Can. 2, 7, 13, 36, 55, 58, 67.

* Κανὼν τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου. —Syn. Nic. II Act. iv. (631.) Πρωτότυπος χάρτης ἐστὶν, ἐν ᾧ ὑπέγραψαν οἱ πατέρες.—Ibid.

† Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης συνόδου, μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἐνθέσμιος καὶ θεωδῶς ἐκφωνηθέντων δογμάτων παρ' αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐκδοθέντας κανόνας ἀποδέχομαι. —Act. iii. p. 592.

‡ Ταύτῃ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, &c. —Ibid. (p. 363.) Act. vi. p. 732. (Dist. xvi. cap. 5. &c.)

|| Sed hic humana fragilitate timidus hos nequaquam tomos emendans per suprafatos metropolitas direxit ad principem.—*Anast. in Vit. Joh. VII.*

§ Οἷς ὡς ἐνθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μετοιτευούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου, &c.—Theod. v. 9.

confirmation of its sanctions. "That you may know how that we have done nothing for favour or out of spite, but as guided by the divine direction, we have made known to you the force of all that has been done, for your concurrence, and for the confirmation and approbation of the things done."*

Of the fifth synod, Pope Leo II. saith, "that he agreed to what was determined in it, and confirms it with the authority of the blessed St. Peter."†

To these allegations we reply, that it was indeed the manner of all synods (for notification of things, and promulgation of their orders; for demonstration and maintenance of concord; for adding weight and authority to their determinations; for engaging all bishops to a willing compliance in observing them, for attestation to the common interest of all bishops in the Christian truth, and in the governance and edification of the church), having framed decrees concerning the public state, to demand in fairest terms the consent to them of all Catholic bishops, who were absent from them, to be attested by their subscription.

So did Constantine recommend the Nicene decrees to all bishops, undertaking that they would assent to them.‡

So (more expressly) the synod of Sardica, in their Epistle to all bishops of the Catholic church: "Do ye also, our brethren and fellow-ministers, the more use diligence, as being present in spirit with our synod, to yield consent by your subscription, that concord may be preserved everywhere by all the fellow-ministers."||

So did Pope Liberius request of the Emperor Constantius, "that the faith delivered at Nice might be confirmed by the subscription of all bishops."*

So did Athanasius "procure a synod at Alexandria to confirm the decrees at Sardica and in Palestine concerning him."†

So the Macedonian bishops are said to have authorized their agents "to ratify the faith of consubstantiality."‡

Many such instances occur in story, by which it may appear that the decrees of synods concerning faith, or concerning any matters of common interest, were presented to all bishops, and their consent requested or required; because, say the Roman clergy in St. Cyprian, "a decree cannot be firm, which has not the consent of many."||

Whence it is no wonder, if any synods did thus proceed toward so eminent a bishop as was he of Rome, that they should endeavour to give him satisfaction; that they should desire to receive satisfaction from him of his conspiring with them in faith, of his willingness to comply in observing good rules of discipline; that (as every vote had force, so) the suffrage of one in so great dignity and reputation might adjoin some regard to their judgment.§

The pope's confirmation of synods, what was it in effect but a declaration of his approbation and assent, the which did confirm by addition of suffrage; as those who were present by their vote, and those who were absent by their subscription, are said to confirm the decrees of councils;¶ every such consent being supposed to increase the authority; whence the number of bishops is sometimes reckoned according to the subscriptions of bishops absent; as the council of Sardica is sometimes related

* Ἵνα δὲ γνῶτε ὡς οὐδὲν πρὸς χάριν, ἢ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν πεποιήκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς θείῳ κυβερνώμενοι πνεύματι, πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὴν δύναμιν ἐγνωρίσαμεν εἰς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν, καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων βεβαίωσίν τε καὶ συγκατάθεσιν.—Syn. Chalc. ad P. Leon. l. p. 476.

† Τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς τεθεῖσι συναινεῖ, καὶ τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου βεβαιοῖ.—P. Leo II. Ep. (p. 306.)

‡ Ἀσμένως δέχεσθε τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριν καὶ θείαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐντολήν ——. De Vit. Const. iii. 20. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἀγχινοίᾳ ἀρέσαι ὑπεσχόμην. —Ib. iii. 19.

|| Συνοδάσατε δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ συλλειτουργοί, ὡς τῷ πνεύματι συνόντες τῇ συνόδῳ ἅμα ὑμῶν συνεπιψηφίζεσθαι δι' ὑπογραφῆς ὑμετέρας, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρὰ πάντων τῶν πανταχοῦ συλλειτουργῶν τὴν ἱμονίαν διασώζεσθαι.—Syn. Sard. Epist. apud Athan. in Apol. ii. p. 766.

* Ἐζήτει δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐν Νικαίᾳ παραδοθεῖσαν πίστιν ὑπογραφαῖς τῶν πάντων ἐπισκόπων κραταιοῦσθαι.—Soz. iv. 11.

† Σύνοδον γενέσθαι παρεσκεύαζε τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐπιψηφίσαι τοῖς ἐν Σαρδοῖ καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ δεδογμένοις.—Id. iv. 1.

‡ Ἐντειλάμενοι —— κυρῶσαι τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου πίστιν.—Socr. iv. 12.

|| ——quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habere consensum.—*Cler. Rom. apud Cyp.* Ep. 31.

§ Παρακαλοῦμεν τοιγοῦν τίμησον ταῖς παῖς ψήφοις τὴν κ ίσιν —Syn Chalc. ad Leon. p. 476.

¶ Κατὰ τὴν συνοδικὴν ἐκυρώσαμεν ψῆφον ——. Epist. Syn. Chalc. ad Leon. p. 475.

to consist of three hundred bishops, although not two hundred were present, the rest concurring by subscription to its definitions.[1]

Other bishops, in yielding their suffrage, do express it by, "I confirm, I define, I decree."*

But the effectual confirmation of synods, which gave them the force of laws, was in other hands, and depended on the imperial sanction.

So Justinian affirmeth generally: "All these things at diverse times following, our above-named predecessors, of pious memory, corroborated and confirmed by their laws what each council had determined, and expelled those heretics who attempted to resist the definitions of the aforesaid four councils, and disturb the churches."†

So particularly Constantine (as Athanasius himself reporteth) "did by law confirm the decrees of the great synod of Nice;"‡ and Eusebius assureth the same: "He" (saith he) "did ratify the decrees of the synod by his authority."‖ His letters are extant, which he sent about the world, exhorting and requiring all to conform to the constitutions of that synod.

So Theodosius did confirm the decrees of the second general synod, "adding" (saith Sozomen) "his confirmatory suffrage to their decree;"§ the which he did at the supplication of the Fathers, addressed to him in these terms: "We therefore do beseech your grace, that by your pious edict the sentence of the synod may be authorized; that as by the letters of convocation you did honour the assembly, so you would also confirm the result of things decreed."*

The third general synod was also confirmed by Theodosius II., as Justinian telleth us: "The above-named Theodosius, of pious memory, maintaining what had been so justly determined against Nestorius and his impiety, made his condemnation valid."†

And this emperor asserted this privilege to himself, as of right and custom belonging to him; writing to the synod in these words: "For all things, so as may please God, without contentiousness and with truth being examined, ought so to be established by our religiousness."‡

The other abortive synod at Ephesus was also confirmed by Theodosius junior, as Dioscorus, in his defence, alleged in these words, which shew the manner of practice in this case: "We then, indeed, did judge the things which were judged; the whole synod did accord with us, and gave verdict by their own votes, and subscribed; and they were referred to the most religious emperor Theodosius, of happy memory; and he did by a general law confirm all things judged by the holy and œcumenical synod."‖

So also did the Emperor Marcian confirm the synod of Chalcedon, as himself telleth us in his royal edict:§ "We (saith he) "having by the sacred edict of our serenity confirmed the holy synod, did warn all to cease from disputes about

* Sententias fratrum omnes sequimur, omnes confirmamus, omnes observandas esse decernimus.—*Conc. Rom. P. Hil.* p. 579.

† His itaque omnibus perdiversa tempora subsecutis, prædicti piæ recordationis nostri patres ea quæ in unoquoque concilio judicata sunt, legibus suis corroboraverunt, et confirmaverunt: et hæreticos qui definitionibus prædictorum S. quatuor conciliorum resistere, et ecclesias conturbare conati sunt, expulerunt.—*Justin. in Conc. V. Coll.* i. (p. 210.)

‡ Τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων γραφέντα, τοῦ συνεδρίου κοινωνοῦν, ἐκράτυνε νόμῳ.—Athan. apud Theod. ii. 4.

‖ Τὰ τῆς συνόδου δόγματα κυρῶν ἐπεφραγίζετο.—Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 23. Ὑποδέχεσθαι καὶ διατάττειν ὀφείλετε. Id. iii. 20.

§ Καὶ τὰ μὲν ὧδε τῇ συνόδῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσατο.—Soz. vii. 9.

[1] Socr. ii. 20, et Vales. ann. ibid.

* Δεόμεθα τοίνυν τῆς σῆς ἡμερότητος γράμμασι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπικυρωθῆναι τῆς συνόδου τὴν ψῆφον, ἵν' ὥσπερ τοῖς τῆς κλήσεως γράμμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τετίμηκας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπισφραγίσῃς τὸ τέλος,—Præf. ad Can. Conc. Const. (apud Bin. p. 660.)

† Sed prædictus piæ recordationis Theodosius vindicans ea, quæ ita recte contra Nestorium, et ejus impietatem fuerant judicata, fecit firmiter obtinere contra eum factam condemnationem.—*Justin. in Quinto Conc.* Coll. 1.

‡ Χρὴ γὰρ πάντα κατὰ τὸ τῷ Θεῷ μέλλον ἀρέσκειν δίχα φιλονεικίας καὶ μετὰ ἀληθείας ἐξετασθέντα οὕτω παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας θεοσεβείας βεβαιωθῆναι.—Epist. Theod. ad Syn. Eph. in Actis Conc. p. 375.

‖ Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἐκρίναμεν τὰ κεκριμένα· συνήνεσεν ἡμῖν πᾶσα ἡ σύνοδος, καὶ κατέθετο οἰκείαις φωναῖς, καὶ ὑπέγραψε· καὶ ἀνηνέχθη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ τῆς θείας λήξεως Θεοδοσίῳ· καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε πάντα τὰ κεκριμένα παρὰ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου νόμῳ γενικῷ.—Syn Chalc. Act. i. p. 59.

§ Ἱερῷ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἡμερότητος διατάγματι τὴν ἁγίαν βεβαιώσαντες σύνοδον ὑπεμνήσαμεν ἅπαντας, ὥστε τῶν περὶ θρησκείας παύσασθαι διαλέξεων.—Conc. Chalc. part iii. p. 478.

religion;" with which Pope Leo signifieth his compliance in these terms: "But because by all means your piety and most religious will must be obeyed, I have willingly approved the synodical constitutions about confirming the catholic faith and condemning heretics, which pleased me.*"

Justinian did with a witness confirm the fifth synod, punishing with banishment all who would not submit to its determinations.

In the sixth synod the Fathers did request the emperor, according to custom, to confirm its definitions, in these very words: "To what we have determined set your seal, your royal ratification by writing, and confirmation of them all by your sacred edicts and holy constitutions, according to custom."†

"We beg that by your sacred signing of it you would give force to what we have defined and subscribed."‡

"We entreat the power of our lord, guided by God's wisdom, to confirm, for the greater strength and security of the orthodox faith, the copies of our determination read in the hearing of your most serene majesty, and subscribed by us, that they may be delivered to the five patriarchal sees with your pious confirmation."||

Accordingly he did confirm that synod by his edict: "All these things being thus ordered by this sixth holy and œcumenical synod; we decree, that none whosoever trouble himself further about this faith, or advance any new inventions about it."§

So he told Pope Leo II., in his Epistle to him: "This divine and venerable determination the holy synod has made, to which we also have subscribed, and confirmed it by our religious edicts, exhorting all our people, who have any love for Christ, to follow the faith there written."*

Pope Leo tells his namesake Leo the emperor, "that he must always remember that the imperial power was given him, not only to rule the world, but more especially to protect the church."†

So by long prescription, commencing with the first general synod, did the emperor enjoy this prerogative; and with good reason, he having an unquestionable warrant and obligation to promote the welfare of the church, designed by those conventions; he being the guardian of concord among his subjects, and protector of their liberties, which might be nearly concerned in conciliar proceedings; the power of enacting laws being an incommunicable branch of sovereign majesty; he alone having power committed to him, able to enforce the observance of decrees, without which they would in effect signify little.

Because also commonly the decrees of synods did in a manner retrench some part of the royal prerogative, translating or imparting to others causes before appropriate to his jurisdiction (as in the case of appeals, and of prohibiting addresses to court, ordered in the Sardican and other synods; of exempting clergymen from secular jurisdiction, from taxes and common burdens, &c.) which ought not to be done without his license and authority.

So that the oriental bishops had good reason to tell the emperor, that "it was impossible, without his authority, to order

* Quia vero omnibus modis obediendum est pietati vestræ, religiosissimæque voluntati, constitutionibus synodalibus, quæ mihi de confirmatione fidei catholicæ et hæreticorum damnatione placuerunt, libens adjeci sententiam meam.—*P. Leo. I.* Ep. 59. (*ad Mart. Aug.*)

† *Καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ὁρισθεῖσι σφραγῖδα παράσχου τὴν ὑμῶν ἔγγραφον βασιλικὴν ἐπικύρωσιν, καὶ διὰ θείων ἡδίκτων, καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἔθους εὐσεβῶν διατάξεων τὴν τούτων ἁπάντων βεβαίωσιν.*—Syn. VI. Act. xviii. p. 275.

‡ *Αἰτοῦμεν διά θείας ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως τὸ κῦρος παρασχέσθαι τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐκφωνηθέντι ἐνυπογράφῳ ὅρῳ.*—Ibid. p. 283.

|| *Αἰτοῦμεν τὸ θεόσοφον τοῦ δεσπότου κράτος πρὸς μείζονα τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ἀσφάλειάν τε καὶ βεβαίωσιν ἰσοτόνους ἐνσπαγράφους ὅρους τοῦ ἀναγνωσθέντος κατὰ παρουσίαν τοῦ γαληνοτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους ὅρου ἐκδοθῆναι τοῖς πέντε πατριαρχικοῖς θρόνοις μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὑμῶν ὑποσημειώσεως.*—Ibid. p. 284.

§ *Τούτων οὕτως ἁπάντων ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου διατυπωθέντων*, Sancimus, *ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πάντων ἕτερόν τι περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐργάσασθαι, ἢ καινότερον δόγματος ἐφεύρεμα μηχανήσασθαι*, &c.—Ibid. Edict. Const. p. 2 1.

* *Θεῖον δὲ σεβάσμιον ὅρον ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐξεθέσεν, ᾧ καὶ συνυπεγράψαμεν, καὶ δι' εὐσεβῶν ἡμῶν ἡδίκτων τοῦτον ἐπεκυρώσαμεν προτρέψαντες ἅπαντα τὸν φιλόχριστον ἡμῶν λαὸν τῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐγγεγραμμένῃ πίστει συνέπεσθαι*, &c.—Ibid. p. 298, 302.

† Debes incunctanter advertere regiam potestatem tibi non solum ad mundi regimen, sed maxime ad ecclesiæ præsidium esse collatam, &c.—*Leo M.* Ep. 75.

the matters under consideration with good law and order."*

It is nowise reasonable that any other should have this power, it being inconsistent with public peace, that in one state there should be two legislative powers; which might clash the one with the other, the one enacting sanctions prejudicial to the interest and will of the other: wherefore the pope being then a citizen of Rome, and a subject to the emperor, could not have a legislative power, or a negative vote in synods, but that wholly did belong to the imperial authority.

But it is opposed, that some synods have been declared invalid for want of the pope's confirmation; for to the decrees of the synod at Ariminum it was excepted, that they were null, because the bishop of Rome did not consent to them:† "There could not" (say the Roman synod in Theodoret) "be any prejudice from the number of those assembled in Ariminum, it being plain, that neither the Roman bishop, whose suffrage ought first to have been received, nor Vicentius, who for so many years did hold his episcopacy blameless, nor others agreeing to such things."‡ To which exception I answer, that,

1. That which is alleged against the synod of Ariminum is not the defect of the pope's confirmation subsequent, but of his consent and concurrence before it or in it; which is very reasonable, because he had a right to be present, and to concur in all such assemblies, especially being so eminent a bishop.‖

2. The same exception every bishop might allege, all having a like right and common interest to vote in those assemblies.

3. Accordingly the dissent of other bishops, particularly of those eminent in dignity or merit, is also alleged in exception; which had been needless, if his alone dissent had been of so very peculiar force.

4. The emperor, and many other bishops, did not know of any peculiar necessity of his confirmation.

Again, it may be objected, that popes have voided the decrees of general synods, as did Pope Leo the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon, concerning the privileges of the Constantinopolitan see, in these blunt words: "But the agreements of bishops repugnant to the holy canons made at Nice, your faith and piety joining with us, we make void, and by the authority of the blessed apostle St. Peter, by a general determination we disannul;"* and in his Epistle to those of that synod, "For however vain conceit may arm itself with extorted compliances, and think its wilfulness sufficiently strengthened with the name of councils; yet whatever is contrary to the canons of the above-named Fathers will be weak and void."† Lastly, in his Epistle to Maximus, bishop of Antioch, he says, "He has such a reverence for the Nicene canons, that he will not permit or endure that what those holy Fathers have determined be by any novelty violated."‡

This behaviour of Pope Leo (although applauded and imitated by some of his successors) I doubt not to except against in behalf of the *synod*, that it was disorderly, factious, and arrogant (proceeding indeed from ambition and jealousy;) the leading act of high presumption in this kind, and one of the seeds of that

* Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὡς ἡγούμεθα δίχα τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους εὐτάκτως καὶ ἐνθέσμως τὰ προκείμενα τυπωθῆναι.—Rel. Orient. ad Imp. Act. Syn. Eph. p. 372.

† Τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ ἀπεναντίων ταύτης ἀκύρων ὄντων, ὡς μήτε Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπῳ, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων συνθεμένων αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὡς πολλῶν τῶν αὐτόθι συνελθόντων ἀπαρεσθέντων τοῖς τότε παρ' αὐτῶν δεδογμένοις.—Soz. vi. 23.

‡ Οὐδὲ γὰρ πρόκριμά τι ἠδυνήθη γενέσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ συναχθέντων, ὁπότε συνέστηκε, μήτε τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου, οὗ πρὸ πάντων ἔδει τὴν γνώμην ἐκδέξασθαι, οὔτε Οὐικεντίου ὃς ἐπὶ τοσούτοις ἔτεσι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀσκίλως ἐφύλαξεν, οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς τοιούτοις συγκαταθεμένων——. Theod. ii. 22.

‖ P. Liberius being absent, detained from it by violence in banishment.

* Consensiones vero episcoporum, sanctorum canorum apud Niciam conditorum regulis repugnantes, unita nobiscum vestræ fidei pietate, in irritum mittimus, et per authoritatem beati Petri apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus.—*P Leo I.* Ep. 55, (*ad Pulcher. Aug.*)

† Quantumlibet enim extortis assentationibus sese instruat vanitatis elatio, et appetitus suos conciliorum æstimet nomine roborandos, infirmum atque irritum erit, quicquid a prædictorum patrum canonibus discreparit.—*Ep.* 61 (*ad Syn. Chalced.*)

‡ Tanta apud me est Nicenorum canonum reverentia, ut ea quæ sunt a sanctis patribus constituta nec permiserim nec patiar aliqua novitate violari.—*Leo.* Ep. 62 (*ad Max. Antioch.*)

exorbitant ambition, which did at length overwhelm the dignity and liberty of the Christian republic;[r] yet, for somewhat qualifying the business, it is observable, that he did ground his repugnancy and pretended annulling of that decree (or of decrees concerning discipline), not so much upon his authority to cross general synods, as upon the inviolable firmness and everlasting obligation of the Nicene canons; the which he (although against the reason of things, and rules of government) did presume no synod could abrogate or alter. In fine, this opposition of his did prove ineffectual by the sense and practice of the church, maintaining its ground against his pretence.

It is an unreasonable thing, that the opinion or humour of one man (no wiser or better commonly than others) should be preferred before the common agreement of his brethren, being of the same office and order with him; so that he should be able to overthrow and frustrate the result of their meetings and consultations, when it did not square to his conceit or interest; especially seeing there is not the least appearance of any right he hath to such a privilege, grounded in holy scripture, tradition, or custom: for seeing that scripture hath not a syllable about general synods, seeing that no rule about them is extant in any of the first Fathers, till after three hundred years, seeing there was not one such council celebrated till after that time, seeing in none of the first general synods any such canon was framed in favour of that bishop, what ground of right could the pope have to prescribe unto them, or thwart their proceedings? Far more reason there is (in conformity to all former rules and practice), that he should yield to all his brethren, than that all his brethren should submit to him: and this we see to have been the judgment of the church, declared by its practice in the cases before touched.

IV. It is indeed a proper endowment of an absolute sovereignty, immediately and immutably constituted by God, with no terms or rules limiting it, that its will declared in way of precept, proclamations, concerning the sanction of laws, the abrogation of them, the dispensation with them, should be observed.

This privilege therefore in a high strain the pope challengeth to himself; asserting to his decrees and sentences the force and obligation of laws; so that the body of that canon law, whereby he pretendeth to govern the church, doth in greatest part consist of papal edicts, or decretal epistles, imitating the rescripts of emperors, and bearing the same force.

In Gratian we have these aphorisms from popes concerning this their privilege:

"No person ought to have either the will or the power to transgress the precepts of the apostolic see."*

——"Those things, which by the apostolic see have at several times been written for the catholic faith, for sound doctrines, for the various and manifold exigency of the church and the manners of the faithful, how much rather ought they to be preferred in all honour, and by all men altogether, upon all occasions whatsoever to be reverently received!"†

"Those decretal epistles which most holy popes have at divers times given out from the city of Rome, upon their being consulted with by divers bishops, we decree that they be received with veneration."‡

"If ye have not the decrees of the bishops of Rome, ye are to be accused of neglect and carelessness; but if ye have them, yet observe them not, ye are to be chidden and rebuked for your temerity."||

[r] P. Gelas. Ep. 13 (ad Episc. Dard.) p. 642, et in Tract. de Anathem. (p. 647;) P. Pelag. II. Ep. 5. (ad Eliam.) p. 474.—Greg. M. Ep.

* Nulli fas est vel velle vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta.—*P. Greg. IV.* Dist. xix. cap. 5.

† —— Quanto potius quæ ipsa (sedes apostolica) pro catholica fide, profanis (l. pro sanis) dogmatibus, provariis et multifariis ecclesiæ necessitatibus et fidelium moribus diverso tempore scripsit, omni debent honore præferi, et ab omnibus prorsus in quibuslibet opportunitatibus discretione vel dispensatione magistra reverenter assumi?—*P. Nic. I. Epist.* Dist. xix. cap. 1.

‡ Decretales epistolas, quas beatissimi papæ diversis temporibus ab urbe Roma pro diversorum patrum consultatione dederunt, venerabiliter suscipiendas decernimus.—*P. Gelas I. (in decreto) lit. a Nic. P.* Ep. 42; *ad Epist. Galliæ.* Dist. xix. cap. 1.

|| Si decreta Romanorum pontificum non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria estis arguendi; si vero habetis et non observatis, de temeritate estis corripiendi et increpandi.—*P. Nic. I. Ep.* 6, *ad Phot.* Dist. xx. cap. 2.

"All the sanctions of the apostolic see are so to be understood, as if confirmed by the voice of St. Peter himself."*

"Because the Roman church, over which by the will of Christ we do preside, is proposed for a mirror and example; whatsoever it doth determine, whatsoever that doth appoint, is perpetually and irrefragably to be observed by all men."†

"We who, according to the plenitude of our power, have a right to dispense above law or right."‡

"This see—that which it might do by its own sole authority, it is often pleased to define by consent of its priests."||

But this power he doth assume and exercise merely upon usurpation, and unwarantably; having no ground for it in original right or ancient practice.

Originally the church hath no other general lawgiver, beside our *one Lord* and *one Lawgiver*.[a]

As to practice we may observe,

1. Anciently (before the first general synod) the church had no other laws beside the divine laws; or those which were derived from the apostles by traditional custom;§ or those which each church did enact for itself in provincial synods; or which were propagated from one church to another by imitation and compliance: or which in like manner were framed and settled.

Whence, according to different traditions, or different reasons and circumstances of things, several churches did vary in points of order and discipline.

The pope then could not impose his traditions, laws, or customs upon any church; if he did attempt it, he was liable to suffer a repulse; as is notorious in the case, when Pope Victor would (although rather as a doctor than as a lawgiver) have reduced the churches of Asia to conform with the Roman, in the time of celebrating Easter; wherein he found not only stout resistance, but sharp reproof.

In St. Cyprian's time every bishop had a free power, according to his discretion, to govern his church; and it was deemed a tyrannical enterprise for one to prescribe to another, or to require obedience from his colleagues; as otherwhere by many clear allegations out of that holy man we have showed: "For none of us" (saith he) "makes himself a bishop of bishops, or by a tyrannical terror compels his colleagues to a necessity of obedience; since every bishop, according to the licence of his own liberty and power, hath his own freedom, and can no more be judged by another, than he himself can judge another."*

If any new law were then introduced, or rule determined for common practice, it was done by the general agreement of bishops, or of a preponderant multitude among them, to whom the rest out of modesty and peaceableness did yield compliance; according to that saying of the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian (upon occasion of the debate concerning the manner of admitting lapsed persons to communion), "That decree cannot be valid that hath not the consent of the major part."†

The whole validity of such laws or rules did indeed wholly stand upon presumption of such consent; whereby the common liberty and interest was secured.

* Sic omnes apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce firmatæ sunt.—*P. Agatho.* Dist. xix. cap. 2; *vide* Syn. VI. Act. iv. p. 35.

† Quia in speculum, et exemplum S. Romana ecclesia, cuinos Christus præsse voluit, proposita est, ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuo et irrefragabiliter observandum est.—*P. Steph.* (Dist. xix. cap. 3), *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 9, *De Dispens.* (p. 633.)

‡ Qui secundum plenitudinem potestatis, de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.—*P. Inn. III. Decret. Greg.* lib. iii. tit. 8, cap. 4.

|| Sedes hæc —— quod singulari etiam auctoritate perficere valet, multorum sæpe sacerdotum decernit definire consensu.—*P. Nich. I.* Ep. 18 (*ad Carolum. R.*) Leo. I. Ep. i. cap. 5; P. Hilarius in Conc. Rom. p. 578; Caus. 25, qu. i. cap. 4; P. Urb. Caus. 25, qu. i. cap. 6; P. Anas. ad Imp. Anast. P. Siric. Ep. i. (p. 691.)

§ .—Syn Constantinop. can. 2.

[a] Eph. iv. 5; James iv. 12.

* Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se esse episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit; quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium; tamque judicari ab alio non possit, quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare.—*Cypr. in Conc. Carthag.*

† Quoniam nec firmum decretum potest esse, quod non plurimorum videbitur habuisse concensum.—*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* (Epist. 31.)

2. After that by the emperor's conversion the church, enjoying secular protection and encouragement, did reduce itself, as into a closer union and freer communication of parts, so into a greater uniformity of practice; especially by means of great synods, wherein (the governors and representatives of all churches being called unto them, and presumed to concur in them) were ordained sanctions, taken to oblige all;* the pope had indeed a greater stroke than formerly, as having the first place in order, or "privilege of honour," *Πρωτεῖα τιμῆς*, in ecclesiastical assemblies, where he did concur; yet had no casting vote, or real advantage above others: all things passing by majority of vote. This is supposed as notorious in the acts of the fifth council: "This" (say they) "is a thing to be granted, that in councils we must not regard the interlocution of one or two, but those things which are commonly defined by all, or by the most."†

So also in the fifth council, George, bishop of Constantinople, saith, that "seeing every where the council of the multitude, or of the most, doth prevail, it is necessary to anathematize the persons before mentioned."‡

3. Metropolitan bishops in their provinces had far more power, and more surely grounded, than the pope had in the whole church (for the metropolitans had an unquestioned authority, settled by custom, and confirmed bp synodical decrees), yet had not they a negative voice in synodical debates: for it is decreed to the Nicene synod, that in the designation of bishops (which was the principal affair in ecclesiastical administrations), "plurality of votes should prevail."||

It is indeed there said, that none should be ordained *χωρὶς γνώμης*, "without the opinion of the metropolitan:" but that doth not import a negative voice in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without his knowledge, advice, and suffrage; for so the apostolical canon (to which the Nicene Fathers there did alude and refer, meaning to interpret it) doth appoint, that the metropolitan should "do nothing *ἄνευ τῆς πάντων γνώμης*, without the opinion of all,"* that is, without suffrage of the most, concluding all (for surely that canon doth not give to each one a negative voice.) And so the synod of Antioch (held soon after that of Nice, which therefore knew best the sense of the Nicene Fathers, and how the custom went) doth interpret it, decreeing, that "a bishop should not be ordained without a synod, and the presence of the metropolitan of the province;"† in which synod yet they determine, that "plurality of votes should carry it;"‡ no peculiar advantage in the case being granted to the *metropolitan*.

Seeing, therefore, provincial synods were more ancient than general, and gave pattern to them; if we did grant the same privilege to the *pope* in *general* synods, as the *metropolitans* had in *provincial* (which yet we cannot do with any good reason or ground), yet could not the pope thence pretend to an authority of making laws by himself.

4. It was then a passable opinion, that *he*, as one, was in reason obliged to yield to the common judgment of his colleagues and brethren; as the Emperor Constantius told Pope Liberius, that "the vote of the plurality of bishops ought to prevail."||

5. When Pope Julius did seem to cross a rule of the church, by communicating with persons condemned by synods, the Fathers of Antioch did "smartly recriminate against him, shewing that

* Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censuræ et disciplinæ consensione sociati.—*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Ep. 31.

† Illo certe constituto, quod in conciliis non unius vel secundi interlocutionem attendere oportet, sed hæc quæ communiter ab omnibus vel amplioribus definiuntur.—*Concil.* v. *Collat.* 6, p. 263.

‡ Ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πλήθους, ἤτοι τῶν πολλῶν πανταχοῦ ἡ βουλὴ κρατεῖ, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὀνομαστὶ τὰ λεχθέντα πρόσωπα ἀνωθεματισθῆναι.—VI. Syn. Act. xvi. p. 249.

|| Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος.—Conc. Nic. can. 6.

* Κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικὸν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνος ἄνευ τῆς τῶν πάντων γνώμης ποιείτω τι.—Apost. Can. 31.

† Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ χειροτονεῖσθαι δίχα συνόδου, καὶ παρουσίας τοῦ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τῆς ἐπαρχίας.—Syn. Act. Can. 19.

‡ —— κρατεῖν τὴν τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφον.—Ibid. Κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος.—Syn. Nic. can. 6.

|| Τῶν γὰρ πλειόνων ἐπισκόπων ἡ ψῆφος ἰσχύειν ὀφείλει.—Theod. ii. 16.

they were not to receive canons from him."*

6. So far was the pope from prescribing laws to others, that he was looked upon as subject to the laws of the church no less than others; as the Antiochene Fathers did suppose, "complaining to Pope Julius of his transgressing the canons:"† the which charge he doth not repel by pretending exemption, but by declaring that he had not offended against the canons, and retorting the accusation against themselves; as the African Fathers supposed, when they told Pope Celestine, that he could not admit persons to communion which had been excommunicated by them, that being contrary to a decree of the Nicene synod;‡ as the Roman church supposed itself, when it told Marcian, that they could not receive him without leave of his father who had rejected him.|| This the whole tenor of ecclesiastical canons sheweth, they running in a general style, never excepting the pope from the laws prescribed to other bishops.

7. The privilege of dispensing with laws had then been a strange hearing, when the pope could in no case dispense with himself for infringing them, without bringing clamour and censure upon him.§

8. It had, indeed, been a vain thing for synods, with so much trouble and solemnity to assemble, if the pope without them could have framed laws, or could with a puff of his mouth have blown away the results of them by dispensation.

9. Even in the growth of papal dominion, and after that the seeds of Roman ambition had sprouted forth to a great bulk, yet had not popes the heart or face openly to challenge power over the universal canons, or exemption from them; but pretended to be the chief observers, guardians, defenders, and executors of them; or of the rights and privileges of churches established by them:[a] for while any footsteps of ancient liberty, simplicity, and integrity did remain, a claim of paramount or lawless authority would have been very ridiculous and very odious. Pope Zosimus I. denieth that he could alter the privileges of churches.[b]

10. If they did talk more highly, requiring observance to their constitutions,[c] it was either in their own precinct, or in the provinces where they had a more immediate jurisdiction, or in some corners of the west, where they had obtained more sway; and in some cases, wherein their words were backed with other inducements to obedience;[d] for the popes were commonly *wise in their generations*, accommodating their discourse to the state of times and places.

11. It is also to be observed, that often the popes are supposed to speak and constitute things by their own authority,[e] which indeed were done by synods, consisting of western bishops more closely adhering to that See, in regard to those regions;* the decrees of which synods were binding in those places, not so much by virtue of papal authority, as proceeding from the consent of their ow bishops: how ready soever he were to assume all to himself, pretending those decrees as precepts of the apostolical see.

Whence all the acts of modern popes are invalid, and do not oblige, seeing they do not act in synod; but only of their own head, or with the advice of a few partisans about them, men linked in com-

* Γνώμη κοινῇ σφοδρότερον δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀντεγκαλοῦσι τῷ Ἰουλίῳ, δηλοῦντες μὴ δεῖν κανονίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ.—Socr. ii. 15.

† Ὑμεῖς ὡς παρὰ κανόνας ποιήσαντας ἡμᾶς ἐμέμψασθε——. P. Julii Epist. apud Athanas. in Apol. ii. p. 748. Τινές εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ κανόνας πράξαντες, ἡμεῖς, &c. p. 748.

‡ Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους, &c.—Epist. ad P. Celest. I.

|| Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρός σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.—Epiph. Hær. 42.

§ It was then a maxim becoming the mouth of a pope, Universæ pacis tranquillitas non aliter poterit custodiri, nisi sua canonibus reverentia intemerata servetur.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 62. The tranquility of an universal peace cannot otherwise be kept, unless due reverence be paid to the canons.

* Ἄκαιρα κατὰ δόσιν σύνοδος.—Conc. Eph. p. 332. Σύνοδοι ἀνήκουσαι τῇ συνόδῳ ἀποστολικοῦ.—Syn. VI. Act. iv. p. 60. N. The pope did in those councils ask the placets.—*P. Hil. in Conc. R.* (p. 578.)

[a] P. Hil. Ep. 2; N. B. P. Innoc. I. Ep. ii. 12; P. Hil. Ep. 4; P. Gelas. I. Ep. ix. p. 634; xiii. 639; De Anath. p. 645.

[b] P. Zos. I Ep, 7. (ad Episc. Vienn. et Narb.) Caus. xxv. qu. i. cap. 7.

[c] P. Siric. Ep. 1.

[d] Leo M. Ep. 1, cap. 5; P. Gelas. Ep. 9.

[e] P. Siric. Ep. 4.

mon interest with them to domineer over the church.

12. Yet even in the western countries, in later times, their decrees have been contested, when they did seem plainly to clash with the old canons, or much to derogate from the liberties of churches; nor have there wanted learned persons in most times, who, so far as they durst, have expressed their dislike of this usurpation.

"For although the bishop of Rome be more venerable than the rest that are in the world, upon account of the dignity of the apostolical see, yet it is not lawful for him in any case to transgress the order of canonical governance: for as every bishop who is of the orthodox church, and the spouse of his own See, doth entirely represent the person of our Saviour; so generally no bishop ought pragmatically to act any thing in another's diocese.' *

13. In the time of Pope Nicholas I., the Greeks did not admit the Roman decrees; so that pope in an Epistle to Photius complains,[f] "that he did not receive the decrees of the popes, whenas yet they ordained nothing but what the natural, what the Mosaical, and what the law of grace required."† And in another Epistle he expostulates with him for saying, that "they neither had nor did observe the decrees made by the holy popes of the prime See of the Roman church."‡

14. That which greatly did advance the papal jurisdiction, and introduced his usurpation of obtruding new decrees on the church, was the venting of the forged Decretal Epistles under the name of old popes;[g] which when the pope did allege for authorizing his practices, the French bishops, endeavouring to assert their privileges, did allege that "they were not contained in the whole body of their canons."*

15. The power of enacting and dispensing with ecclesiastical laws touching exterior discipline, did of old belong to the emperor. And it was reasonable that it should; because old laws might not conveniently suit with the present state of things and the public welfare; because new laws might conduce to the good of church and state, the care of which is incumbent on him; because the prince is bound to use his power and authority to promote God's service, the best way of doing which may be, by framing orders conducible thereto.

Accordingly the emperors did enact divers laws concerning ecclesiastical matters, which we see extant in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian.

"These things" (saith the council of Arlest†) "we have decreed to be presented to our lord the emperor, desiring his clemency, that if any be defective, it may be supplied by his prudence; if any thing be unreasonable, it may be corrected by his judgment; if any thing be reasonably ordered, it may by his help, the divine grace assisting, be perfected."

We may observe, that popes did allow the validity of imperial laws. Pope Gregory I. doth allege divers laws of divers emperors concerning ecclesiastical affairs, as authentic and obligatory rules of practice.[h]

16. Divers churches had particular rights of independency upon all power without themselves.

Such as the church of Cyprus in the Ephesine synod did claim and obtain the confirmation of.

* Licet namque pontifex Romanæ ecclesiæ ob dignitatem apostolicæ sedis cæteris in orbe constitutis reverentior habeatur; non tamen ei licet transgredi in aliquo canonici moderaminis tenorem; sicut enim unusquisque orthodoxæ ecclesiæ pontifex ac sponsus propriæ sedis uniformiter speciem gerit Salvatoris, ita generaliter nulli convenit quippiam in alterius procaciterpatrare episcopi diœcesi.—*Glab. Rod.* 2, 4; *vide* Baron. ann. 996, § 22, 23.

† Noli quia decreta ipsorum non susceperis amplius asseverare, cum ipsi nihil nisi quod naturalis, quod Mosaica, necnon et gratiæ lex jussit, instituant.—*P. Nic. I.* Ep. 11, (*ad Phot.*)

‡ Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta,—cur vos non habere vel observare dicitis?—*Id.* Ep. 6. (*ad Phot.*)

[f] Circa. an. 860.

* Quanquam quidam vestrum scripserint haud illa decretalia priscorum pontificum in toto codicis canonum corpore contineri descripta, &c.—*P. Nich. I.* Ep. 42. (*ad Galliæ Episc.*)

† Hæc—domino Imperatori præsentanda decrevimus, poscentes ejus clementiam ut siquid hic minus est, ejus prudentia suppleatur, si quid secus quam se ratio habet, ejus judicio emendetur; si quid rationabiliter taxatum est, ejus adjutorio divina opitulante clementia perficiatur.—*Conc. Arel.* iv. cap. 26, ann. 813. (*sub Carolo M.*)

[g] *Vide* Hinom.

[h] P. Greg. I. Ep. xi. 56.

Such was the ancient church of Britain before Austin came into England.

"The Welsh bishops are consecrated by the bishop of St. David's and he himself in like manner is ordained by others, who are, as it were, his suffragans, professing no manner of subjection to any other church."*

V. Sovereign power, immediately by itself, when it pleaseth, doth exercise all parts of jurisdiction, setting itself in the tribunal; or mediately doth execute it by others, as its officers or commissioners,

Wherefore now the pope doth claim and exercise universal jurisdiction over all the clergy; requiring of them engagements of strict submission and obedience to him; demanding that all causes of weight be referred to him; citing them to his bar, examining and deciding their causes; condemning, suspending, deposing, censuring them, or acquitting, absolving, restoring them, as he seeth cause, or findeth in his heart;† he doth encourage people to accuse their pastors to him, in case any doth infringe his laws and orders.

But (in general) that originally or anciently the pope had no such right appropriate to him may appear by arguments, by cross instances, by the insufficiency of all pleas and examples alleged in favour of this claim. For,

1. Originally there was not at all among Christians any jurisdiction like to that which is exercised in civil governments, and which now the papal court doth execute. For this our Saviour did prohibit, and St. Peter forbad the presbyters *καταχυριεύειν τῶν κλήρων*. And St. Chrysostom affirmeth the episcopal power not to be *αὐθεντία*, or *ἀρχή*. And ecclesiastical history doth inform us, that such a jurisdiction was lately introduced in the church, as by other great bishops, so especially by the bishop of Rome:[j] "For" (saith Socrates) "from that time the episcopacy of Alexandria, beyond the sacerdotal order, did assume a domineering power in affairs."*

The which kind of power the Roman bishops had long before assumed; for (saith he) "the episcopacy of Rome, in like manner as that of Alexandria, had already a great while ago gone before in a domineering power beyond that of the priesthood."†

At first the episcopal power did only consist in paternal admonition, and corruption of offenders, exhorting and persuading them to amendment; and in case they contumaciously did persist in disorderly behaviour, bringing them before the congregation;[k] and the cause being there heard and proved, with its consent in imposing such penance or correction on them as seemed needful for the public good, or their particular benefit: "All things" (saith St. Cyprian) "shall be examined, you being present and judging;"‡ and (elsewhere), "according to your divine suffrages; according to your pleasure."||

2. Originally no one bishop had any jurisdiction over another, or authority to judge his actions; as St. Cyprian (who well knew the current judgment and practice of his age) in many places doth affirm; who particularly doth reflect on the Roman bishop for presuming to censure his brethren, who dissented from him: "Let us all" (saith he) "expect the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who only hath power to prefer us to the government of his church, and to judge of what we do."§

* Episcopo Walliæ a Menevensi antistite sunt consecrati, et ipse similiter ab aliis tanquam suffraganeis est constitutus, nulla penitus alii, ecclesiæ facta professione vel subjectione.—*Girald Cambr. Itin.* ii. 1.

† Per hoc illam de tota ecclesia judicare.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4. Cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus.—*Dist.* xl. cap. 6; *Caus.* 2, *qu* 7, cap. 45, &c. Sacra statuta et veneranda decreta episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censuræ mandarunt.—*P. Nic. I.* Ep. 38.

[i] Bell. ii. 18, 26.

* Καὶ γὰρ ἐκ ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ Ἀλεξανδρείας πέρα τῆς ἱερατικῆς τάξεως κατὰ δυναστείαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν.—Socr. vii. 7.

† —— τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρέων πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης.—Socr. vii. 11.

‡ Examinabuntur singulæ præsentibus, et judicantibus vobis.—*Cypr.* Ep. 12. (*fratribus in plebe.*)

|| Secundum vestra divina suffragia.—*Cypr.* Ep. 40. Secundum arbitrium quoque vestrum —*Id.* (Ep. 46.) Tertull. Apol. 39. *Ibidem* ——.

§ Expectemus universi judicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet po-

[j] 1 Pet. v.; Chrys in 1 Tim. iii 1, in Eph. Orat. *11*; Hier. Ep. 3, 62; Isid. Pelus. Ep. xx. 125; iv. 219.

[k] 1 Cor. v. 4, 12; 2 Cor. ii. 6.

3. Even the community of bishops did not otherwise take notice of, or intermeddle with, the proceedings of any bishop in his precinct and charge; except when his demeanour did concern the general state of the church, intrenching upon the common faith, or public order and peace.

In other cases, for one or more bishops to meddle with the proceedings of their brother, was taken for an ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπία, a pragmatical intrusion upon another's business; and an invasion of that liberty which did belong to each bishop by the grant of our Lord, and the nature of his office.

As by those passages of St. Cyprian, and the declaration of the synod with him, doth appear.

4. In cases needing decision for the public good of the church, the law and custom of the church, confirmed by the Nicene synod, did order, that jurisdiction should be exercised, and all causes finally determined in each province; so that no regard is had to the pope, no exception in favour of him being expressed or implied.[1]

The which constitution, if we believe Pope Leo himself, cannot in any case by any power be revoked or infringed.*

That is most expressly confirmed by the synod of Antioch, in the code of the universal church: "If any bishop accused of certain crimes shall be condemned by all the bishops in the province, and all shall unanimously vote against him, he shall not be judged again by others; but the unanimous sentence of the bishops of the province shall remain valid."†

Here is no consideration or exception of the pope.

5. Accordingly in practice, synods, without regard or recourse to the pope, did judge bishops upon offences charged against them.

6. The execution of those judgments was intrusted to metropolitan bishops; or had effect by the people's consent; for it being declared that any bishop had incurred condemnation, the people did presently desert him.

Every bishop was obliged to confer his part to the execution; as Pope Gelasius affirmeth.*

7. If the pope had such judicial power, seeing there were from the beginning so many occasions of exercising it, there would have been extant in history many clear instances of it; but few can be alleged, and those (as we shall see) impertinent or insufficient.

8. Divers synods (great and smaller) did make sanctions contrary to this pretence of the pope; appointing the decision of causes to be terminated in each diocese, and prohibiting appeals to him: which they would not have done, if the pope had originally, or according to common law and custom, a supreme judicial power.

9. The most favourable of ancient synods to papal interest, that of Sardica, did confer on the pope a power, qualified in matter and manner, of causing episcopal causes to be revised; which sheweth that before he had no right in such cases, nor then had an absolute power.

10. The pope's power of judging bishops hath been of old disclaimed as an illegal and upstart encroachment.

When the pope first nibbled at this bait of ambition, St. Cyprian and his bishops did reprehend him for it.

The bishop of Constantinople denied that Pope Gelasius alone might condemn him; according to the canons—the pope ranteth at it, and reasoneth against it;† but hath no material argument or example for it (concerning the papal authority peculiarly), beside the Sardican canon.

11. The popes themselves have been

testatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiam suam gubernatione et de actu nostro judicandi.—*Cypr. in Conc. Carth.*

* In venerabilis concilii Niceni contumelia sæpe versatus, alienarum tibi provinciarum jura temerarie rapuisti.—*P. Felix Acacio apud Baron.* an. 484, § 17.

† Εἴτις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπί τισιν ἐγκλήμασι κατηγορηθεὶς κριθείη ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπων, πάντες τε σύμφωνοι μίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξενέγκοιεν ψῆφον, τοῦτον μηκέτι παρ' ἑτέροις δικάζεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μένειν βεβαίαν τὴν σύμφωνον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων ἀπόφασιν.—Syn. Ant. Can. 16.

[1] Can. 5.

* Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum, secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4.

‡ Euphemium vero miror, si ignorantiam suam ipse non perspicit, qui dicit Acacium ab uno non posse damnari ——. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4. Nobis opponunt canones ——. *Id. ibid.*

judged for misdemeanour, heresy, schism; as hereafter we shall shew.

12. The popes did execute some judgments, only by a right common to all bishops, as executors of synodical decrees.*

13. Other bishops did pretend to judicature, by privilege: as Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem, did pretend that to him did belong the judgment of the bishop of Antioch.†

14. The popes were subject to the emperors; who, when they pleased, did interpose to direct or qualify all jurisdiction;[m] commanding the popes themselves—wherefore the popes were not judges sovereign, but subordinate.

Pope Gregory I. did refer the great question about the title of *œcumencial bishop* to the judgment of the Emperor Mauricius.‡

These things will more fully appear in the discussion of the particulars concerning the chief branches of jurisdiction; more especially under the tenth branch of sovereignty.

They allege that passage of Valentinian, in his Epistle to Theodoius, "That the most blessed bishop of Rome, to whom antiquity hath given a priesthood over all, hath a see and power to judge both of faith and priests."||

This was suggested by Pope Leo and his adherents to the young emperor; but it signifieth no more, but that in the judgment of priests (as of faith) he was to have his share, or at most to be a leading person therein.

Theodosius (a mature, grave, pious prince) did not regard that pretence of Leo, nor the appeal of Flavianus.*

VI. To the sovereign of any state belongeth the choice, constitution, confirmation, commissionating of all inferior magistrates;† that none uncapable, unworthy, or unfit for offices, or disaffected to the state, be intrusted with the management of affairs.

Wherefore the pope doth claim and exercise these prerogatives so far as he can; pretending at least that no bishop can be constituted without his designation, or his licence, and his confirmation of the nomination, collation, or election.

And these privileges by the great advocates are upon highest terms asserted to him.[n]

In this matter may be distinguished,

1. The designation of the person by election, or otherwise.

2. The confirmation of that.

3. The ordination or consecration of him to his office; the which conferreth on him his character and authority.

4. The authority by which he acteth.

Into all these the pope hath intruded himself, and he will have a finger in them.

1. He gladly would have drawn to himself the collation and disposal of all benefices, challenging a general right to dispose of all at his pleasure;‡ but not having been able wholly to deprive princes and patrons of their nominations, and corporations of their election; yet he hath by reservations, provisions, collations of vacancies *apud sedem*, resignations, devolutions, and other such tricks, extremely encroached on the rights of all, to the infinite vexation, damage, and mischief of Christendom.[o]

* Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, &c.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4. (*Supr. in Arg.* 6), *vide* Ep. 13.

† Ἐχρῆν Ἰωάννην —— τῷ ἀποστολικῷ τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας ὑπακοῦσαι, καὶ τιμῆσαι· παρ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἔθος αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων θρόνον ἐξ ἀποστολικῆς ἀκολουθίας καὶ παραδόσεως ἰθύνεσθαι, καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ δικάζεσθαι.—Syn. Eph. Act. iv. (p. 400.)

‡ —— utpiissimus dominus Mauritius ipsum illud negotium judicare dignaretur.—*Greg.* Ep. iv. 22.

|| Ἵνα μακαριώτατος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, ᾧ τὴν ἱερωσύνην κατὰ πάντων ἡ ἀρχαιότης, παρέσχε, χώραν καὶ εὐπορίαν ἔχειν περί τε πίστεως καὶ ἱερέων κρίνειν ——. Act. Syn. Chalc. p. 25.

[m] Justin. Nov. cxxiii. cap. 2; Jubemus Episc. Rom.

* Ἵνα ὁ προλεχθεὶς συναχθέντων ἐκ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἱερέων ——. Ibid. p. 28.

† Upon a sovereign all inferior magistrates depend.

‡ Licit ecclesiarum, personatuum, dignitatum, aliorumque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum plenaria dispositio ad Romanum noscatur pontificem pertinere, &c.—*Clem. IV. in Sexto*, lib. iii tit. 4, cap. 2; *vide* ibid. cap. iv. 10; xii. 20. Although the plenary disposal of all churches, parsonages, dignities, and other ecclesiastical benefices be known to belong to the Pope of Rome, &c.

[n] Bell. iv. 24.

[o] Clem. IV. in Sexto, lib. iii. tit. 4, cap. 14, &c.

2. He pretendeth that no bishop shall be ordained without his licence.

3. He obligeth the person ordained to swear obedience to him.

4. He pretendeth that all bishops are his ministers and deputies.

But no such privileges have any foundation or warrant in holy scripture, in ancient doctrine, or in primitive usage: they are all encroachments upon the original rights and liberties of the church, derived from ambition and avarice; subsisting upon usurpation, upheld by violence.

This will appear from a survey of ancient rules and practices concerning this matter.

The first constitution after our Lord's decease of an ecclesiastical person was that of Matthias into the vacant apostolate,[p] or bishopric of Judas;* wherein (upon St. Peter's motion) *all the disciples* present did by consent *present two*;† *out of whom God himself did elect one*,‡ by determining the lot to fall upon Matthias; so that this designation being partly human, partly divine, so far as it was human, it went by free election of the whole fraternity; and St. Peter, beside generally suggesting the matter to be done, did assume nothing peculiar to himself.

The next constitution we meet with is that of deacons to assist the apostles and elders in discharge of inferior offices; wherein the apostles did commit the designation of the persons to the *multitude of the disciples*, who *elected them*; and *presented* them to the apostles, who, *by prayer and laying on of hands*, *did ordain them*.|| Nor had St. Peter in this action any particular stroke.

As to the constitution of bishops in the first apostolical times the course was this: the apostles, and apostolical persons (who were authorized by the apostles to act with their power, and in their stead), did in churches founded by them constitute bishops, such as divine inspiration, or their grace of discretion did guide them to;* so did St. John in Asia, "setting those apart for the clergy whom the Spirit had marked out."†

This was not done without the consent of the Christain people, as Clemens Romanus telleth us in his excellent Epistle to the Corinthians:‡ but he doth not acquaint us (although he were himself bishop of Rome) that the pope had any thing to do in such constitutions, or in confirmations of them; "the whole church" (saith he) "consenting:" why doth he not add, for his own sake, "and the pope confirming?"

In the next times, when those extraordinary persons and faculties had expired, when usually the churches planted were in situation somewhat incoherent and remote from each other, upon a vacancy the clergy and people of each church did elect its bishop; in which action commonly the clergy did propound and recommend a person or persons, and the people by their consent approve, or by their suffrages elect one;|| a strict examination of his life and doctrine intervening: the which order Tertullian briefly doth intimate in those words: "The presidents of the church are certain elders well approved, who have obtained that honour, not by price, but by proof."§

It may be inquired, how a bishop then was ordained, in case his city was very remote from any other churches?

Did they send for bishops from distant places to ordain him?—or did the presbyters of the place lay their hands on him?—or did he receive no other ordination than that he had before of presbyter?—or did he abide no bishop till opportunity did yield bishops to ordain him?—or did Providence order, that there should be no such solitary churches? The ancient commentator, contemporary

* Ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος.—Act. i. 20.

† Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο.—Ver. 23.

‡ Ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἕνα ὃν ἐξελέξω.—Ver. 24.

|| Acts vi. 2, 5.—Τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ ἐξελέξαντο.

p Acts i. 15.

* Καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγὼ σοὶ διεταξάμην.—Tit. i. 5. Διακρίσεις πνευμάτων.—1 Cor. xii. 10.

† Κλήρῳ ἕνα γε κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.—Eus. iii. 23.

‡ Τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν, συνευδοκησάσης ἐκκλησίας πάσης.—Clem. Epist. p. 57.

|| Καὶ οὗτοι δοκιμαζέσθωσαν πρῶτον, εἶτα διακονείτωσαν, ἀνέγκλητοι ὄντες.—1 Tim. iii. 10.

§ Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti.—*Tertull. Apol.* 39. Plena diligentia, exploratione sincere.—*Cypr.* Ep. 68.

to St. Ambrose, and bearing his name, did conceive,* that upon decease of a bishop the elder of the presbyters did succeed into his place. Whence had he this? out of his invention and conjecture, or from some tradition and history?[r]

Afterward, when the faith was diffused through many provinces, that churches grew thick and close, the general practice was this: the neighbour bishops (being advertised of a vacancy, or want of a bishop) did convene at the place; then in the congregation the clergy of the place did propound a person, yielding their attestation to his fitness for the charge; which the people hearing, did give their suffrages accepting him, if no weighty cause was objected against him; or refusing him, if such cause did appear: then, upon such recommendation and acceptance, the bishops present did adjoin their approbation and consent; then by their devotions, and solemn laying on of their hands, they did ordain or consecrate him to the function.

Of this course most commonly practised in his time we have divers plain testimonies in St. Cyprian, the best author extant concerning these matters of ancient discipline: "For which reason," saith he, "that from divine tradition and apostolical observation is to be observed and held, which also is with us, and almost through all provinces, kept; that for duly celebrating ordinations unto that people, for whom a bishop is ordained, all the neighbour bishops of the same" (province or people) "should resort; and a bishop should be chosen, the people being present, which most fully knoweth the life of each one, and hath from his conversation a thorough insight into his practice; the which we see done with you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, that by the suffrage of all the fraternity, and by the judgment of all the bishops, which had assembled in the presence, and had sent letters to you about him, the bishopric should be deferred to him."*

Again, "A people obedient to the Lord's commands, and fearing God, ought to separate itself from a wicked bishop" (such a notoriously wicked bishop as those were of whom he treateth, who had renounced the faith), "and not to mingle itself with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious priest; seeing especially that it hath a power either to choose worthy priests, or to refuse those who are unworthy; the which also we see to descend from divine authority, that a bishop should be chosen, the people being present, before the eyes of all; and that he who is worthy and fit, should be approved by public judgment and testimony."†

Again,‡ when (saith he concerning himself) "a bishop is substituted in the place of one deceased, when he is peaceably chosen by the suffrage of all the people;"—and, "whom, if according to the divine instructions, the whole fraternity would obey, no man would move any thing against the college of priests: none after the divine judgment, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of the fellow-bishop, would make himself judge, not indeed of the bishop, but of God."||

* Primum presbyteri episcopi appellabantur ut recedente uno sequens ei succederet, &c.—*Vide Dist.* lxvi. cap. 2. At first presbyters were called bishops, that one departing, the next might succeed him.

[r] In Eph. iv 11.

* Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione observandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere per provincias universas tenetur; ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione perspexit; quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio, et de episcoporum, qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio episcopatus ei deferretur.—*Cypr.* Ep. 68.

† Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi sacerdotis sacrificia miscere; quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi; quod et ipsum videmus de divina auctoritate descendere; ut sacerdos plebe præsente sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico judicio ac testimonio comprobetur —— *Cypr.* Ep.

‡ Suffragio totius populi Cyprianus eligitur.—*Optat.* 1.

|| Cæterum quando episcopus in locum de-

Again, "Cornelius was made bishop by the judgment of God and his Christ, by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage of the people being then present, and by the college of priests, ancient and good men:"* and, "Cornelius being in the catholic church ordained by the judgment of God, and by the suffrage of the clergy and people."†

Again, "When a bishop is once made, and is approved by the testimony and the judgment of his colleagues, and of the people"——.‡

The author of the Apostolical Constitutions thus in the person of St. Peter very fully and clearly describeth the manner of ordination of bishops in his times:—"After one of the chief bishops present has thus prayed, the rest of the priests with all the people shall say Amen; and after the prayer, one of the bishops shall deliver the eucharist into the hands of the person ordained, and that morning he shall be placed by the rest of the bishops in his throne, all of them saluting him with a kiss in the Lord. After the reading of the Law and Prophets, of our Epistles, the Acts and Gospel, he who is ordained shall salute the church with these words,—The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all, Amen. And let all answer, And with thy spirit. After which words let him exhort the people."||

Thus it was then, in a practice so obvious and observable, that a pagan emperer took good notice of it, and chose to imitate it in constituting the governors of provinces, and other officers: "When" (saith Lampridius of Alexander Severus) "he would either give rulers to provinces, or make presidents, or ordain procurators, he set up their names, exhorting the people, if they had any thing against them, to prove it by manifest evidence; if they could not make their accusation good, they were to die for it: and he said it would be hard not to do that in the choice of governors of provinces, to whom the lives and fortunes of men were intrusted, which the Christians and Jews did in setting up those who were to be ordained priests."*

Afterward, in process of time, when (the gaps of distance being filled up, and Christendom becoming one continued body) ecclesiastical discipline was improved into a more complete shape; for constitution of a bishop, all the *bishops* of a *province* did convene (or such as could with convenience, the others signifying their mind by writing), and having approved him who was recommended by the clergy, and allowed by the people, they did ordain him; the *metropolitan* of the *province*, ratifying what was done.†

So the Nicene synod, regarding the practice which had commonly obtained, did appoint, with a qualification to be generally observed: "It is most fit" (say they) "that a bishop be constituted by all bishops in the province; but if this be hard, either because of urgent necessity, or for the length of the way, then three of the body being gathered together (those also who are absent conspiring in opinion, and yielding their consent in writing), let the ordination be performed, but let the ratification of what is done be

functi substituitur, quando populi universi suffragio in pace deligitur—cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam non episcopi sed Dei faceret ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55.

* Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

† Cornelio in catholica ecclesia de Dei judicio, et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 67.

‡ Episcopo semel facto, et collegarum ac plebis testimonio et judicio comprobato ——. *Ep.* 41. (*ad Cornel.*)

|| Const. Apost. viii. 4.—Postquam hæc erit precatus, &c.

* Ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores id est rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut siquid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret, pœnam capitis; dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita.—*Lamprid. in Alex. Sev.* cap. 45.

† Παλαιὸς θεσμός.—Syn. Constantinop. Theod. v. 9.

assigned to the metropolite in each province."*

In this canon (the which is followed by divers canons of other synods) there is no express mention concerning the interest of the clergy and people in election of the bishops; but these things are only passed over, as precedaneous to the constitution or ordination, about which only the Fathers did intend to prescribe; supposing the election to proceed according to former usual practice.

That we ought thus to interpret the canon, so that the Fathers did not intend to exclude the people from their choice, doth appear from their synodical epistle; wherein they decree concerning bishops constituted by Meletius, who, returning to communion with the church, did live in any city, that, "If any Catholic bishop should happen to die, then should those who were already received ascend into the honour of him deceased; in case they should appear worthy, and the people should choose, the bishop of Alexandria withal adding his suffrage to him, and his confirmation;"† the which words with sufficient evidence do interpret the canon not to concern the election, but the ordination of bishops.

Thus the Fathers of the second general synod plainly did interpret this canon by their proceeding; for they, in their synodical epistle to Pope Damasus and the western bishops,[t] did assure him, that they, in the constitution of bishops for the principal eastern Sees, had followed this order of the synod of Nice, together with "the ancient law of the church;"‡ in agreement whereto they had ordained Nectarius bishop of Constantinople, "with common consent, under the eyes of the most religious Emperor Theodosius, and of all the clergy, the whole city adjoining also its suffrage;"* and that for Antioch, "the bishops of the province, and of the eastern diocese concurring, had canonically ordained Flavianus bishop, the whole church consenting, as with one voice, to honour the person."†

Indeed, the practice generally doth confirm this, the people everywhere continuing to elect their bishop. So did the people of Alexandria demand Athanasius for their bishop.[u] So Pope Julius did complain, that Gregory was intruded into the place of Athanasius, "not being required by the presbyters, not by the bishops, not by the people."‡ So Gregory Nazianzen describeth the elections of bishops in his times, to be carried by the power of wealthy men, and impetuousness of the people.[v] So Austin intimateth the same in his speech about designation of a successor to himself:|| "I know" (says he) "that after the decease of bishops the churches are wont to be disturbed by ambitious and contentious men."§ So the tumults at Antioch, in choosing a bishop after Eustathius; at Rome, after Liberius; at Constantinople, after Alexander; at Milan, when St. Ambrose was chosen.

So Stephanus, bishop of Ephesus, in justification of himself saith, "Me forty bishops of Asia, by the suffrage of the most noble and of the substantial citizens, and of all the most reverend clergy, and of all the rest of the whole city, did ordain;"¶ and his competitor, Bassianus, "Me, with great constraint and violence,

* Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι—τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ ——. Conc. Nic. Can. 4.

† Εἰ δέ τινας συμβαίη ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, τηνικαῦτα προσανυβαίνειν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετελευκότος τοὺς ἄρτι προσληφθέντας, μόνον εἰ ἄξιοι φαίνοιντο, καὶ ὁ λαὸς αἱροῖτο, συνεπιψηφίζοντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπισφραγίζοντος τοῦ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου. —Socr. i. 9; Theod. i. 9.

‡ Παλαιός τε θεσμὸς κεκράτηκε, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ πατέρων ὅρος—Οἷς ἀκολούθως ——.

* ——μετὰ κοινῆς ὁμονοίας, ὑπ' ὄψεσι καὶ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου, παντός τε τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ πάσης ἐπιψηφιζομένης τῆς πόλεως.

† ——ἐπίσκοπον Φλαβιανὸν οἵ τε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν, πάσης συμψήφου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὥσπερ διὰ μιᾶς φωνῆς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμησάσης.

‡ Μὴ αἰτηθέντα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, μὴ παρ' ἐπισκόπων, μὴ παρὰ λαῶν.—Ath. ibid. p. 749.

|| Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 59, 60; Socr. i. 24.—Μερισθέντος τοῦ πλήθους—. Sozom. vi. 23; Marcell. lib. 27.—Διχῆ διακριθὲν τὸ πλῆθος.—. Socr. i. 24; Soz. iii. 4; Theod. iv. 6.

§ Scio post obitus episcoporum per ambitiosos aut contentiosos solere ecclesias perturbari ——. *Aug.* Ep. 110.

¶ Ἐμὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἀσίας ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν λαμπροτάτων, καὶ τῶν λογάδων, καὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεστάτου παντὸς κλήρου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων τῆς πόλεως πάσης ἐχειροτόνησαν.—Conc. Chalc. Act. xi. p. 404.

Vide Can. Apost. 1; Conc. Antioch. Can. 19; Conc. Laod. Can. 12—; Conc. Afr. Can. 13.

[t] Theod. v. 9.

[u] Ath. Apol. ii. p. 726.

[v] Orat. xix. 310. Epist. 21.

the people and the clergy, and the bishops did install."*

In the synod of Chalcedon, Eusebius, bishop of Ancyra, saith, that "the whole city of Gangra did come to him, bringing their suffrages:† Posidius telleth us of St. Austin, that "in ordaining priests and clergymen he deemed the greater consent of Christians, and the custom of the church, was to be followed."†

So Celestine the first, "Let no bishop be given them against their wills; let the consent and request of the clergy, the people, and the order, be expected;"|| and Pope Leo the first: "When there shall be an election of a bishop, let him be preferred who has the unanimous consent of the clergy and people; so that if the votes be divided, and part for another person, let him, by the judgment of the metropolitan, be preferred, whose merits and interest are greatest; only that none may be ordained against their wills, or without their desire, lest the unwilling people contemn or hate a bishop whom they never desired, and become less religious than they ought, because they could not have such a bishop as they would."§ And in another of his Epistles, "There is no reason that they should be accounted bishops, who were neither chosen by the clergy, nor desired by the people, nor with the metropolitan's order consecrated by the provincial bishops——."¶

"Certainly the desires of the citizens, and the testimonies of the people should have been expected with the judgment of the honourable, and the choice of the clergy, which in the ordinations of priests used to be observed by those who knew the rules of the Fathers."*—"When peaceably, and with such concord as God loves, he who is to be a teacher of peace is ordained by the agreement of all."†—"Let priests who are to be ordained be required peaceably and quietly; let the subscription of the clergy, the testimony of the honourable, the consent of the order and people, be observed; let him who is to preside over all be chosen by all."‡ And Pope Nicholas I., "Because we know the custom of your royal city, that none can arrive at the top of the highest priestly power without the assent of the ecclesiastical people and the emperor's suffrage."||

Now in all these proceedings it is most apparent that there was no regard had to the pope, or any thought of him, out of his particular territory; which he had as metropolitan (or afterwards as primate in some parts of the west.) Nowhere else had he the least finger in the constitution of a bishop anywhere through the whole church; no, not of the least clergyman.

When by St. Cyprian so largely and punctually the manner of constituting bishops is declared;▼ when the Nicene canons and those of other synods do so carefully prescribe about the ordination of them; when so many reports concern-

* Ἐμὲ δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ βίας ἐνθρονίζουσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν Ἔφεσον ὁ λαὸς, καὶ ὁ κλῆρος, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι.—Ibid.

† Ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ εἰς Ἀγκύραν καὶ ἐκόμισαν τὰ ψηφίσματα.—Syn. Chalc. Act. xvi. p. 462.

‡ In ordinandis vero sacerdotibus et clericis consensum majorem Christianorum, et consuetudinem ecclesiæ sequendam esse arbitrabatur. *Posid. in Aug. Vit.* cap. 20.

|| Nullus invitis detur episcopus; cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensum ac desiderium requiratur ——. *Celest. I.* Ep. 2.

§ Cum ergo de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus præponatur, quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postularint; ita ut si in aliam forte personam partium se vota diviserint, metropolitani judicio is alteri præferatur, qui majoribus et studiis juvatur et meritis, tantum ut nullus invitis et non petentibus ordinetur; ne civitas episcopum non optatum aut contemnat aut oderit, et fiat minus religiosa quam convenit, cui non licuit habere quem voluit.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 84, *ad Anastas.*

¶ Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti, nec a provincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani judicio consecrati.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 92.

* Expectarentur certe vota civium, testimonia populorum, quæreretur honoratorum arbitrium, electio clericorum, quæ in sacerdotum solent ordinationibus ab his qui norunt patrum regulas custodiri.—*P. Leo* Ep. 89, *Dist.* lxiii. cap. 27.

† Quum per pacem, et Deo placitam concordiam consonis omnium studiis qui doctor pacis futurus est ordinatur.—*Ibid.*

‡ Per pacem et quietem sacerdotes qui præfuturi sunt postulentur; teneatur subscriptio clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus et plebis; qui præfuturus est omnibus, ab omnibus eligatur.—*Ibid.*

|| *P. Nich. I.* Ep. 5.—Quia consuetudinem vestram novimus in regia urbe, minimo apicem archieraticæ potestatis aliquem posse habere sine ecclesiasticæ plebis assensu atque imperiali suffragio ——. *P. Joh. VIII.* Ep. lxx. Dist. 62.

▼ *Vide* P. Leo Ep. 84, 101, 107.

ing the election of bishops do occur in history; why is there not a tittle of mention concerning any special interest of the Roman bishops about them?

So true is that of Alb. Crantzius: "There was no need then of apostolical confirmation; it was sufficient if the election were approved by the archbishop: now the church of Rome has assumed to herself the rights of all churches."*

We may by the way observe, that in the first times they had not so much as an absolute power of ordaining a presbyter in the church of his own city without leave of the clergy and people; as may be inferred from that passage in Eusebius, where Pope Cornelius relateth that the bishop who ordained Novatus, "being hindered from doing it by all the clergy, and by many of the laity, did request that it might be granted to him to ordain that one person;"† and he that so hardly could ordain one priest in his own church, what authority could he have to constitute bishops in all other churches?

To all these evidences of fact[x] our adversaries do oppose some instances of popes meddling in the constitution of bishops; as, Pope Leo I. saith, that Anatolius did, "by the favour of his assent, obtain the bishopric of Constantinople."‡ The same pope is alleged as having confirmed Maximus of Antioch. The same doth write to the bishop of Thessalonica (his vicar), that he should "confirm the elections of bishops by his authority."|| He also confirmed Donatus, an African bishop: "We will that Donatus preside over the Lord's flock, upon condition that he remember to send us an account of his faith."* Also Gregory I. doth complain of it, as of an inordinate act, that a bishop of Salonæ was "ordained without his knowledge."† Pope Damasus did confirm the ordination of Peter Alexandrinus: "The Alexandrians" (saith Sozomen) "did render the churches to Peter, being returned from Rome, with the letters of Damasus, which confirmed both the Nicene decrees, and his ordination:"‡ but what, I pray, doth confirmation here signify, but approbation? for did he otherwise confirm the Nicene decrees? did they need other confirmation?

To the former instances we answer, that, being well considered, they do much strengthen our argument; in that they are so few, so late, so lame, so impertinent: for if the pope had enjoyed a power of constituting bishops, more instances of its exercise would have been producible; indeed it could not be but that history would have been full of them; the constitution of bishops being a matter of continual use, and very remarkable. At least they might have found one instance or other to allege before the times of that busy Pope Leo; in whose time, and by whose means, papal authority began to overflow its banks. And those which they produce do nowise reach home to the point: Anatolius did obtain the bishopric of Constantinople "by the help of the emperor, and by the assent of the pope's favour:"|| what then? Anatolius being put into that See in the room of Flavianus, by the influence of Dioscorus (whose responsal he had been), and having favoured the Eutychian faction, Pope Leo might thence have had a fair colour to disavow him as uncapable of that function and

* Nihil tum opus erat apostolica confirmatione; satis erat electionem ab archiepiscopo comprobari: nunc ad se omnium ecclesiarum jura traxit Romana ecclesia.—*Crantz. Metrop.* vii. 45.

† Διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἠξίωσε συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι.—P. Cornel. apud Euseb. vi. 43.

‡ Satis est quod vestræ pietatis auxilio, et mei favoris assensu episcopatum tantæ urbis obtinuit.—*P. Leo* Ep. 54; De Marc. iii. 14, § 1.

|| Ut ordinationem rite celebrandam tua quoque firmet authoritas.—*P. Leo* Ep. 84 (*ad Anastas.*)

[x] Bell. ii. 18, 20.

* Donatum—ita Dominico volumus gregi præsidere, ut libellum fidei suæ ad nos meminerit dirigendum ——. *P. Leo* Ep. 87.

† Solonitanæ civitatis episcopus ne ac responsali meo nesciente ordinatus est, et facta res est, quæ sub nullis anterioribus principus evenit.—*Greg.* Ep. iv. 34.

‡ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς· ἐπανελθόντι δὲ τότε Πέτρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μετὰ γραμμάτων Δαμάσου τότε ἐν Νικαίᾳ δόξαντα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χειροτονίαν κυροῦντων, παρέδωκαν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.—Sozom. vi. 39.

|| Nos enim vestræ fidei et interventionis habentes intuitum, cum secundum suæ consecrationis authores ejus initia titubarent, benigniores erga ipsum quam justiores esse voluimus ——. *P. Leo* Ep. 55. (*ad Martianum.*)

dignity, he being so obnoxious;* both having such a flaw in his ordination, and having been guilty of great faults, adherence to the party of Dioscorus, and irregularly ordaining the bishop of Antioch; but he, "out of regard to the emperor's intervention," did acknowledge Anatolius for bishop: this was the "favourable assent" with which he upbraideth Anatolius, having displeased him: and what doth this signify?

Again, Pope Leo did not reject Maximus, bishop of Antioch, from communion, nor disclaimed his ordination, although liable to exception:† what then? Is this a confirmation of him? No such matter: it was only, which in such a vixenly pope was a great favour, a forbearance to quarrel with him, as not duly ordained; which any other bishop might have done. If a pope had a flaw in his ordination, another bishop might refuse him.

Again, Pope Leo did enjoin the bishop of Thessalonica to confirm ordinations: what is that to the purpose? It belonged to that bishop, as a *metropolitan*, by the canons, to confirm those in his *province*, or, as a *primate*, to confirm those in his *diocese;* it belonged to him, as the pope's vicar in those territories to which the pope had stretched his jurisdiction, to execute the pope's orders: but what is this to universal authority? It is certain that Illyricum was then in a more special manner subjected to the pope's jurisdiction than any of the other eastern churches; what therefore he did there, cannot be drawn into consequence as to other places.

The same may be said in answer to the complaint of Pope Gregory, and to any the like instances.

Moreover, surreptitious, presumptuous, pragmatical intrusions, or usurpations of power, do not suffice to found a right in this or any other case; to which purpose, and wholly to invalidate any such pleas, these observations may be considered.

1. There do occur divers instances of bishops, who did meddle in ordinations of other bishops, so as to bear great stroke in constituting them, who did not thereby pretend to universal jurisdiction; and it would be extremely ridiculous thence to infer they had any reasonable claim thereto.

Thus it was objected to Athanasius, "that he presumed to ordain in cities which did not belong to him."* Eusebius of Constantinople did obtrude Eusebius Emissenus to be bishop of Alexandria.† Eustathius of Antioch did ordain Evagrius bishop of Constantinople.[r] Euzoius delivered unto Lucius the bishopric of Alexandria.‡ Lucifer, a Sardinian bishop, did ordain Paulinus bishop of Antioch.|| They for a *salve* say, as the pope's legate: but upon what ground or testimony? Why did not historians tell us so much? The pope had then been hissed at, if he had sent legates about such errands; it was indeed out of presumption and pragmatical zeal to serve a party, then ordinary in persons addicted to all parties, right and wrong; it not being then so expressly forbidden by the canons as afterward.

Theognis and Theodorus did make Macedonius bishop of Constantinople.[s] Theophilus of Alexandria did ordain St. Chrysostom.§ The Egyptian bishops surreptitiously did constitute Maximus, the Cynic philosopher, bishop of Constantinople.¶ Acacius (who had as little to do there as the pope) did thrust Edoxius into the throne of Constantinople.** Meletius, of Antioch, did constitute St. Gregory Nazianzen to the charge of Constantinople.†† Acacius and Patrophilus, extruding Maximus "did in his

* Decessore enim tuo B. memoriæ Flaviano propter defensionem catholicæ veritatis ejecto, non immerito credebatur quodordinatores tui contra sanctorum canonum constituta viderentur sui similem consecrasse —— Post illa itaque ordinationis tuæ non inculpata principia ——. *P. Leo* Ep. 53. *ad anatol.* Liber. cap. 12.

† Quod nos amore reparandæ fidei, et pacis studio retractare cessavimus.—*P. Leo* Ep. 54 *ad Marcian.*) Conc. Chalc. Act. 10.

* Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τοῦτο ἔγκλημα αὐτῷ ἐπῆγον, ὡς ἐν πόλεσι μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσαις χειροτονεῖν ἐτόλμησεν.—Soz. iii. 21.

† Ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας προεβήθη θρόνον ὑπὸ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπου.—Soz. ii. 5.

‡ Ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι Λουκίῳ τῷ Ἀρειανῷ τὰς ἐκεῖ ἐκκλησίας.—Socr. iv. 21.

|| Ἐχειροτόνησε τὸν Παυλῖνον ἐπίσκοπον.—Socr. iii. 6; vi. 2.

§ Θεόφιλος Ἰωάννην ἐχειροτόνησε.—Socr. vi. 2.

¶ Τοῦτον κλέψαντες τὴν χειροτονίαν ἐπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατέστησαν οἱ τότε ἐξ Αἰγύπτου συνελθόντες.—Soz. vii. 9.

** Τῶν περὶ Ἀκάκιον ἐνθρονισάντων αὐτόν,—Socr. ii. 13.

†† Ἤδη πρώην εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν διὰ τὴν Γρηγορίου κατάστασιν ἀφικόμενος.—Soz. vii. 2, 3.

[r] Socr. iv. 14. [s] Soz. ii. 6.

room constitute Cyril" bishop of Jerusalem.* Pope Leo doth complain of Anatolius, that "against the canonical rule he had assumed to himself the ordination of the bishop of Antioch."†

2. To obviate these irregular and inconvenient proceedings, having crept in upon the dissensions in faith, and especially upon occasion of Gregory Nazianzen being constituted bishop of Constantinople by Meletius, and Maximus being thrust into the same See by the Egyptians (whose party for a time the Roman church did countenance), the second general synod did ordain, that no bishop should intermeddle about ordinations without the bounds of his own diocese.

3. In pursuance of this law, or upon the ground of it, the pope was sometimes checked, when he presumed to make a sally beyond his bounds in this or the like cases.

As when Pope Innocent I. did send some bishops to Constantinople for procuring a synod to examine the cause of St. Chrysostom; "those of Constantinople——did cause them to be dismissed with disgrace, as molesting a government beyond their bounds."‡

4. Even in the western parts, after that the pope had wriggled himself into most countries there, so as to obtain sway in their transactions, yet he in divers places did not meddle in ordinations: "We do not" (says Pope Leo I.) "arrogate to ourselves a power of ordaining in your provinces."||

Even in some parts of Italy itself the pope did not confirm bishops till the times of Pope Nicholas I., as may be collected from the submission then of the bishop of Ravenna to that condition, "that he should have no power to consecrate bishops canonically elected in the regio Flaminia, unless it were granted him by letters from the apostolical see."§

And it was not without great opposition and struggling that he got that power otherwhere than in his original precincts, or where the juncture of things did afford him special advantage.

5. If examples would avail to determine right, there are more, and more clear instances of emperors interposing in the constitution of bishops than of popes; as they had ground in reason, and authority in holy scripture: *And Zadock the priest did the king put in the room of Abiathar.*[a] Constantine did interpose at the designation of a bishop at Antioch in the room of Eustathius.[b] Upon Gregory Nazianzen's recess from Constantinople, Theodosius (that excellent emperor, who would not have infringed right) "did command the bishops present to write in paper the names of those whom each did approve worthy to be ordained, and reserved to himself the choice of one;" and accordingly they obeying, he, out of all that were nominated, "did elect Nectarius."* "Constantius did deliver the see of Constantinople to Eusebius Nicomediensis."† Constantius was angry with Macedonius, because he was ordained "without his licence."‡ He "rejecting Eleusius and Sylvanus did order others to be substituted in their places."|| When, before St. Ambrose, the See of Milain was vacant, a synod of bishops "there did entreat the emperor to declare one."§ Flavianus said to the Emperor Theodosius, "Give forsooth, O king, the See of Antioch to whom you shall think good."¶ The emperor did call Nestorius from Antioch to the See of

* Ἀκάκοις μὲν γὰρ καὶ Πατρόφιλος Μάξιμον τὸν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐξωθήσαντες Κύριλλον ἀντικατέστησαν. —Socr. ii. 238.

† Post consecrationem Antiocheni episcopi, quam tibimet contra canonicam regulam vendicasti ——. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 53. (*ad Anatol.*)

‡ Τοὺς μὲν ὑπεροψίαν ἀρχὴν ἐνοχλήσαντας ἀτίμως ἐκπεμφθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν.—Sozom. viii. 28.

|| Non enim nobis ordinationes vestrarum provinciarum defendimus.—*P. Leo.* Ep. 89.

§ —— et ne electos etiam canonice in Flaminia episcopos consecrandi facultatem haberet, nisi id sibi a sede apostolica literis concederetur.—*Plat. in P. Nichol. I.*

* Προστάξαντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐγγράψαι χάρτῃ τὰς προσηγορίας ὧν ἕκαστοι δοκιμάζουσιν εἰς τὴν χειροτονίαν ἀξίων, ἑαυτῷ δὲ φυλάξαντος τοῦ ἕνος τὴν αἵρεσιν — καὶ Νεκτάριον αἱρεῖται.—Sozom. vii. 8.

† Εὐσεβίῳ τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον παρέδωκεν.—Id. iii. 4.

‡ Ὅτι πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρίψαι, ἐχειροτονήθη.—Id. iii. 6.

|| Τοὺς μὲν ἐξήλασε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν καταστῆναι προσέταξε.—Theodor. iii. 27.

§ Αὐτὸν ἡ σύνοδος ἠξίου ψηφίσασθαι ——. Id. iv. 7.

¶ Τοι γάρ τοι ὁδὸς ᾧ βούλει τὸν Ἀντιοχέων θρόνον, ὦ Βασιλεῦ ——. Id. v. 23.

[a] 1 Kings ii. 35.

[b] Euseb. de Vit. Const. iii. 59, 60.

Constantinople;* and he was, saith Vincentius Lir., "elected by the emperor's judgment."† The favour of Justinian did advance Menas to the See of Constantinople;‡ and the same did prefer Eutychius thereto.|| He did put in Pope Vigilius ——.

In Spain the kings had the election of bishops by the decrees of the council of Toledo.[c]

That the Emperor Charles did use to confirm bishops, Pope John VIII. doth testify, reproving the archbishop of Verdun for rejecting a bishop "whom the clergy and people of the city had chosen, and the Emperor Charles had confirmed by his consent."§

When Macarius, bishop of Antioch,¶ for monothelitism was deposed in the sixth synod, the bishops under that throne did request the presidents of the synod to suggest another to the emperor to be substituted in his room.

In Gratian there are divers passages wherein popes declared, that they could not ordain bishops to churches, even in Italy, without the emperor's leave and licence. As indeed there are also in later times other decrees (made by popes of another kidney, or in other junctures of affairs), which forbid princes to meddle in the election of bishops; as in the seventh synod, and in the eight synod as they call it, upon occasion of Photius being placed in the See of Constantinople by the power of the court.[d] And that of Pope Nicholas I., by which discordance in practice we may see the consistence and stability of doctrine and practice in the Roman church.*

The emperors for a long time did enjoy the privilege of constituting or confirming the popes; for (says Platina, in the Life of Pelagius II.) "nothing was then done by the clergy in electing a pope, unless the emperor approved the election."† He did confirm Pope Gregory I. and Pope Agatho.

"Pope Adrian, with his whole synod, did deliver to Charles the Great the right and power of electing the pope and ordaining the apostolic see. He, moreover, defined that archbishops and bishops in every province should receive investiture from him; and that if a bishop were not commended and invested by the king, he should be consecrated by none; and whoever should act against this decree, him he did noose in the band of anathema."‡

The like privilege did Pope Leo VIII. attribute to the Emperor Otho I. "We give him" (says he) "for ever power to ordain a successor and bishop of the chief apostolic see, and change archbishops,"|| &c. And Platina, in his Life, says, "That being weary of the inconstancy of the Romans, he transferred all authority to choose a pope from the clergy and people of Rome to the emperor."§

* Visum est imperatoribus nullum ordinare de Constantinopolitana ecclesia pontificem——. Nestorium quasi utilem ad docendum Constantinopolin principes evocaverunt.—*Lib. Brev.* 6; *Socr.* vii. 29.

† Quem tanto imperii judicio electum, tanto sacerdotum studio prosecutum——. *Vinc. Lir.* p. 330.

‡ Tunc papa principis favore Menam pro eo (Anthimo) ordinavit antistitem.—*Lib.* cap. 21.

|| —— *ἀνεβίβασε τὸν Εὐτύχιον.*—Evag. iv. 38.

§ Quem clerus et populus civitatis eligerat, piæque memoriæ Carolus imperator suo consensu firmarerat ——. *P. Joh. VII.* Ep. 70.

¶ *Αἰτοῦμεν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐνδοξότητα τοῦ ἀναγάγαι τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ καὶ —— ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ καὶ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ ἕτερον ἀντὶ Μακαρίου—διὰ τὸ μὴ χηρεύειν τὸν τοιοῦτον θρόνον.*—Syn. VI. Act. xii. (p. 208.)

[c] Conc. Tolet. xii. cap. 6; apud Gr. Dist. lxiii. cap. 25.

[d] Dist. lxiii. cap. 9; Greg. I. Ep. iv. 15, cap. 15-18; P. Leo. IV. et. Steph.; Dist. lxiii. cap. 6, 7; Ibid. cap. 1, 2.

* Ibid. cap. 4.—[It is a notorious thing, that most princes in the west, in Germany, France, England, did invest bishops till the time of Pope Gregory VII. when that boisterous man did raise so much stir in Christendom to dispossess them of that right; which they enjoyed, not only as princes, but as founders, patrons, benefactors, protectors of churches.]

† Nihil a clero in eligendo pontifice actum erat, nisi ejus electionem imperator approbasset.—*Plat in Pelagio II.* (p. 154;) Dist. 63; Plat. p. 155|; *vide* Joh. Diac. et Anastas. Dist. lxiii. cap. 21.

‡ Hadrianus autem papa cum universa synodo tradiderunt jus et potestatem eligendi pontificem, et ordinandi apostolicam sedem —— insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere definivit; et nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur episcopus, a nemine consecretur: et quicunque contra hoc decretum ageret, anathematis vinculo eum innodavit.—*Dist.* lxiii. cap. 22.

|| Largimur in perpetuum facultatem successorem, atque summæ sedis apostolicæ pontificem ordinandi, ac perhoc archiepiscopos seu episcopos, &c.—*Ibid.* cap. 23.

§ Qui statim Romanorum inconstantiæ per-

Now, I pray, if this power of confirming bishops do by divine institution belong to the pope, how could he part with it, or transfer it on others? is not this a plain renunciation in popes of their divine pretence?

6. General synods, by an authority paramount, have assumed to themselves the constitution and confirmation of bishops.[e] So the second general synod did confirm the ordination of Nectarius, bishop of Constantinople, and of Flavianus, bishop of Antioch: "This ordination" (say they) "the synod generally have admitted,"* although the Roman church did not approve the ordination of Nectarius, and for a time after did oppose that of Flavianus. So the fifth synod, it seemeth, did confirm the ordination of Theophanius, bishop of Antioch. So the synod of Pisa did constitute Pope Alexander V.; that of Constance, Pope Martin V.; that of Basil, Pope Felix V.

7. All Catholic bishops in old times might, and commonly did, confirm the elections and ordinations of bishops, to the same effect as popes may be pretended to have done; that is, by signifying their approbation or satisfaction concerning the orthodoxy of their faith, the attestation to their manners, the legality of their ordination, no canonical impediment; and consequently by admitting them to communion of peace and charity, and correspondence in all good offices, which they express by returning *κοινωνικαὶ ἐπιστολαὶ* in answer to their synodical-communicatory letters.

Thus did St. Cyprian and all the bishops of that age confirm the ordination of Pope Cornelius, being contested by Novatian; as St. Cyprian in terms doth affirm: "When the see of St. Peter, the sacerdotal chair, was vacant, which by the will of God being occupied, and by all our consents confirmed," &c.†—"to confirm thy ordination with a greater authority."*

To which purpose, each bishop did write epistles to other bishops (or at least to those of highest rank), acquainting them with his ordination and instalment, making a profession of his faith, so as to satisfy them of his capacity of the function.

8. But bishops were complete bishops before they did give such an account of themselves; so that it was not in the power of the pope, or of any others, to reverse their ordination, or dispossess them of their places. There was no confirmation importing any such matter: this is plain; and one instance will serve to shew it;—that of Pope Honorius, and of Sergius, bishop of Constantinople, who speak of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem; that he was constituted bishop before their knowledge, and receipt of his synodical letters.†

9. If the designation of any bishop should belong to the pope, then especially that of metropolitans, who are the chief princes of the church; but this anciently did not belong to him. In Afric the most ancient bishop of the province (without election) did succeed into that dignity. Where the metropoles were fixed, all the bishops of the province did convene, and with the consent of the clergy, persons of quality, and the commonalty, did elect him.‡ So was St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, elected. So Nectarius of Constantinople, Flavianus of Antioch, and Cyril of

tæsus authoritatem omnem eligendi pontificis a clero populoque Romano ad imperatorem transtulit——. *Plat in Leo VIII.* p. 291.

* Ἥνπερ ἐνθεσμον χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινόν—Theod. v. 9.

† Cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52 (*ad Anton.*)

* Conc. Const. sess. 40; Conc. Bas. sess. xxxvii. (p. 98.)

* Ad comprobandam ordinationem tuam factam auctoritate majore —— *Ep.* 45, *ad Corn.*

† Ὡς ἐξ ἀκοῆς καὶ μόνης μεμαθήκαμεν τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν χειροτονηθεὶς πρόεδρος· οὔπω γὰρ τὰ ἐξ ἔθους αὐτοῦ συνοδικὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐδεξάμεθα.—Syn. VI. Act. xii. 198. Νυνὶ δὲ ἀκούομεν ἐπισκόπου καθεστῶτος τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ——. P. Honor. ib. p. 198.

‡ Metropolitano defuncto, cum in locum ejus alius fuerit subrogandus, provinciales episcopi ad civitatem metropolitanam convenire debebunt, ut omnium clericorum atque omnium civium voluntate discussa expresbyteris ejusdem ecclesiæ, vel ex diaconibus optimus eligatur — *P. Leo* Ep. 88. The metropolitan being dead, when another is to be put in his place, the provincial bishops ought to meet in the metropolitan city, that by votes of the whole clergy and citizens, out of the priests or deacons of the same church, the fittest person may be chosen.

Jerusalem, as the Fathers of Constantinople tell us. So Stephanus and Bassianus, rival bishop of Ephesus, did pretend to have been chosen, as we saw before.

And for confirmation, there did not need any, there is no mention of any; except that confirmation of which we spake, a consequent approbation of them from all their fellow bishops, as having no exception against them, rendering them unworthy of communion. In the synod of Chalcedon it was defined, that the bishop of Constantinople should have equal privileges with the bishop of Rome; yet it is expressly cautioned there, that he shall not meddle in ordination of bishops in any province, that being left to the metropolitan: for a good time, even in the western parts, the pope did not meddle with the constitution of metropolitans;[f] leaving the churches to enjoy their liberties.* Afterwards, with all other rights, he snatched the *collation*, *confirmation*, &c. of metropolitans.

VII. Sovereigns have a power to censure and correct all inferior magistrates in proportion to their offences; and in case of great misdemeanour, or of incapacity, they can wholly discharge and remove them from their office.

This prerogative, therefore, he of Rome doth claim, as most proper to himself, by divine sanction.[g]

"God Almighty alone can dissolve the spiritual marriage between a bishop and his church. Therefore those three things premised" (the confirmation, translation, and deposition of bishops) "are reserved to the Roman bishop, not so much by canoninal constitution, as by divine institution."†

This power the convention of Trent doth allow him; thwarting the ancient laws, and betraying the liberties of the church thereby, and endangering the Christian doctrine to be inflected and corrupted to the advantage of papal interest.*

But such a power anciently did not, by any rule or custom, in a peculiar manner belong to the Roman bishop.†

Premising what was generally touched about jurisdiction; in reference to this branch we remark,

1. The exercising of judgment and censure upon bishops (when it was needful for general good) was prescribed to be done by synods, provincial or patriarchal (diocesan.) In them causes were to be discussed, and sentence pronounced against those who had deviated from faith, or committed misdemeanours. So it was appointed in the synod of Nice;[h] as the African synod (wherein St. Austin was one bishop) did observe, and urge in their Epistle to Pope Celestine, in those notable words: "Whether they be clergy of an inferior degree, or whether they be bishops, the Nicene decrees have most plainly committed them to the metropolitan's charge: for they have most prudently and justly discerned, that all matters whatsoever ought to be determined in the places where they do first begin; and that the grace of the Holy Spirit would not be wanting to every particular province."‡ The same law was enacted by the synod of Antioch, by the synods of Constantinople, Chalcedon, &c.[i]

Thus was Paulus Samosatenus, for his error against the divinity of our Lord, and for his scandalous demeanour, deposed by the synod of Antioch.[j] Thus was Eustathius, bishop of Antioch (being ac-

* Μηδὲν ἐπικοινοῦντος ταῖς ἐκείνων χειροτονίαις τοῦ ὁσιοτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς βασιλίδος——. Act. xvi. p. 464.

† Et ideo tria hæc quæ præmisimus non tam constitutione canonica, quam institutione divina soli sunt Romano pontifici reservata.—*P. Innoc. III. in Gregor. Decret.* lib i. tit. 7, cap. 2.

[f] *Vide* Concil. Aur. can. 7. apud de Marc. VI. iv. § 8.

[g] *Vide* Gelas. Ep. xiii. (p. 640.)

* Causæ criminales graviores contra episcopos, etiam hæresis quod absit, quæ depositione aut privatione dignæ sunt, ab ipso tantum summo Romano pontifice cognoscantur, et terminentur.—*Conc. Trid.* sess. xxiv. cap. 5.

† Ἐπίσκοπος καθαιρεῖ πάντα κληρικὸν ἄξιον ὄντα καθαιρέσεως, πλὴν ἐπισκόπου, μόνος γὰρ οὐχ οἷός τε. —Const. Ap. viii. 28. A bishop may depose any clerk who deserves it, except he be a bishop; whom to deprive, one bishop alone is not sufficient.

‡ Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt: prudentissime enim justissimeque viderunt quæcunque negotia in suis locis ubi orta sunt finienda; nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam S. Spiritus defuturam.—*Syn. Afr Ep. ad P. Celest. I.*

[h] Syn. Nic. can. 5.

[i] Syn. Ant. can. 15.

(An. 269.) Euseb. vii. 30.

cused of Sabellianism and of other faults), removed by a synod of the same place; the which sentence he quietly did bear.* Thus another Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia (for his uncouth garb and fond conceits against marriage), was discarded by the synod of Gangra. Thus did a synod of Constantinople abdicate Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, for heterodoxy in the point concerning our Lord's divinity. For the like cause was Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, deposed by a synod there, "gathered by the emperor's command." So was Athanasius tried and condemned (although unjustly as to the matter and cause) by the synod of Tyre.[k] So was St. Chrysostom (although most injuriously) desposed by a synod at Constantinople. So the bishops at Antioch (according to the emperor's order) deposed Stephanus, bishop of that place, for a wicked contrivance against the fame of Euphratas and Vincentius.[l]

In all these condemnations, censures, and depositions of bishops (whereof each was of high rank and great interest in the church), the bishop of Rome had no hand, nor so much as a little finger. All the proceedings did go on supposition of the rule and laws, that such judgments were to be passed by synods.

St. Chrysostom *δεκαπέντε ἐπισκόπους καθεῖλεν*—"deposed fifteen bishops."[m]

2. In some case a kind of deposing of bishops was assumed by particular bishops, as defenders of the faith, and executors of canons; their deposition consisting in not allowing those to be bishops, whom for erroneous doctrine or disorderly behaviour (notoriously incurred), they deemed incapable of the office, presuming their places, *ipso facto*, void.†

This Pope Gelasius I. proposed for a rule, "That not only a metropolitan, but every other bishop, hath a right to separate any persons or any place from the catholic communion, according to the rule by which his heresy is already condemned."* And upon this account did the popes for so long time quarrel with the See of Constantinople, because they did not expunge Acasius from the roll of bishops, who had communicated with heretics.† So did St. Cyprian reject Marcianus, bishop of Arles, for adhering to the Novatians. So Athanasius was said to have deposed Arian bishops, and substituted others in their places. So Acasius and his complices deposed Macedonius and divers others bishops.[n] And the bishops of those times *καθεῖλον ἀλλήμους*, factiously applying a rule taken for granted then, "deposed one another;"‡ so Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, deposed Athanasius. So Eusebius of Nicomedia threatened to depose Alexander of Constantinople, if he would not admit Arius to communion.‖ Acasius and his complices did *extrude* Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem. He also deposed and *expelled* Cyril of Jerusalem; and deposed many other bishops at Constantinople.[o] Cyril deposed Nestorius, and Nestorius deposed Cyril and Memnon. Cyril and Juvenalis deposed John of Antioch.§ John of Antioch, with his bishops, deposed Cyril and Memnon.¶ Yea, after the synod of Ephesus, John of Antioch, "gathering together many bishops, did depose Cyril."** Stephanus, concerning Bassianus: "Because he had entered into the church with swords—therefore he was expelled out of it again by the holy Fathers, both by Leo of Rome, the imperial city, and by Flavianus; by

* 'Ησυχῇ τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἤνεγκε.—Soz. ii. 9.

† Γίνωσκε ἀπὸ πάσης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι σεαυτὸν, καὶ ἀνιερόγητον πρὸς πᾶν ὁτιοῦν τῶν ἐξ αὐθεντίας ἱερατικῆς.—P. Celest. in Nest. Sent. Eph. Act. p. 195.

[k] Socr. i. 24; ii. 43; Soz. iii. 14; Socr. i. 36; ii. 29; i. 28.

[l] Theod. ii. 10.

[m] Act. xi. Syn. Chalc. p. 411; Hæc ϕ, cum 4, jungenda.

* Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant.—*Ep.* 4.

† 'Επεὶ οὖν ἐχρὴν τὸν ἐπὶ κακοδοξίᾳ φωραεθέντα μητ' ἑτέρας ἄρχειν ἐκκλησίας, ἢ διδασκάλου ὄνομα περιφέρειν.—Conc sub Men. (p. 10.)

‡ Πρότερον καθελών.—Socr. ii. 24.

‖ Εὐσέβιος πολλὰ διηπείλει αὐτῷ, λέγων ὅσον οὐδέπω καθαιρήσειν αὐτὸν, εἰ νὴ εἰς κοινωνίαν δέξηται τὸν 'Αρειον.—Id. i. 37.

§ Κύριλλος δὲ ἅμα καὶ 'Ιουβεναλίῳ, ἀμυνόμενος τὸν 'Ιωάννην καθαιρεῖ καὶ αὐτόν.—Id. vii. 34.

¶ 'Η ἁγία σύνοδος —— τοῦτον μὲν καθαιρεῖ διὰ τὰ προειρημένα πάντα, Μέμνονα δὲ ὡς συνεργὸν αὐτοῦ. —Act. Syn. Eph. p. 380. 'Ως τῶν κακῶν ἡγεμόνας καθελεῖν ἠναγκάσθημεν.—Ibid. p. 320.

** 'Ιωάννης δὲ καταλαβὼν τὴν 'Αντιόχειαν καὶ πολλοὺς συναγαγὼν ἐπισκόπους καθαιρεῖ Κύριλλον, ἤδη κατειληφότα τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν.—Socr. vii. 34.

[n] Cypr. Ep. 67; Soz. iii. 21; Socr. ii. 42.

[o] 'Εξωθήσαντες.—Socr. ii. 38; Theod. ii. 26; Sozom. iv. 24.

the bishop of Alexandria, and also by the bishop of Antioch."* Anatolius of Constantinople did reject Timotheus of Alexandria. Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, did reject Petrus Fullo.

3. St. Cyprian doth assert the power of censuring bisops, upon needful and just occasion, to belong to all bishops for maintenance of common faith, discipline, and peace.

"Therefore" (saith he, writing to Pope Stephanus himself), "dear brother, the body of bishops is copious, being coupled by the glue of concord, and the band of unity, that if any of our college shall attempt to frame a heresy, or to tear and spoil the flock of Christ, the rest may succour, and like useful and merciful shepherds, may gather together the sheep of our Lord into the flock."†

The like doctrine is that of Pope Celestine I. in his Epistle to the Ephesine synod.‡

In matter of faith any bishop might interpose judgment; Theophilus did proceed to condemn the Origenists without regard to the pope.ᵖ

Epiphanius did demand satisfaction of John of Jerusalem.

4. This common right of bishops in some cases is confirmed by the nature of such censures, which consisted in disclaiming persons notoriously guilty of heresy, schism, or scandal; and in refusing to entertain communion with them: which every bishop, as entitled to the common interests of faith and peace, might do.*

5. Indeed in such a case every Christian had a right (yea an obligation) to desert his own bishop.† So John of Jerusalem having given suspicion of error in faith, St. Epiphanius did write letters to the monks of Palestine not to "communicate with him till they were satisfied of his orthodoxy."‡ Upon which account St. Jerome, living in Palestine, did decline communication with the patriarch thereof; asking him, if it "were any where said to him, or commanded, that without satisfaction concerning his faith, they were bound to maintain communion with him."‖ So every bishop, yea every Christian, hath a kind of universal jurisdiction.

6. If any pope did assume more than was allowed in this case by the canons, or was common to other bishops of his rank, it was an irregularity and an usurpation. Nor would examples, if any were producible, serve to justify him, or to ground a right thereto, any more than the extravagant proceedings of other pragmatical and factious bishops, in the same kind (whereof so many instances can be alleged), can assert such a power to any bishop.§

7. When the pope hath attempted in this kind, his power hath been disavowed, as an illegal, upstart pretence.¶

8. Other bishops have taken upon them, when they apprehended cause, to

* Ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς ἐπεισῆλθε τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ ξιφῶν —— ἐξώσθη διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων παρά τε τοῦ ὁσιοτάτου τῆς βασιλευούσης Ῥώμης Λέοντος, καὶ τοῦ μακαριστάτου Φλαυιανοῦ —— καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ.—Syn. Chalc. Act. xi. p. 405. Ὁ μακάριος ἐν ἁγίοις Φλαυιανὸς ἐξεώσατο αὐτόν.—Ibid. p. 406; Baron. ann. 457, § 34; P. Felix. III. Ep. 4.

† Idcirco enim, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut siquis ex collegio nostro hæresin facere, et gregem Christi lacerare, et vastare tentaverit, subveniant cæteri, et quasi pastores utiles et misericordes oves Dom inicas in gregem colligant.—*Cypr.* Ep. 67. (*ad Steph.*)

‡ Ἀκούσεσθω ταῦτα παρὰ πάντων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν, κύριοι ἀδελφοὶ —— ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ φροντίδι σφιγγόμεθα οἱ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην τῇ ἐκείνων διαδοχῇ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου κηρύττοντες —— &c. Conc. Eph. Act. ii. p. 324. Τοιγαροῦν περισπούδαστόν ἐστι, καὶ πρακτέον ὅπως καμάτῳ κοινῷ τὰ ἐμπιστευθέντα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς ἕως τοῦ νῦν συνεχθέντα φυλάξωμεν.—Ibid. p. 325.

ᵖ *Vide* Hier. 67 et 78.

* Cypr. Ep. 67.—Ὅσοι παρὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν πατέρων τόπους διαπράττονται, ἑαυτοῖς ἐπάγουσι τὰ ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ἐπιτίμια.—Thalass. in Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 191. Ἐχρὴν γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην μεμνημένην τῶν πατρικῶν παραδόσεων μηδένα συγχωρεῖν τὰ κεκωλυμένα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις τολμηρὸς φανείη πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐναντιοῦσθαι.—P. Agapet. ad Petr. Hier. (p. 24.)

† Εἰκότως ἡμεῖς ἐπιστάμενοι τὴν τῶν θείων κανόνων ἐκδίκησιν ἀρχιερεῦσιν μόνον ἁρμόττειν, τήνδε τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως οὐ μόνον ἱερωμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ὀρθοδόξῳ Χριστιανῷ.—Menas. (tom. iv. p. 10.) Plebs. &c. Deum metuens —— *Cypr.* Ep. 68; *vide* P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. (p 506)

‡ Cunctis monachis ab eodem Epiphanio scripta venerunt, ut absque satisfactione fidei nullus ei temere communicaret.—*Hier.* Ep. 61. (*ad Pammach.*) cap. 15.

‖ Alicubine dictum, aut tibi alicubi mandatum est, quod sine satisfactione fidei communionem tuam subiremus ?—*Ibid.* Quod tibi non communicemus, fidei est —*Ibid.* cap. 16.

§ Theophilus, John of Antioch, Dioscorus.

¶ Novam legem, &c.—*Vide* de Conc. Sard.

discard and depose popes. So did the oriental faction at Sardica depose Pope Julius for transgressing, as they supposed, the laws of the church, in fostering heretics and criminal persons condemned by synods. So did the synod of Antioch thereaten deposition to the same pope. So did the patriarch Dioscorus make show to reject Pope Leo from communion. So did St. Hilary anathematize Pope Liberius.[q]

9. Popes, when there was great occasion, and they had a great mind to exert their utmost power, have not yet presumed by themselves, "without joint authority of synods," to condemn bishops.* So Pope Julius did not presume to depose Eusebius of Nicomedia, his great adversary, and so much obnoxious by his patronising Arianism. Pope Innocent did not censure Theophilus and his complices, who so irregularly and wrongfully had extruded St. Chrysostom, although much displeased with them; but endeavoured to get a general synod to do the business. Pope Leo I. (though a man of spirit and animosity sufficient) would not, without assistance of a synod, attempt to judge Dioscorus, who had so highly provoked him and given so much advantage against him, by favouring Eutyches, and persecuting the orthodox.

Indeed often we may presume that popes would have deposed bishops, if they had thought it regular, or if others commonly had received that opinion, so that they could have expected success in their attempting it. But they many times were angry when their horns were short, and shewed their teeth when they could not bite.

10. What has been done in this kind by popes jointly with others, or in synods (especially upon advantage, when the cause was just and plausible), is not to be ascribed to the authority of popes as such. It might be done with their influence, not by their authority: so the synod of Sardica (not Pope Julius) cashiered the enemies of Athanasius; so the synod of Chalcedon (not Pope Leo) deposed Dioscorus; so the Roman synod (not Pope Celestine) checked Nestorius; and that of Ephesus deposed him. The whole western synod (whereof he was president) had a great sway.*

11. If instances were arguments of right, there would be other pretenders to the deposing power. Particular bishops would have it, as we before shewed.

12. The people would have the power; for they have sometimes deposed popes themselves, with effect.

So of Pope Constantine, Platina telleth us, "at length he is deposed by the people of Rome, being very much provoked by the indignity of the matter.†

13. There are many instances of bishops being removed or deposed by the imperial authority. This power was indeed necessarily annexed to the imperial dignity; for all bishops being subjects of the emperor, he could dispose of their persons, so as not to suffer them to continue in a place, or to put them from it as they demeaned themselves, to his satisfaction or otherwise, in reference to public utility. It is reasonable, if they were disloyal or disobedient to him, that he should not suffer them to be in places of such influence, whereby they might pervert the people to disaffection. It is fit that he should deprive them of temporalities.

The example of Solomon deposing Abiathar.[r]

Constantine M. "commanded Eusebius and Theogonius to depart out of the cities over which they presided as bishops."‡

* An qui in hominem imperatorem peccasse dicebatur, nulla interveniente synodo dejici debuerunt?—*P. Gelas. I* Ep. 13.

[q] Soz. iii. 11, 8; Evag. ii. 4; Hilar. fragm.

* Ἡ ἁγία Ῥωμαίων σύνοδος φανερὰ τετύπωκε.—Cyril. ad Joh. Ant. Conc. Eph.—p. 197, 332; Syn. p. 11, 60. Ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος, καὶ ἡ σύνοδος αὐτοῦ.—Const. Sacr. in Syn. VI. p. 11. Ἀγάθων ἐπίσκοπος σὺν πάσαις ταῖς συνόδοις ταῖς ἀνηκούσαις τῇ συνόδῳ τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου —— Ibid. p. 60. Ἀπάσης κατὰ δύσιν συνόδου.—Act. Eph. p. 332. Sit hæc in te fixa damnatio a me, et ab his qui sub me constituti episcopales sedes gubernare noscuntur ——. *P. Felix ad Petrum Antioch. apud Baron.* ann. 483, § 68.

† Tandem a sede dejicitur a populo Romano ira et indignitate rei percito. *Plat.* p. 223. *P. Leo. VIII.* p. 291. *Anastasius. Plat.* p. 131.

‡ Εὐσέβιον δὲ καὶ Θεογόνιον φεύγειν προσέταξεν ἃς ἐπισκόπουν πόλεις.—Soz. i. 21. Τότε μὲν οὗτοι καθηρέθησαν, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐξηλάθησαν.—Theodor. i. 20. He threatened Athanasius to depose him.—ἐὰν γὰρ γνῷ ὡς κεκώλυκας τινὰς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας μεταποιουμένους, ἢ ἀπείρξας τῆς εἰσόδου, ἀποστελῶ παραχρῆμα τὸν καθαιρήσοντά σε ἐξ ἐμῆς κελεύσεως, καὶ τῶν τόπων πεταστήσοντα.—Socr. i. 27; Athanas. Apol. ii. p. 778.

* 1 Kings ii. 35.

Constantius deposed Paulus of Constantinople.*

Constantius ejected all that would not subscribe to the creed of Ariminum.†

The Emperor Leo deposed Timotheus Ælurus, for which Pope Leo did highly commend and thank him.*

The emperors discarded divers popes.

Constantius banished Pope Liberius, and caused another to be put in his room.

Otho put out John the Twelfth.

Justinian deposed Pope Silverius, and banished Pope Vigilius.*

Justinian banished Anastasius, bishop of Antioch; extruded Anthimus of Constantinople, and Theodosius of Alexandria.*

Neither indeed was any great patriarch effectually deposed without their power or leave.

Falvianus was supported by Theodosius against the pope.

Dioscorus subsisted by the power of Theodosius Junior.

The deposition of Dioscorus, in the synod of Chalcedon, was voted with a reserve of, "If it shall please our most sacred and pious lord."‡

In effect, the emperors deposed all bishops which were ordained beside their general laws; as Justinian, having prescribed conditions and qualifications concerning the ordinations of bishops, subjoineth, "But if any bishop be ordained without using our formentioned constitution, we command you that by all means he be removed from his bishopric."||

14. The instances alleged to prove the pope's authority in this case are inconcludent and invalid.

They allege the case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles; concerning whom (for abetting Novatianism) St. Cyprian doth exhort Pope Stephanus, that he would direct letters to the bishops of Gaul and the people of Arles, that he being for his schismatical behaviour removed from communion, another should be substituted in his room.*

The Epistle grounding this argument is questioned by a great critic; but I willingly admit it to be genuine, seeing it hath the style and spirit of St. Cyprian, and suiteth his age, and I see no cause why it should be forged: wherefore, omitting that defence, I answer, that the whole matter, being seriously weighed, doth make rather against the pope's cause than for it; for if the pope had the sole or sovereign authority of rejecting bishops, why did the Gaulish bishops refer the matter to St. Cyprian?—why had Marcianus himself a recourse to him?

St. Cyprian doth not ascribe to the pope any peculiar authority of judgment or censure, but a common one, which himself could exercise, which all bishops might exercise: "It is" (saith he) "our part to provide and succour in such a case;" for "therefore is the body of priests so numerous," that—"by joint endeavour they may suppress heresies and schisms."†

The case being such, St. Cyprian earnestly doth move Pope Stephanus to concur in exercise of discipline on that schismatic, and to prosecute effectually the business by his letters; persuading his fellow bishops in France, "that they would not suffer Marcianus to insult over the college of bishops"‡ (for to them it seemeth the transaction did immediately belong.)

To do thus St. Cyprian implieth and prescribeth to be the pope's special duty, not only out of regard to the common interest, but for his particular concernment

* Τὸν Παῦλον σχολάζειν ἐποίησεν.—Socr. ii. 7.

† Τὴν δὲ ἔκδοσιν τῆς ἀναγνωσθείσης ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ πίστεως ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐκκλησίας ἐκπέμπεσθαι, προστάξας τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ὑπογράφειν αὐτῇ, ἐξεῶσθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, καὶ, εἰς τοὺς τόπους αὐτῶν ἑτέρους ἀντικαθίστασθαι.—Id. ii. 37.

‡ Εἰ παρασταίη τῷ θειοτάτῳ, καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ.—Act. ii. p. 202.

|| Si quis autem citra memoratam observationem episcopus ordinetur, jubemus hunc omnibus modis episcopatu depelli.—*Justin. Novell.* cxxiii. cap. 1.

* Evag. ii. 11; Lib. cap. 15; P. Leo I. Epist. 99.

* Lib. cap. 22.

* Evag. iv. 41, 11.

* Cypr Ep. 67. Dirigantur in provinciam et ad plebem Arelate consistentem literæ, quibus abstento Marciano alius in ejus locum substituatur ——

† Cui rei nostrum est consulere, et subvenire ——. Idcirco copiosum est corpus sacerdotum ——. Quando ipse est ab universis sacerdotibus judicatus ——.

‡ Facere te oportet plenissimas literas ad coepiscopos nostros in Galliis constitutos, ne ultra Marcianum collegio nostro insultare patiantur ——.

in the case;* that schism having been first advanced against his predecessors.

St. Cyprian also (if we mark it) covertly doth tax the pope of negligence, in not having soon enough joined with himself and the community of bishops in censuring that delinquent.†

We may add, that the church of Arles and Gaul, being near Italy, the pope may be allowed to have some greater sway there, than otherwhere in more distant places; so that St. Cyprian thought his letters to quicken discipline there, might be proper and particularly effectual.

These things being duly considered, what advantage can they draw from this instance?—doth it not rather prejudice their cause, and afford a considerable objection against it?

We may observe that the strength of their argumentation mainly consisteth in the words *quibus abstento;* the which (as the drift of the whole Epistle, and parallel expressions therein do shew) do signify no more than *quibus efficiatur ut abstento*, which may procure him to be excommunicated; not *quæ contineant abstentionem*, which "contain excommunication," as P. de Marca glosseth: although admitting that sense, it would not import much, seeing only thereby the pope would have signified his consent with other bishops: wherefore De Marca hath no great cause to blame us, than we do "not deprehend any magnificent thing in this place for the dignity of the papal see:"‡ indeed he hath, I must confess, better eyes than I, who can see any such mighty things there for that purpose.

As for the substitution of another in the room of Marcianus, that was a consequent of the excommunication; and was to be the work of the clergy and people of the place; for when by common judgment of catholic bishops any bishop was rejected, the people did apply themselves to choose another.

I adjoin the resolution of a very learned writer of their communion, in these words:

"In this case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles, if the right of excommunication did belong solely to the bishop of Rome, wherefore did Faustinus, bishop of Lyons, advertise Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who was so far distant, concerning those very things touching Marcianus, which both Faustinus himself, and other bishops of the same province, had before sent word of to Stephen, bishop of Rome, who lived nearest, being moreover of all bishops the chief? It must either be said, that this was done because of Stephen's negligence; or, what is more probable, according to the discipline then used in the church, that all bishops of neighbouring places, but especially those presiding over the most eminent cities, should join their counsels for the welfare of the church, and that Christian religion might not receive the least damage in any of its affairs whatsoever: hence it was, that in the case of Marcianus, bishop of Arles, the bishop of Lyons writ letters to the bishop of Rome and Carthage; and again, that the bishop of Carthage, as being most remote, did write to the bishop of Rome, as being his brother and colleague, who by reason of his propinquity might more easily know and judge of the whole matter."*

The other instances are of a later date (after the synod of Nice), and therefore of not so great weight; yea, their having none more ancient to produce, doth strongly make against the antiquity of this right; it being strange, that no memory should be of any deposed thereby for above three hundred years: but how-

* Multo magis tu ——.
† Quod nedum videatur a nobis abstentus.
‡ Marc. vii. 1, 6.

* In hac Marciani episcopi Arelatensis causa si jus abstinendi sive excommunicandi competebat soli episcopo Romano, cur Faustinus episcopus Lugdunensis Cypriano episcopo Carthaginiensi longe dissito semel atque iterum significat ea de Marciano, quæ jam utique ipse Faustinus et alii ejusdem provinciæ episcopi nunciaverant Stephano proximiori, et omnium episcoporum principi? Dicendum igitur factum id fuisse aut per negligentiam Stephani; aut quod magis videtur, per disciplinam quæ tunc in ecclesia vigebat, ut omnes quidem in circumpositis locis, sed præsertim urbium clarissimarum episcopi in commune consulerent ecclesiæ, viderentque ne quid detrimenti res Christiana catholica caperet. Itaque super isto Marciani Arelatensis facinore, Lugdunensem episcopum ad Romanum et Carthaginiensem dedisse literas, istum vero ut remotissimum dedisse vicissim suas ad Romanum, ut fratrem et collegam, qui in propinquo facilius posset de negotio et cognoscere et statuere.—*Rigalt. in Cypr.*—Ep. 67.

ever, such as they are, they do not reach home to the purpose.

They allege Flavianus, bishop of Antioch, deposed by Pope Damasus, as they affirm.[v] But it is wonderful they should have the face to mention that instance; the story in short being this: "The great Flavianus" (a most worthy and orthodox prelate, whom St. Chrysostom in his Statuary Orations doth so highly commend and celebrate) being substituted in the place of "Meletius by the quire of bishops,"* a party did adhere to Paulinus; and after his decease they set up Evagrius, ordaining him (as Theodoret, who was best acquainted with passages on that side of Christendom, reporteth) against many canons of the church.[x]

Yet with this party, the Roman bishops, "not willing to know any of these things" (three of them in order, Damasus, Siricius, Anastasius), did conspire, instigating the emperor against Flavianus, and reproacing him as "supporter of a tyrant against the laws of Christ."†

But the emperor having called Flavianus to him, and received much satisfaction in his demeanour and discourse, did remand and settle him in his place: "The emperor," saith Theodoret, "wondering at his courage and his wisdom, did command him to return home, and to feed the church committed to him;"‡ at which proceeding, when the Romans afterward did grumble, the emperor gave them such reasons and advices, that they complied, and did entertain communion with Flavianus.

It is true, that upon their suggestions and clamours the emperor was moved at first to order that Flavianus should go to Rome, and give the western bishops satisfaction; but after that he understood the quality of his plea, he freed him of that trouble, and without their allowance settled him in his See.

Here is nothing of the pope's deposing Flavianus; but of his embracing in a schism the side of a competitor, it being in such a case needful that the pope or any other bishop should choose with whom he must communicate, and consequently must disclaim the other; in which choice the pope had no good success, not deposing Flavianus, but vainly opposing him; wherefore this allegation is strangely impertinent, and well may be turned against them.

Indeed in this instance we may see how fallible that See was in their judgment of things, how rash in taking parties and fomenting discords, how pertinacious in a bad cause, how peevish against the common sense of their brethren (especially considering, that before this opposition of Flavianus, the Fathers of Constantinople had, in their letter to Pope Damasus and the occidental bishops, approved and commended him to them; highly asserting the legitimateness of his ordination;) in fine, how little their authority did avail with wise and considerate persons, such as Theodosius M. was.*

De Merca representeth the matter somewhat otherwise out of Socrates;[y] but take the matter as Socrates hath it, and it signifieth no more, than that both Theophilus and Damasus would not entertain communion with Flavianus, as being uncapable of the episcopal order, for having violated his oath, and caused a division in the church of Antioch: what is this to judicial deposition? and how did Damasus more depose him than Theophilus, who upon the same dissatisfaction did in like manner forbear communion? whenas indeed a wiser and better man than either of them, St. Chrysostom, did hold communion with him, and did at length (saith Socrates, not agreeing with Theodoret) reconcile him to them both.

They allege the deposition of Nestorius. But who knoweth not, that he was for heretical doctrine deposed in and by a general synod? Pope Celestine did indeed threaten to withdraw his communion, if he did not renounce his error.†

* Τῷ μεγάλῳ Φλαβιανῷ χαλεπαίνοντες ——. Theod.

† Ἀλλ' ὅμως τούτων οὐδὲν εἰδέναι θέλοντες τὴν Εὐαγρίου μὲν κοινωνίαν ἠσπάζοντο, κατὰ Φλαβιανοῦ τὰς βασιλίκας ἐκίνησαν ἀκοάς.—Theod. ib.

‡ Αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν θαυμάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν ἐνεγκοῦσαν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν ποιμαίνειν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσεν.—Theod. ib.

[v] Bell. de Pont. R. ii. 18.

[x] Theod. 23; Socr. v. 15; Soz. viii. 3.

* Theod. v. 9. —— οὔτε τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ τῆς ἀνατολικῆς διοικήσεως συνδραμόντες κανονικῶς ἐχειροτόνησαν —— ἥνπερ ἐνθεσμον χειροτονίαν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸ τῆς συνόδου κοινόν.

† Γινωσκέτω, ὅτι αὐτὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν κοινωνίαν ἔχειν οὐ δυνήσεται, ἢν μὴ ——. P. Celest. ad Cyril. in Conc. Eph. Act. p. 281. Παντελῶς ἀπὸ

[y] Socr. v. 15; Marc. iii. 14, § 1.

But had not any other bishop sufficient authority to desert a perverter of the faith? Did not his clergy do the same, being commended by Pope Celestine for it?* Did not Cyril in writing to Pope Celestine himself affirm, that he might before have declared that he could not communicate with him?† Did Nestorius admit the pope's judgment? No; as the papal legates did complain, "he did not admit the constitution of the apostolical chair."‡ Did the pope's sentence obtain effect? No, not any; for, notwithstanding his threats, Nestorius did hold his place till the synod; the emperor did severely rebuke Cyril for his fierceness (and implicitly the pope), and did order that no change should be made, till the synod should determine in the case; not regarding the pope's judgment: so that this instance may well be retorted, or used to prove the insignificancy of papal authority then.

They allege also Dioscorus of Alexandria, deposed by Pope Leo: but the case is very like to that of Nestorius, and argueth the contrary to what they intend: he was, for his misdemeanours, and violent countenancing of heresy, solemnly in a general synod accused, tried, condemned, and deposed; the which had long before been done, if in the pope, his professed and provoked adversary, there had been sufficient power to effect it.

Bellarmine also allegeth Pope Sixtus III. deposing Polycronius, bishop of Jerusalem: but no such Polycronius is to be found in the registers of bishops then, or in the histories of that busy time, between the two great synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon; and the acts of Sixtus, upon which this allegation is grounded, have so many inconsistencies, and smell so rank of forgery, that no conscionable nose could endure them; and any "prudent man," as Binius himself confesseth, would assert them to be spurious." Wherefore Baronius himself doth reject and despise them; who gladly would lose no advantage for his master.[a] Yet Pope Nicholas I. doth precede Bellarmine in citing this trash; no wonder, that being the pope who did avouch the wares of Isidore Mercator.

They allege Timotheus, the usurper of Alexandria, deposed by Pope Damasus;[a] and they have indeed the sound of words attesting to them: "These are heads upon which the B. Damasus deposed the heretics Apolinarius, Vitalius, and Timotheus."*

The truth is, that Apolinarius, with divers of his disciples, in a great synod at Rome, at which Petrus, bishop of Alexandria, together with Damasus, was present, was condemned and disavowed for heretical doctrine; whence Sozomen saith, that "the Apolinarian heresy was by Damasus and Peter, at a synod at Rome, voted to be excluded from the Catholic church."†

On which account, if we conclude that the pope had an authority to depose bishops, we may by like reason infer that every patriarch and metropolitan had a power to do the like; there being so many instances of their having condemned and disclaimed bishops supposedly guilty of heresy; as particularly John of Antioch, with his convention of oriental bishops, did pretend to depose Cyril and Memnon, as guilty of the same Apolinarian heresy;—alleging that to‡ "exscind them was the same thing as to settle orthodoxy." The which deposition was at first admitted by the emperor.

τοῦ συνεδρίου ἡμῶν, καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν συνόδου ἀπεκλείσθης, ἐὰν μὴ εὐθέως τὰ κακῶς εἰρημένα ὑπὸ σοῦ διορθωθῇ.—Ibid. Epist. ad Nest. p. 186. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας κοινωνίας ἀποχωρίζομεν.—(ad Joh. Ant. p. 196.)

* Μακαρία δὲ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέκη, ἣ παρέσχεν ὁ κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς.—P. Celest. ad Clerum, &c. Const. Act. Eph. p. 190.

† Εγὼ δὲ ὁμολογῶ καὶ τοι βουληθεῖς συνοδικῷ γράμματι φανερὸν αὐτῷ καταστῆσαι, ὅτι ταῦτα λέγοντι καὶ φρονοῦντι κοινωνεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα.—Cyril. Ep. ad Celest. Act. Eph. p. 177.

‡ Τὸν τύπον τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας οὐκ ἐδέξατο.—Conc. Eph. Act. iii. p. 331; *vide* Theodos. 2, Epist. in Conc. Eph. p. 224, 225.

* Ταῦτά ἐστι τὰ κεφάλαια ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τρισμακάριος Δάμασος καθεῖλεν Ἀπολινάριον, καὶ Βιτάλιον, καὶ Τιμόθεον τοὺς αἱρετικούς.—Orient. ad Rufum. apud Bin. p. 396.

† Μαθὼν οὖν ταύτην τὴν αἵρεσιν εἰς πολλοὺς ἔρπειν πρῶτος Δάμασος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Πέτρος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρείας, συνόδου γενομένης ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀλλοτρίαν τῆς καθόλου ἐκκλησίας ἐψηφίσαντο.—Soz. vi. 25.

‡ Τὸ γὰρ τούτους ἐκκόψαι οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ ὀρθοδοξίαν στῆσαι.—Relat. Orient. ad Imp. in Act. Eph. p. 380. Ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν παρὰ Εὐσεβείας ὑμῶν Νεστορίου, καὶ Κυρίλλου, καὶ Μέμνονος καθαίρεσιν ἐδεξάμεθα.—Act. p. 385.

[a] Baron. ann. 433. § 38, 39; P. Nich. I. Epist. 8. (ad Mich.)

[a] Fac. Herm. p. 150.

The next instance is of Pope Agapetus (in Justinian's time, for so deep into time is Bellarmine fain to dive for it) deposing Anthimus, bishop of Constantinople.[b] But this instance being scanned, will also prove slender and lame. The case was this: Anthimus having deserted his charge at Trabisonde, did creep into the see of Constantinople (a course then held irregular and repugnant to the canons), and withal he had imbibed the Eutychian heresy. Yet for his support he had wound himself into the favour of the Empress Theodora, a countenancer of the Eutychian sect.[c]—Things standing thus, Pope Agapetus (as an agent from Rome to crave succour against the Goths, pressing and menacing the city) did arrive at Constantinople. Whereupon the empress desired of him to salute and consort with Anthimus.* But he, by petitions of the monks, &c., understanding how things stood, did refuse to do so, except Anthimus "would return to his own charge, and profess the orthodox doctrine." Thereupon the emperor joined with him to extrude Anthimus from Constantinople, and to substitute Menas. "He" (say the monks in their libel of request to the emperor) "did justly thrust this Anthimus from the episcopal chair of this city; your grace affording aid and force both to the Catholic faith and the divine canons."† The act of Agapetus was (according to his share in the common interest) to declare Anthimus, in his judgment, uncapable of Catholic communion and of episcopal function by reason of his heretical opinions, and his transgression of ecclesiastical orders;‡ which moved Justinian effectually to depose and extrude him: "You" (say they) "fulfilling that which he justly and canonically did judge, and by your general edict confirming it; and forbidding that hereafter such things should be attempted—."* And Agapetus himself saith, that it was done by "the apostolical authority, and the assistance of the most faithful emperors."† The which proceeding was completed by decree of the synod under Menas, and that again was confirmed by the imperial sanction. Whence Evagrius, reporting the story, doth say, concerning Anthimus and Theodosius of Alexandria, that "because they did cross the emperor's commands, and did not admit the decrees of Chalcedon, they both were expelled from their sees."‡

It seemeth by some passages in the Acts, that before Agapetus's intermeddling, the monks[d] and orthodox bishops[e] had condemned and rejected Anthimus; according to the common interest, which they assert all Christians to have in regard to the common faith.

As for the substitution of Menas, it was preformed "by the choice and suffrage of the emperor, the clergy, nobles, and people conspiring;"|| the pope only (which another bishop might have done) ordaining or consecrating him: "Then" (saith Liberatus) "the pope by the emperor's favour did ordain Menas bishop, consecrating him with his hand."§

And Agapetus did glory in this,¶ as being the first ordination made of an eastern bishop by the hands of a pope: "And this" (said the pope) "we conceive doth add to his dignity, because the eastern church, never since the time of the Apostle Peter, did receive any bishop be-

* Denique petentibus principibus, ut Anthimum papa in salutatione et communicatione susciperet; ille fieri inquit posse, si se libello probaret orthodoxum, et ad cathedram suam reverteretur.—*Lib.* cap. 21. Τὰ κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀθέσμως τολμώμενα λαθὼν ——. Libell. Monach p 7.

† Ἀλλὰ τοῦτον δικαίως ἐξωθήσας τοῦ τῆς δὶ τῆς πόλεως ἱερατικοῦ θρόνου, συνεπαμυνούσης, καὶ συνεπισχυούσης τῇ τε καθολικῇ πίστει καὶ τοῖς θείοις κανόσι τῆς ὑμετέρας εἰσεβείας ——. Ibid. Et Syn. Decr. p. 43; Imper. Sanct. p. 128.

‡ Ἀποφηνάμενος —— μήτε καθολικοῦ μήτε ἱερέως αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ὄνομα.—Synod. Dec. p. 43.

[b] Ann. 536. Vict. Tun.

[c] Evag. iv. 10.

* Τὰ οὖν παρ' ἐκείνου δικαίως καὶ κανονικῶς κεκριμένα πληροῦντες, καὶ διὰ γενικῆς ὑμῶν νομοθεσίας κυροῦντες, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ λοιποῦ τολμᾶσθαι ἀπαγορεύοντες ——.

† Τῆς δὲ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει λαθέδρας τὴν ὕβριν βοηθοῦντος τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ ἀποστολικῇ αὐθεντίᾳ, καὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων βασιλέων τῇ βοηθείᾳ διορθώσαμεν.—p. 24.

‡ Ὅμως δ' οὖν ὡς ἀντικρὺ τῶν (l. ἀντὶ κῶν τοῦ) βασιλέως πελευσμάτων ἰόντες, καὶ μὴ δεχόμενοι τὰ ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συντεθειμένα ἀμφὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐξελαθέτην θρόνων.—Evag. iv. 11.

|| Κατ' ἐκλογὴν καὶ ψῆφον τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων ἡμῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς τήσδε τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας κλήρου ——.

§ Tunc papa principis favore Menam pro eo ordinavit antistitem, consecrans eum manu sua ——. *Lib.* cap. 21.

¶ Ὥστινι τῶν γαληνοτάτων βασιλέων ἐπεγέλασεν ἡ ἐκλογὴ —— Act. p. 24.

[d] P. 10.

[e] P. 16.

side him, by the imposition of hands of those who sat in this our chair."*

If we compare the proceedings of Agapetus against Anthimus, with those of Theophilus against St. Chrysostom, they are (except the cause and qualities of persons) in all main respects and circumstances so like, that the same reason, which would ground a pretence of universal jurisdiction to one, would infer the same to the other.

Baronius allegeth Acacius, bishop of Constantinople, deposed by Pope Felix III.[r] But Pope Gelasius asserteth, that any bishop might, in execution of the canons, have disclaimed Acacius as a favourer of heretics. And Acacius did not only refuse to submit to the pope's jurisdiction, but slighted it.† And the pope's act was but an attempt, not effectual; for Acacius died in possession of his See.

VIII. If popes were sovereigns of the church, they could effectually, whenever they should see it just and fit, absolve;‡ restore any bishop excommunicated from the church, or deposed from his office by ecclesiastical censure: for relief of the oppressed, or clemency to the distressed, are noble flowers in every sovereign crown.

Wherefore the pope doth assume this power, and reserveth it to himself as his special prerogative: "It is" (says Baronius) "a privilege of the church of Rome only that a bishop deposed by a synod may, without another synod of a greater number, be restored by the pope;"|| and Pope Gelasius I. says, "That the See of St. Peter the apostle has a right of loosing whatever the sentences of other bishops have bound.* ——That the apostolic see, according to frequent ancient custom, had a power, no synod preceding, to absolve those whom a synod had unjustly condemned, and without a council to condemn those who deserved it."†

It was an old pretence of popes, that bishops were not condemned, except the pope did consent, renouncing communion with them. So Pope Vigilius saith of St. Chrysostom and Flavianus, that "although they were violently excluded, yet were they not looked upon as condemned, because the bishops of Rome always inviolably kept communion with them."‡

And before him Pope Gelasius saith, that "the pope, by not consenting to the condemnation of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Flavianus, did absolve them."||

But such a power of old did not belong to him. For,

1. There is not extant any ancient canon of the church, nor apparent footsteps of custom, allowing such a power to him.

2. Decrees of synods (*provincial* in the former times, and *diocesan* afterwards) were inconsistent with, or repugnant to such a power; for judgments concerning episcopal causes were deemed irrevocable, and appointed to be so by decrees of divers synods; and consequently no power was reserved to the pope of thwarting them by restitution of any bishop condemned in them.

3. The apostolical canons (which at least serve to prove or illustrate ancient custom), and divers synodical decrees, did prohibit entertaining communion with any person condemned or rejected by

* Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πιστεύομεν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀξίᾳ προστιθέναι, ὅτι περ ἐκ τῶν χρόνων τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου οὐδένα ἄλλον οἱαδήποτε ἐκκλησία ἀνατολική ἐδέξατο ἐπίσκοπον ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας καθέδρας χειροτονηθέντα ——. Ibid.

† Ad cujus præcipue vocatus examen vel venire vel mittere non curavit.—*Gelas.* Ep. 13.

‡ When a bishop was unjustly censured upon malice or mistake —— when he did repent of his error or miscarriage —— when the case would upon any account bear favour or pity ——.

|| Privilegium quidem solius ecclesiæ Romanæ esse reperitur, ut depositus a synodo episcopus absque alia synodo majoris numeri restitui possit per Romanum pontificem.—*Baron.* ann. 449, § 127.

[r] Baron. ann. 484, § 19; *vide* P. Felic. III. Ep. 6; P. Gelas. Ep. 4.

* Quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum sedis B. Petri apostoli jus habet resolvendi.—*P. Gel. I.* Ep. 13.

† Sedes apostolica frequenter more majorum, etiam sine ulla synodo præcedente et absolvendi quos synodus inique damnaverat, et damnandi nulla existente synodo quos oportuit habuit facultatem ——. *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 13.

‡ Qui licet violenter exclusi sunt, non tamen pro damnatis sunt habiti, eo quod semper inviolatam eorum communionem Rom. pontifices servaverant.—*P. Vigilius in Constit. Athan*, &c.

|| Quem (Johannem Chrys.) sedes apostolica etiam sola, quia non consensit, absolvit.—*P. Gelas.* Ep. 3.

canonical judgment, without exception or reservation of power of infringing or relaxing that prohibition;[e] and Pope Gelasius himself says, "That he who had polluted himself by holding communion with a condemned person, did partake of his condemnation."*

4. Whence in elder times popes were opposed and checked when they offered to receive bishops rejected in particular synods. So St. Cyprian declared the restitution of Basilides by Pope Stephanus to be null.[f] So the Fathers of the Antiochene synod did reprehend Pope Julius for admitting Athanasius and Marcellus to communion, or avowing them for bishops, after their condemnation by synods. And the oriental bishops of Sardica did excommunicate the same pope for communicating with the same persons. Which instances do shew, that the pope was not then, undoubtedly, or according to common opinion, endowed with such a power.

But whereas they do allege some instances of such a power, I shall premise some general considerations apt to clear the business, and then apply answers to the particular allegations.

1. Restitution commonly doth signify no more than acknowledging a person (although rejected by undue sentence) to be *de jure* worthy of communion and capable of the episcopal office; upon which may be consequent an obligation to communicate with him, and to allow him his due character: according to the precept of St. Paul, *Follow righteousness, faith, charity, peace, with them that call upon the Lord with a pure heart.*[g]

This may be done when any man notoriously is persecuted for the truth and righteousness. Or when the iniquity and malice of pretended judges are apparent, to the oppression of innocence. Or when the process is extremely irregular: as in the cases of Athanasius, of St. Chrysostom——And this is not an act of jurisdiction, but of equity and charity, incumbent on all bishops: and there are promiscuous instances of bishops practising it. Thus Socrates saith, that Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, "did restore communion and dignity to Athanasius."* And so Cyril of Alexandria, and John of Antioch, being reconciled and reduced to a good understanding of each other, "did restore to each other their Sees,"† rescinding the censures, which in heat they had denounced each on other. Which sheweth that restitution is not always taken for an act of jurisdiction, wherein one is superior to another; for those persons were in rank and power co-ordinate.

2. Restitution sometime doth import no more than a considerable influence toward the effects of restoring a person to communion or office; no judicial act being exercised about the case: "The emperor writing that Paulus and Athanasius should be restored to their Sees, availed nothing."‡ That was a restitution without effect.

Thus a pope's avowing the orthodoxy, or innocence, or worth of a person, after a due information about them (by reason of the pope's eminent rank in the church, and the regard duly had to him), might sometimes much conduce to restore a person; and might obtain the name of restitution by an ordinary scheme of speech.

3. Sometimes persons said to be restored by popes are also said to be restored by synods, with regard to such instance or testimony of popes in their behalf. In which case the judicial restitution, giving right of recovery and completion thereto, was the act of the synod.||

4. When cases were driven to a legal debate, popes could not effectually resolve without a synod, their single acts not being held sufficiently valid. So, not-

* Damnati hominis communione pollutus, damnationis ejus factus est particeps.—*P. Gelas.* Ep. 13. (p. 640.)

[e] Can. Apost. 10, 11, 12, 13; Conc. Nic. Can. 5; Sard. 16, 17; Cod. Afr. 9; Conc. Antioch. 6, 15; Evag. ii. 4.

[f] Cypr. Ep. 68.

[g] 2 Tim. ii. 22.

* Ἀποδίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν κοινωνίαν Ἀθανασίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν.—Socr. ii. 24.

† Ἀλλήλοις τοὺς θρόνους ἀπέδοσαν.—Socr. vii. 33.

‡ Γράψαντος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε ἀποδοθῆναι Παύλῳ καὶ Ἀθανασίῳ τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους, οὐδὲν πλέον ἠνύετο.—Ibid. ii. 20.

|| *Note.*—It is an ordinary style of votes in synods for the restitution of a bishop, *I restore.*—Vide *Conc. Chale.* Act. i. p. 165. That is, I give my vote for his restitution.

withstanding the declarations of Pope Julius in favour of Athanasius, for the effectual resolution of his case, the great synod of Sardica was convened. So whatever Pope Innocent I. did endeavour, he could not restore St. Chrysostom without a general synod.

Nor could Pope Leo restore Flavianus, deposed in the second Ephesine synod, without convocation of a general synod, the which he did so often sue for to the Emperor Theodosius, for that purpose. Pope Simplicius affirmed, that Petrus Moggus, "having been by a common decree condemned as an adulterer" (or usurper of the Alexandrian See), "could not, without a common council, be freed from condemnation."*

5. Particular instances do not ascertain right to the person who assumeth any power; for busybodies often will exceed their bounds.

6. Emperors did sometimes restore bishops. Constantine, as he did banish Eusebius of Nicomedia and others, so he did revoke and restore them;[h] so says Socrates, "They were recalled from banishment by the emperor's command, and received their churches."† Theodosius did assert to Flavinus his right, whereof the popes did pretend to deprive him; which did amount to a restitution (at least to the Romanists, who do assert Flavianus to be deposed by the popes.) Instantius and Priscillianus were, by the rescript of the Emperor Gratianus, restored to their churches."‡ Justinian did order Pope Silverius to be restored, in case he could prove his innocence.

7. Commonly restitution was not effectual without the emperor's consent; whence Theodoret, although allowed by the great synod, did acknowledge his restitution especially due to the emperor; as we shall see in reflecting on his case.

Now, to the particular instances produced for the pope, we answer:

1. They pretend that Pope Stephanus did restore Basilides and Martialis, Spanish bishops, who had been deposed; for which they quote St. Cyprian's Epistle, where he says, "Basilides going to Rome imposed upon our colleague, Stephen, who lived a great way off, and was ignorant of the truth of the matter; seeking unjustly to be restored to his bishopric, from which he had justly been deposed."*

But we answer: the pope did attempt such a restitution by way of influence and testimony, not of jurisdiction; wherefore the result of his act, in St. Cyprian's judgment, was null and blameable; which could not be so deemed if he had acted as a judge; for a favourable sentence, passed by just authority, is valid, and hardly liable to censure.† The clergy of those places, notwithstanding that pretended restitution, did conceive those bishops uncapable; and did request the judgment of St. Cyprian about it; which argueth the pope's judgment not to have been peremptory and prevalent then in such cases. St. Cyprian denieth the pope, or any other person, to have power of restoring in such a case; and exhorteth the clergy to persist "in declining the communion of those bishops."‡ Well doth Rigaltius ask, why they should write to St. Cyprian, if the judgment of Stephanus was decisive;|| and he addeth,

* Oportebat communi decreto damnatum tanquam adulterum communi concilio damnatione liberari.—*Lib.* cap. 18.

† Ἀνεκλήθησάν τε τῆς ἐξορίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ προστάγματος, καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτῶν ἀπέλαβον.—Soc. i. 14.

‡ Rescriptum eliciunt, quo calcatis quæ prius decreta erant, restitui ecclesiis jubebantur: hoc freti Instantius et Priscillianus repetivere Hispanias.—*Sulp. Sev.* ii. 63. Revocari Romam Silverium jussit, et de literis illis judicium fieri, ut—si falsæ fuissent probatæ, restitueretur sedi suæ.—*Liberat. Breviar.* cap. 22.

[h] Theod. v. 23.

* Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum, et gestæ rei ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum, de quo fuerat juste depositus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 68.

† —— quare esti aliquid de collegis nostris extiterunt, qui deificam disciplinam negligendam putant ——. (Nec censuræ congruit sacerdotum mobilis atque inconstantis animi levitate reprehendi.—*Ib.* Ep. 55.) episcopatum gerere, et sacerdotium Dei administrare non oportere. Desiderastis solicitudinem vestram vel solatio vel auxilio sententiæ nostræ sublevari. Nec personam in ejusmodi rebus accipere, aut aliquid cuiquam largiri potest humana indulgentia; ubi intercedit et legem tribuit divina præscriptio.

‡ —— quantum possumus adhortamur, ne vos cum profanis et maculatis sacerdotibus communicatione sacrilega misceatis.

|| Sed cur ad Cyprianum si potestas infinita penes Romanum?—*Rigalt.* ibid.

that indeed "the Spaniards did appeal from the Roman bishop to him of Carthage."* No wonder, seeing the pope had no greater authority, and probably St. Cyprian had the fairer reputation for wisdom and goodness. Considering which things, what can they gain by this instance? which indeed doth considerably make against them.

2. They allege the restitution of Athanasius, and of others linked in cause with him, by Pope Julius. "He," says Sozomen, "as having the care of all by reason of the dignity of his See, restored to each his own church."†

I answer, the pope did not restore them judicially, but declaratively; that is, declaring his approbation of their right and innocence, did admit them to communion. Julius in his own defence did allege, that Athanasius was not legally rejected;‡ so that, without any prejudice to the canons, he might receive him; and the doing it upon this account, plainly did not require any act of judgment.

Nay, it was necessary to avow those bishops as suffering in the cause of the common faith. Besides, the pope's proceeding was taxed, and protested against as irregular; nor did he defend it by virtue of a general power that he had judicially to rescind the acts of synods. And, lastly, the restitution of Athanasius and the other bishops had no complete effect, till it was confirmed by the synod of Sardica, backed by the imperial authority; which in effect did restore them. This instance, therefore, is in many respects deficient as to their purpose.

3. They produce Marcellus being restored by the same Pope Julius.[1]

But that instance, beside the forementioned defects, hath this, that the pope was grievously mistaken in the case; whence St. Basil much blameth him for his proceeding therein.[2]

4. They cite the restitution of Eustathius (bishop of Sebastia) by Pope Liberius, out of an Epistle of St. Basil, where he says, "What the most blessed bishop Liberius proposed to him, and to what he consented, we know not; only that he brought a letter to be restored, and upon shewing it to the synod at Tyana, was restored to his See."*

I answer, that restitution was only from an invalid deposition by a synod of Arians at Melitine;[k] importing only an acknowledgment of him, upon approbation of his faith professed by him at Rome; the which had such influence to the satisfaction of the diocesan synod at Tyana, that he was restored. Although indeed the Romans were abused by him, he not being sound in faith; for "he now" (saith St. Basil) "doth destroy that faith for which he was received."——†

5. They adjoin, that Theodoret was restored by Pope Leo I.; for in the Acts of the synod of Chalcedon it is said, that‡ "he did receive his place from the bishop of Rome."

I answer, the act of Leo did consist in an approbation of the faith, which Theodoret did profess to hold; and a reception of him to communion thereupon;‖ which he might well do, seeing the ground of Theodoret's being disclaimed was a misprision, that he (having opposed Cyril's writings, judged orthodox) did err in faith, consenting with Nestorius.

Theodoret's state before the second Ephesine synod is thus represented in the words of the emperor: "Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, whom we have before commanded to mind only his own church, we charge not to come to the holy synod, before the whole synod being met, it shall seem good to them that he come and bear his part in it."§

* —— datis ad Cyprianum literis appellavere Carthaginiensem adversus Romanum.—*Rigalt.*

† Οἱ δὲ πέντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ προσηκόσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θρόνου, ἑκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέδωκε.—Soz. iii. 8.

‡ Ὡς ὁμοδόξους αὐτοὺς εἰς κοινωνίαν προσήκατο.—Soz. iii. 8; Julii Epist. apud Ath. in Apol. 2.

[1] Socr. i. 36. [2] Bas. Ep. 10.

* Τίνα μέν ἐστιν ἃ προετέθη αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Λιβερίου, τίνα δὲ αὐτὸς συνέθετο ἀγνοοῦμεν· πλὴν ὅτι ἐπιστολὴν ἐκόμισεν ἀποκαθιστῶσαν αὐτόν, ἣν ἀποδείξας τῇ κατὰ Τύανα συνόδῳ ἀπεκατέστη τῷ τόπῳ ——. Bas. Ep. 74.

† Οὗτος νῦν πορθεῖ τὴν πίστιν, ἐφ' ᾗ ἐδέχθη.—Id.

‡ Τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀπολαβὼν τόπον παρὰ τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγαλωνύμου Ῥώμης ——. Act. i. p. 53.

‖ Εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο—. Syn. Chalc. Act. viii. p. 368.

§ Θεοδώρητον μέν τοι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Κύρου πόλεως, ὃν ἤδη ἐκελεύσαμεν τῇ ἰδίᾳ αὐτοῦ μόνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ σχολάζειν, θεσπίζομεν μὴ πρότερον ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν

[k] Soz. iv. 24.

He was not perfectly deposed, as others were, who had others substituted in their places. He was deposed by the Ephesine synod.*

The pope was indeed ready enough to assume the patronage of so very learned and worthy a man, who in so very suppliant and respectful a way had addressed to him for succour; for whom doth not courtship mollify? And the majority of the synod (being inflamed against Dioscorus and the Etychian party) was ready enough to allow what the pope did in favour of him. Yet a good part of the synod (the bishop of Egypt, of Palestine, of Illyricum), notwithstanding the pope's restitution (that is, his approbation in order thereto), did stickle against his admission into the synod; "Crying out, Have pity on us; the faith is destroyed; the canons proscribe this man, cast him out, cast out Nestorius's master."† So that the imperial agents were fain to compromise the business, permitting him to sit in the synod, as one whose case was dependent, but not in the notion of one absolutely restored. "Theodoret's presence shall prejudice no man, each one's right of impleading being reserved both to you and him."‡

He therefore was not entirely restored, till upon a clear and satisfactory profession of his faith he was acquitted by the judgment of the synod. The effectual restitution of him proceeded from the emperor, who repealed the proceedings against him; as himself doth acknowledge: "All these things" (says he) "has the most just emperor evacuated||——to these things he premised the redressing my injuries;"§ and the imperial judges in the synod of Chalcedon join the emperor in the restitution—"Let the most reverend Theodoret enter, and bear his part in the synod; since the most holy archbishop Leo and sacred emperor have restored his bishopric to him."* Hence it may appear that the pope's restitution of Theodoretus was only opinionative, dough baked, incomplete; so that it is but a slim advantage which their pretence can receive from it.

IX. It belongeth to sovereigns to receive *appeals* from all lower judicatures, for the final determination of causes; so that no part of his subjects can obstruct resort to him, or prohibit his revision of any judgment.

This power, therefore, the pope doth most stiffly assert to himself. At the synod of Florence, this was the first and great branch of authority, which he did demand of the Greeks explicitly to avow:—"He will" (said his three cardinals to the emperor) "have all the privileges of his church, and that appeals be made to him."† When Pope Alexander III. was advised not to receive an appeal in Becket's case, he replied in that profane allusion: "This is my glory, which I will not give to another."‡ He hath been wont to encourage all people, even upon the slightest occasions, *iter arripere* (as the phrase is obvious in their canon law), to run with all haste to his audience; "Concerning appeals for the smallest causes we would have you hold, that the same defence is to be given them for how slight a matter soever they be made, as if they were for a greater."|| See, if you please, in Gratian's Decree, Caus. ii. quæst 6, where many papal decrees (most indeed drawn out of the spurious epistles of ancient popes, but ratified by their successors, and obtaining for

ἁγίαν σύνοδον, ἐὰν μὴ πάσῃ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ συνελθούσῃ δίξῃ καὶ αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι, καὶ κοινωνὸν γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς ἁγίας συνόδου.—Imp. Theod. Epist. ad Diosc. in Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 53.

* Pro Theodoreto autem et Eusebio nullus ordinatus est.—*Liberat.* 12; *vide* Conc. Chalc. part. iii. p. 490. Excludi vero ab episcopatu, &c. in imperatoris.—*Theod. rescript.*

† Ἐξεβ ησαν, ἐλεήσατε, ἡ πίστις ἀπόλλυται, οἱ κανόνες τοῦτον ἐκβάλλουσιν, τοῦτον ἔξω βάλε, τὸν διδάσκαλον Νεστορίῳ ἔξω βάλε.—Id. p. 54.

‡ Πρόκριμα ἀπὸ τοῦ παρεῖναι Θεοδώρητον οὐδενὶ γενήσεται, φυλαττομένου δηλονότι μετὰ ταῦτα παντὸς λόγου καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ ἐκείνῳ —. Ibid.

|| Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα λέλυκεν ὁ δικαιότατος βασιλεὺς ——. Id. Ep. 139. (ad Asperam.)

§ Προτίθεικε τούτοις τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδικίας τὴν ἴασιν ——. Ep. 138. (ad Anatol.)

* Εἰσίτω καὶ ὁ εὐλαβέστατος Θεοδώρητος κοινωνήσων τῇ σύνοδῳ, ἐπειδὰν καὶ ἀπεκατέστησεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ὁ ἁγιώτατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Λέων, καὶ θειότατος βασιλεὺς ——. Act. i. p. 53.

† Θέλει τὰ προνόμια πάντα τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἔκκλητον ——. Syn. Flor. sess. xxv. p. 846.

‡ Hæc est gloria mea, quam alteri non dabo.

|| De appellationibus pro minimis causis volumus te tenere, quod eis pro quacunque levi causa fiant, non minus est, quam si pro majoribus fierent, deferendum. *Alex. III. Ep. ad Vigorn. Episc. in Decret. Greg.* lib. ii. tit. 28, cap. 11.

current law) are made for appeals to the See of Rome.[1]

It was indeed one of the most ancient encroachments, and that which did serve most to introduce the rest; inferring hence a title to an universal jurisdiction: "They are the canons," says Pope Nicholas I., "which will that all appeals of the whole church be brought to the examination of this See, and have decreed that no appeal be made from it, and that thus she judge of the whole church; but herself goes to be judged by none other;"* and the same pope, in another of his Epistles, says, "The holy statutes and venerable decrees have committed the causes of bishops, as being weighty matters, to be determined by us——."† "As the synod has appointed and usage requires, let greater and difficult cases be always referred to the apostolic see," says Pope Pelagius II.‡ "They are the canons which will have the appeals of the whole church tried by this See," saith Pope Gelasius I.||

But this power is upon various accounts unreasonable, grievous, and vexatious to the church; as hath been deemed, and upon divers occasions declared, by the ancient Fathers, and grave persons in all times; upon accounts not only blaming the horrible abuse of appeals, but implying the great mischiefs inseparably adherent to them.

The synod of Basil thus excellently declared concerning them:§ "Hitherto many abuses of Intolerable vexations have prevailed, whilst many have too often been called and cited from the most remote parts to the court of Rome, and that sometime for small and trifling matters, and with charges and trouble to be so wearied, that they sometime think it their best way, to recede from their right, or buy off their trouble with great loss, rather than be at the cost of suing in so remote a country."

St. Bernard complaineth of the mischiefs of appeals in his times, in these words: "How long will you be deaf to the complaints of the whole world, or make as if your were so? Why sleep you? When will the consideration of so great confusion and abuse in appeals awake in you? They are made without right or equity, without due order, and against custom. Neither place, nor manner, nor time, nor cause, nor person, are considered: they are every where made lightly, and, for the most part, unjustly,"* with much more passionate language to the same purpose.

But in the primitive church the pope had no such power.

1. Whereas in the first times many causes and differences did arise, wherein they who were condemned and worsted would readily have resorted thither, where they might have hoped for remedy, if Rome had been such a place of refuge, it would have been very famous for it; and we should find history full of such examples; whereas it is very silent about them.

2. The most ancient customs and canons of the church are flatly repugnant to such a power; for they did order causes finally to be decided in each province.

So the synod of Nice did decree; as the African Fathers did allege, in defence of their refusal to allow appeals to the pope: "The Nicene decrees" (said they) "most evidently did commit both clergymen of inferior degrees and bishops to their metropolitans."†

* Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri; ab ipsa vero nusquam prorsus appellari debere sanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de tota ecclesia judicare ipsam ad nullius commeare judicium. —*P. Nich I.* Ep. 8.

† Sacra statuta, et veneranda decreta episcoporum causas, utpote majora negotia nostræ definiendas censuræ mandarunt.—*P. Nich. I.* Ep. 38.

‡ Majores vero et difficiles quæstiones (ut sancta synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit) ad sedem apostolicam semper referantur. *P. Pelag. II.* Ep. 8.

|| Ipsi sunt canones, qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus sedis examen voluere deferri.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4.

§ Concil. Basil. sess. xxxi. (p. 86.) Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter a remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam, et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari, et evocari consueverunt, atque ita expensis et laboribus fatigari, ut nonnunquam commodius arbitrentur juri suo cedere, aut vexationem suam gravi damno redimere, quam in tam longinqua regione litium subire dispendia, &c.—*Vide Opt.*

[1] Caus. ii. qu. 6; iii. 6; ix. 3, cap. 16.

* Bern. de Consid. lib. iii. cap. 2.—Quousque murmur universæ terræ aut dissimulas, aut non advertis?—— &c.

† Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive episcopos suis metropolitanis apertis-

So Theophilus in his Epistle: "I suppose you are not ignorant what the canons of the Nicene council command, ordaining that a bishop should judge no cause out of his own district."*

3. Afterward, when the *diocesan* administration was introduced, the last resort was decreed to the synods of them (or to the *primates* in them), all other appeals being prohibited,† "as dishonourable to the bishops of the diocese; reproaching the canons, and subverting ecclesiastical order;" to which canon the Emperor Justinian referred: "For it is decreed by our ancestors, that against the sentence of these prelates there should be no appeal."‡ So Constantius told Pope Liberius: "that those things which had a form of judgment passed on them could not be rescinded."|| This was the practice (at least in the eastern parts of the church) in the time of Justinian; as is evident by the Constitutions extant in the Code and in the Novels.[m]

4. In derogation to this pretence, divers provincial synods expressly did prohibit all appeals from their decisions.[n]

That of Milevis: "Let them appeal only to African councils or the primates of provinces; and he who shall think of appealing beyond sea, let him be admitted into communion by none in Afric."§

"For if the Nicene council took this care of the inferior clergy, how much more did they intend it should relate to bishops also?"*

5. All persons were forbidden to entertain communion with bishops condemned by any one church; which is inconsistent with their being allowed relief at Rome.

6. This is evident in the case of Marcion, by the assertion of the Roman church at that time.

7. When the pope hath offered to receive appeals, or to meddle in cases before decided, he hath found opposition and reproof. Thus when Felicissimus and Fortunatus, having been censured and rejected from communion in Afric, did apply themselves to Pope Cornelius, with supplication to be admitted by him;[o] St. Cyprian maintaineth that fact to be irregular and unjust, and not to be countenanced, for divers reasons.[p] Likewise, when Basilides and Martialis, being for their crimes deposed in Spain, had recourse to Pope Stephanus for restitution, the clergy and people there had no regard to the judgment of the pope; the which their resolution St. Cyprian did commend and encourage.

When Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, &c., having been condemned by synods, did apply themselves for relief to Pope Julius, the oriental bishops did highly tax this course as irregular; disclaiming any power in him to receive them, or meddle in their cause. Nor could Pope Julius by any law or instance disprove their plea; nor did the pope assert to himself any particular authority to revise the cause, or otherwise justify his proceeding, than by right common to all bishops of vindicating right and innocence, which were oppressed, and of asserting the faith for which they were persecuted. Indeed at first the oriental bishops were contented to refer the cause to Pope Julius as arbitrator; which signifieth that he had no ordinary right; but afterward, either fearing their cause or his prejudice, they started, and stood to the canonicalness of the former decision.

The contest of the African church with Pope Celestine, in the cause of Apiarius,

sime commiserunt.—*Syn. Afr. in Ep. ad P. Celest.*

* Arbitror te non ignorare quid præcipiant Niceni concilii canones, sancientes episcopum non judicare causam citra terminos suos——nam. *Pallad.* cap. 7.

† *Note.* That the Synod of Constantinople (Can. 6), mentioning appeals to the Emperor, secular judicatories, a general synod, saith, Ἀτιμάσας τοὺς τῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους, &c.—Syn. Const. Can. 6; Concil. Constantinop. can. ii. 6; Concil. Chalc. Can. 9. 17.

‡ Nam contra horum antistitum sententias non esse locum appellationi a majoribus nostris constitutum est.—*Cod. Lib.* i. tit. 4, cap. 29.

|| Τὰ ἤδη τόπον ἐσχηκότα ἀναλύεσθαι οὐ δύναται.—Theod. xi. 16.

§ Non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum; ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo infra Africam in communionem suscipiatur.—*Conc. Milev.* cap. 22; *Conc. Afr.* Can. 72.

[m] Nov. cxxiii. cap. 22; Cod. Lib. i. tit. 4. § 29; *vide* Græc.

[n] Can. 12; Conc. Ant. Can. 15; Con. Carth. Can 31.

* Nam si de inferioribus clericis in concilio Niceno hoc præcaverunt; quanto magis de episcopis voluit observari?—*Conc. Afr.* Can. 105. (*vel Epist.*)

[o] Cypr. Ep, 55. (ad Cornelium.)

[p] Cypr. Ep. 68.

is famous; and the reasons which they assign for repelling that appeal are very notable and peremptory.

8. Divers of the Fathers allege like reasons against appeals. St. Cyprian allegeth these:—*

1. Because there was an ecclesiastical law against them.

2. Because they contain iniquity; as prejudicing the right of each bishop granted by Christ, in governing his flock.

3. Because the clergy and people should not be engaged to run gadding about.

4. Because causes might better be decided there, where witnesses of fact might easily be had.

5. Because there is everywhere a competent authority, equal to any that might be had otherwhere.

6. Because it did derogate from the gravity of bishops to alter their censure ——.

7. Pope Liberius desired of Constantius that the judgment of Athanasius might be made in Alexandria for such reasons, "because there the accused, the accusers, and their defender were."†

8. St. Chrysostom's argument against Theophilus meddling in his case may be set against Rome as well as Alexandria.

9. St. Austin, in matter of appeal, or rather of reference to candid arbitration (more proper for ecclesiastical causes), doth conjoin other apostolical churches with that of Rome; "For the business" (says he) "was not about priests and deacons, or the inferior clergy, but the colleagues [bishops] who may reserve their cause entire for the judgment of their colleagues, especially those of the apostolical churches."* He would not have said so, if he had apprehended that the pope had a peculiar right of revising judgments.

10. Pope Damasus (or rather Pope Siricius) doth affirm himself incompetent to judge in a case which had been before determined by the synod of Capua: "but" (says he) "since the synod of Capua has thus determined it, we perceive we cannot judge it."*

11. Anciently there were no appeals (properly so called, or jurisdictional) in the church; they were, as Socrates telleth us, introduced by Cyril of Jerusalem; who "first did appeal to a greater judicature, against ecclesiastical rule and custom."† This is an argument, that about that time (a little before the great synod of Constantinople) greater judicatories, or *diocesan* synods, were established; whenas before *provincial* synods were the last resorts.

12. Upon many occasions appeals were not made to the pope, as in all likelihood they would have been, if it had been supposed that a power of receiving them did belong to him. Paulus Samosatenus did appeal to the emperor. The Donatists did not appeal to the pope, but to the emperor.‡ Their cause was by the emperor referred not to the pope singly (as it ought to have been, and would have been by so just a prince, if it had been his right), but to him and other judges as the emperor's commissioners.|| Athanasius did first appeal to the emperor. St. Chrysostom did request the pope's succour, but he did not appeal to him as judge; although he knew him favourably disposed, and the cause sure in his hand; but he appealed to a general council: the which Innocent himself did con-

* Refer. ad § 7; *vide* supr.—Oportet utique eos quibus præsumus non circumcursare, nec episcoporum concordiam cohærentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, sed agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere, et testes sui criminis possint.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55.

† —— ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος, καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιποιούμενος αὐτῶν ——. Theod. xi. 16.

‡ Nexue enim de presbyteris aut diaconis, aut inferioris ordinis clericis, sed de collegis agebatur qui possunt aliorum collegarum judicio, præsertim apostolicarum ecclesiarum, causam suam integram reservare.—*Aug.* Ep. 162.

* Sed cum hujusmodi fuerit concilii Capuensis judicium —— advertimus quod a nobis judicandi forma competere non possit.

† Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν μόνος καὶ πρῶτος παρὰ τὸ σύνηθες τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ κανόνι Κύριλλος ἐποίησεν, ἐκκλήτοις ὡς ἐν δημοσίῳ δικαστηρίῳ χρησάμενος.—Socr. ii. 40. Καθαιρεθεὶς δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐκκλήτου βιβλίον τοῖς καθελοῦσι διαπεμψάμενος μεῖζον ἐπικαλέσαιτο δικαστήριον.—Ibid. Being deposed, he sent a libel of appeal to them who deposed him, appealing to a greater judicature.

‡ Illos vero ab ecclesiastico judicio provocasse, &c.—*Aug.* Ep. 162. Ad imperatorem appellaverunt.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 16.

|| Quid quod nec ipse usurpavit; rogatus imperator judices misit episcopos qui cum ipso sederent, et de tota illa causa quod justum videretur statuerent.—*Aug.* Ep. 162.

ceive "*necessary*" for decision of that cause.*

[There are in history innumerable instances of bishops being condemned and expelled from their Sees, but few of appeals; which is a sign that was no approved remedy in common opinion.]

Eutyches did appeal (*infra*) to all the patriarchs. Theodoret did intend to appeal (*infra*) to all the western bishops.

13. Those very canons of Sardica (the most unhappy that every were made to the church) which did introduce appeals to the pope, do yet upon divers accounts prejudice his claim to an original right, and do upon no account favour that use of them, to which (to the overthrow of all ecclesiastical liberty and good discipline) they have been perverted. For,

1. They do pretend to confer a privilege on the pope; which argueth that he before had no claim thereto.

2. They do qualify and restrain that privilege to certain cases and forms; which is a sign, that he had no power therein flowing from absolute sovereignty; for it is strange, that they who did pretend and intend so much to favour him should clip his power.

3. It is not really a power which they grant of receiving appeals in all causes; but a power of constituting judges, qualified according to certain conditions, to revise a special sort of causes concerning the judgment and deposition of bishops. Which considerations do subvert his pretence to original and universal jurisdiction upon appeals.

14. Some popes did challenge jurisdiction upon appeals, as given them by the Nicene canons, meaning thereby those of Sardica; which showeth they had no better plea, and therefore no original right. And otherwhere we shall consider what validity those canons may be allowed to have.

15. The general synod of Chalcedon (of higher authority than that of Sardica) derived appeals, at least in the eastern churches, into another channel; namely to the *primate* of each *diocese*, or to the patriarch of Constantinople.[q] That this was the last resort doth appear, from that otherwise they would have mentioned the pope.

16. Appeals in cases of faith or general discipline were indeed sometimes made to the consideration of the pope; but not only to him, but to all other patriarchs and primates, as concerned in the common maintenance of the common faith or discipline. So did Eutyches appeal to the patriarchs.

17. The pope, even in later times, even in the western parts, hath found rubs in his trade of appeals. Consider the scuffle between Pope Nicholas I. and Hincmarus, bishop of Rhemes.[r]

18. Christian states,[s] to prevent the intolerable vexations and mischiefs arising from this practice, have been constrained to make laws against them.* Particularly England.

In the twelfth age Pope Paschal II. complained of King Henry I. "that he deprived the oppressed of the benefit of appealing to the apostolical see."† It was one of King Henry I.'s laws,—"none is permitted to cry from thence, no judgment is thence brought to the apostolic see."‡ "Foreign judgments we utterly remove,"||—"there let the cause be tried where the crime was committed."§ It was one of the grievances sent to Pope Innocent IV., "that Englishmen were drawn out of the kingdom by the pope's authority, to have their causes heard."¶

Nor in after-times were appeals by law in any case permitted without the king's leave; although sometimes by the facility of princes, or difficulty of times, the Roman court (ever importunate and vigilant for its profits) did obtain a relaxation or neglect of laws inhibiting appeals.

19. There were appeals from popes to

* Ἀναγκαία ἐστὶ διάγνωσις συνοδική.—Soz. viii. 26.

[q] Can. 9, 17.

* Statutes of provisors, premunire, &c.

† Vos oppressis apostolicæ sedis appellationem subtrahitis.—*Eadm.* p. 113.

‡ Nullus inde clamor, nullum inde judicium ad sedem apostolicam destinantur.—*Ibid.*

|| Peregrina judicia modis omnibus submovemus.—*Hen. I. Leg.* cap. 31.

§ Ibi semper causa agatur, ubi crimen admittitur.—*Ibid.*

¶ Quod Anglici extra regnum in causis auctoritate apostolica trahuntur.—*Matt. Paris.* p. 699. 10.

[r] Baron. ann. 865—; P. Nic. I. Ep. 37, &c.

[s] *Vide* Matt. Paris, ann. 1094.

general councils very frequently. *Vide* The senate of Paris after the concordates between Lewis XI. and Pope Leo X.

20. By many laws and instances it appeareth, that appellations have been made to the emperors in the greatest causes; and that without pope's reclaiming or taking it in bad part. St. Paul did *appeal to Cæsar.** Paulus Samosatenus did appeal to Aurelianus.† So the Donatists did appeal to Constantine. Athanasius to Constantine.[t] The Egyptian bishops to Constantine.[u] Priscillianus to Maximus.‡ Idacius to Gratian.‡ So that canons were made to restrain bishops from recourse *ad comitatum.*

21. Whereas they do allege instances for appeal, those well considered do prejudice their cause; for they are few, in comparison to the occasions of them, that ever did arise; they are near all of them late, when papal encroachments had grown; some of them are very impertinent to the cause; some of them may strongly be retorted against them; all of them are invalid.

If the pope originally had such a right (known, unquestionable, prevalent), there might have been producible many ancient, clear, proper, concluding instances.

All that Bellarmine[v] (after his own search, and that of his predecessors in controversy) could muster, are these following; upon which we shall briefly reflect (adding a few others, which may be alleged by them.)

He allegeth Marcion, as appealing to the pope. (An. 142.)

The truth was, that Marcion, for having corrupted a maid, was by his own father, bishop of Sinope, "driven from the church;"|| whereupon he did thence "fly to Rome," there "begging admittance to communion, but none did grant it;"‡ at which he expostulating, they replied, "We cannot, without the permission of thy honourable father, do this; for there is one faith, and one concord; and we cannot cross thy father our good fellow-minister."* This was the cause and issue; and is it not strange this should be produced for an appeal, which was only a supplication of a fugitive criminal to be admitted to communion; and wherein is utterly disclaimed any power to thwart the judgment of a particular bishop or judge, upon account of unity in common faith and peace? Should the pope return the same answer to every appellant, what would become of his privilege? So that they must give us leave to retort this as a pregnant instance against their pretence.

He allegeth the forementioned address of Felicissimus and Fortunatus to Pope Cornelius (An. 252);[w] the which was but a factious circumcursation of desperate wretches; the which, or any like it, St. Cyprian argueth the pope in law and equity obliged not to regard; because a definitive sentence was already passed on them by their proper judges in Afric, from whom in conscience and reason there could be no appeal. So Bellarmine would filch from us one of our invincible arguments against him.

He also allegeth the case of Basilides;[x] which also we before did shew to make against him; his application to the pope being disavowed by St. Cyprian, and proving ineffectual.

These are all the instances which the first three hundred years did afford; so that all that time this great privilege lay dormant.

He allegeth the recourse of Athanasius to pope Julius (An. 350); but this was not properly to him as to a judge, but as to a fellow bishop, a friend of truth and right, for his succour and countenance against persecutors of him, chiefly for his orthodoxy.† The pope did undertake to examine his plea, partly as arbitrator upon reference of both parties; partly for his own concern, to sat-

* Πᾶσα ψυχή.—Rom. xiii. 1; Acts xxv. 15.

† Ad imperatorem appellaverunt.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 16.

‡ Ad principem provocavit.—*Sulp. Sev.* ii. 64; *Id.* ii. 63; *Conc. Ant.* Can. P. de Marca. iv. 4 ——.

|| Epiph. Aær. 42.—Ἐξεοῦται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

§ Ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ ἄνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.

[t] Apol. ii. p. 804.

[u] Ath. Apol. ii. p. 797, 798.

[v] Bell. ii. 21.

§ Οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σοῦ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γάρ ἐστι πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δύναμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ.

* Διδάσκοντες ἐπὶ καταλύσεως τῆς πίστεως τὰς καθαιρέσεις γενέσθαι.—Socr. ii. 20.

[w] Cypr. Ep. 55.

[x] Cypr. Ep. 68.

isfy himself whether he might admit him to communion. And having heard and weighed things, the pope denied that he was condemned in a legal way by competent judges; and that therefore the pretended sentence was null; and consequently he did not undertake the cause as upon appeal. But whereas his proceeding did look like an exercise of jurisdiction, derogatory to a synodical resolution of the case, he was opposed by the oriental bishops, as usurping an undue power. Unto which charge he doth not answer directly, by asserting to himself any such authority by law or custom; but otherwise excusing himself.[y] In the issue, the pope's sentence was not peremptory; until, upon examing the merits of the cause, it was approved for just, as to matter, by the synod of Sardica.* These things otherwhere we have largely shewed; and consequently this instance is deficient.

He allegeth St. Chrysostom, as appealing to Pope Innocent I.; but if you read his Epistles to that pope, you will find no such matter;† he doth only complain, and declare to him the iniquity of the process against him, not as to a judge, but as to a friend and fellow bishop concerned, that such injurious and mischievous dealings should be stopped;‡ requesting from him, not judgment of his cause, but succour in procuring it by a general synod; to which, indeed, he did appeal, as Sozomen expressly telleth us; and as indeed he doth himself affirm.|| Accordingly Pope Innocent did not assume to himself the judgment of his cause, but did endeavour to procure a synod for it, affirming it to be *needful:* why so, if his own judgment, according to his privilege, did suffice? Why, indeed, did not Pope Innocent (being well satisfied in the case, yea, passionately touched with it) presently summon Theophilus and his adherents, undertaking the the trial? Did Pope Nicholas I. proceed so in the case of Rhotaldus? Why was he content only "to write consolatory letters to him, and to his people;"* not pretending to undertake the decision of his cause? If the pope had been endowed with such a privilege, it is morally impossible that it should not have shown forth clearly upon this occasion; it could hardly be that St. Chrysostom himself should not in plain terms avow it; that he should not formerly apply to it, as the most certain and easy way of finding relief; that he should not earnestly mind and urge the pope to use his privilege: why should he speak of that tedious and difficult way of a *general synod*, when so short and easy a way was at hand? But the truth is, he did not know any such power the pope, had by himself. St. Chrysostom rather did conceive all such foreign Judicatures to be unreasonable and unjust; for the argument which he darteth at Theophilus doth as well reach the papal jurisdiction upon appeals; for, "It was" (saith he) "not congruous, that an Egyptian should judge those in Thrace:"† why not an Egyptian as well as an Italian? And,‡ "If" (saith he) "this custom should prevail, and it become lawful for those who will to go into the parishes of others, even from such distances, and to cast out whom any one pleaseth, doing by their own authority what they please, know that all things will go to wreck—." Why may not this be said of a Roman as well as of an Alexandrian? St. Chrysostom also (we may observe) did not only apply himself to the pope, but to other western bishops;|| particularly to the bishops of Milain and Aquileia, whom he

* Ὥστε (Athanasius et Paulus) τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου τέλος λαβεῖν.—Ib.

† Tom. vii. Epist. 122, 123.—Πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀναδραμεῖν ἀγάπην.

‡ Παρακαλῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγάπην διανασταθῆναι, καὶ συναλγῆσαι, καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι, ὥστε στῆναι ταῦτα τὰ κακά.

|| Οἰκουμενικὴν ἀπεκαλεῖ τὸ σύνοδον.—Soz. viii. 17. Ἀλλ' ἀπόντων ἡμῶν καὶ σύνοδον ἐπικαλουμένων.—Theod. v. 34. Οἰκουμενικὴν δὲ σύνοδον συναγεῖραι σπουδάζων.—Soz. viii. 26. Ἀναγκαία ἐστι διάγνωσις συνοδική.—Ibid.

[y] Socr. ii. 20.

* Ἰννοκέντιος δὲ ὁ Ῥώμης, καὶ Φαβιανὸς Ἀντιοχείας οὐκ ἐκοινώνησαν τῇ ἐκβολῇ Ἰωάννου, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων τῆς πόλεως τὸν κλῆρον παρεμύθησαν, καὶ ἐδυσχέραινον τοῖς τολμήμασι.—Theoph. Soz. viii. 26.

† Οὐ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ διάζειν.

‡ Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσειε τὸ ἔθος καὶ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπιέναι παροικίας, καὶ ἐκ τοσούτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἰδίαν πράττοντας ἅπερ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἴστε ὅτι πάντα οἰχήσεται ——. Epist. 122.

|| Scripsimus ista et ad Venerium Mediolanensem, et ad Chromatium Aquilegiensem episcopum.—*Pallad.* cap. 2.

called *Beatissimi Domini:* did he appeal to them?

He allegeth Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, appealing to Pope Leo;* but let us consider the story. Flavianus, for his orthodoxy (or upon other accounts), very injuriously treated and oppressed by Dioscorus, who was supported by the favour of the imperial court, having in his case no other remedy, did appeal to the pope; who alone among the patriarchs had dissented from those proceedings. The pope was himself involved in the cause, being of the same persuasion; having been no less affronted and hardly treated (considering their power, and that he was out of their reach) and condemned by the same adversaries.

To him, therefore, as to the leading bishop of Christendom, in the first place interested in defence of the common faith, together with a synod, not to him as sole judge, did Flavianus appeal. "He" (saith Placidia, in her letter to Theodosius) "did appeal to the apostolic see, and to all the bishops of these parts;"† that is, to the rest of Christendom, which were not engaged in the party of Dioscorus: and to whom else could he have appealed?

Valentinian, in his Epistle to Theodosius, in behalf of Pope Leo, saith, that he did appeal "according to the manner of synods;"‡ and whatever those words signify, that could not be to the pope, as a single judge: for before that time, in whatever synod was such an appeal made? what custom could there be favourable to such a pretence?

But what his appeal did import is best interpretable by the proceeding consequent; which was not the pope's assuming to himself the judicature, either immediately or by delegation of judges, but endeavouring to procure a general synod for it; the which endeavour doth appear in many Epistles to Theodosius and to his sister Pulcheria, soliciting that such a synod might be indicted by his order: "All the bishops," saith Pope Leo, "with sighs and tears do supplicate your grace, that because our agents did faithfully reclaim, and bishop Flavianus did present them a libel of appeal, you would command a general synod to be celebrated in Italy."*

Dioscorus and his party would scarce have been so silly as to condemn Flavianus, if they had known (which, if it had been a case clear in law, or obvious in practice, they could not but have known) that the pope, who was deeply engaged in the same cause, had a power to reverse (and revenge) their proceedings. Nor would the good Emperor Theodosius so pertinaciously have maintained the proceedings of that Ephesine synod, if he had deemed the pope duly sovereign governor and judge; or that a right of ultimate decision upon appeal did appertain to him. Nor had the pope needed to have taken so much pains in procuring a synod, if he could have judged without it. Nor would Pope Leo (a man of so much spirit and zeal for the dignity of his See) have been so wanting to the maintenance of his right, as not immediately to have proceeded unto trial of the cause, without precarious attendance for a synod, if he thought his pretence to such appeals as we now speak of, to have been good or plausible in the world at that time.

The next case is that of Theodoret. His words, indeed, framed according to his condition, needing the patronage of Pope Leo, being then high in reputation, do sound favourably; but we, abstracting from the sound of words, must regard the reason of things. His words are these: "I expect the suffrage of your apostolic see, and beseech and earnestly entreat your holiness to succour me, who

* Flavianus autem contra se prolata sententia per ejus legatos sedem apostolicam appellavit libello —*Liber.* cap. 12. Necessitate coactus fuit ita agere, eo quod reliqui patriarchæ ad essent ——. *Marc.* vii. 7.

† Ὡς προηγούμενον ——. Placidia. Πρὸς τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐπισκόπους τῶν μερῶν τούτων.—Syn. Chalc. Act. i. p. 26.

‡ Κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῶν συνόδων.—p. 25.

* Omnes mansuetudini vestræ cum gemitibus et lachrymis supplicant sacerdotes, ut quia et nostri fideliter reclamarunt, et eisdem libellum appellationis Flavianus episcopus dedit, generalem synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari ——. *P. Leo.* Epist. 25.

appeal to your right and just judicature."*

He never had been particularly or personally judged, and therefore did not need to appeal, as to a judge; nor, therefore, is his application to the pope to be interpreted for such; but rather as to a charitable succourer of him in his distress,† by his countenance and endeavour to relieve him.‡

He only was supposed erroneous in faith, a perilous abettor of Nestorianism, because he had smartly contradicted Cyril; which prejudice did cause him to be prohibited from coming to the synod of Ephesus; and there in his absence to be denounced heterodox.‡

His appeal, then, to the pope (having no other recourse, in whom he did confide, finding him to concur with himself in opinion against Eutychianism) was no other than (as the word is often used in common speech, when we say, I appeal to your judgment in this or that case) a referring it to the pope's consideration, whether his faith was sound and orthodox;|| capacitating him to retain his office: the which, upon his explication and profession thereof, (presented in terms of extraordinary respect and deference), the pope did approve; thereby (as a good divine, rather than as a formal judge) acquitting him of heterodoxy: the which approbation (in regard to the great opinion then had of the pope's skill in those points, and to the favour he had obtained by contesting against the Eutychians) did bear great sway in the synod; so that (although not without opposition of many, and not upon absolute terms) he was permitted to sit among the Fathers of Chalcedon.

Observations.

1. We do not read of any formal trial the pope made of Theodoret's case; that he was cited, that his accusers did appear, that his cause was discussed; but only a simple approbation of him.

2. We may observe, that Theodoret did write to Flavianus in like terms: "We entreat your holiness to fight in behalf of the faith which is assaulted, and to defend the canons which are trampled under foot."*

3. We may obseve, that Theodoret, expecting this favour of Pope Leo, and thence being moved to commend the Roman see to the height, and to reckon its special advantages, doth not yet mention his supremacy of power, or universality of jurisdiction: for those words, "it befitteth you to be prime in all things,"† are only general words relating to the advantages which he subjoineth; of which he saith, "For your throne is adorned with many advantages,"‡ in a florid enumeration whereof he passeth over that of peculiar jurisdiction; he nameth the magnitude, splendour, majesty, and populousness of the city; the early faith praised by St. Paul, the sepulchres of the two great apostles, and their decease there; but the pope's being universal sovereign and judge (which was the main advantage whereof that See could be capable) he doth not mention: why? because he was not aware thereof, else surely he would not have passed it in silence.||

* Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ ὑμῶν θρόνου περιμένω τὴν ψῆφον, καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ τὴν σὴν ἁγιότητα ἐπαμύναι μοι τὸ ὀρθὸν ὑμῶν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικαλουμένῳ κριτήριον.—Theod. Ep. 113. (ad P. Leonem.)

† *Vide* Ep. 112, ad Domnum.—Ἀλλὰ κἀμὲ τὸν ἀπόντα ὁμοίως καλάμῳ κατέσφαξεν, οὔτε καλέσας εἰς δικαστήριον, οὔτε παρόντα κρίνας —— μετὰ τοσούτους ἱδρῶτας καὶ πόνους μὴ δικασάμενος κατεκρίθην. Οἱ δὲ δικαιότατοι δικασταὶ τὸν ἀπόντα κατέκριναν οὐ δικάσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ λίαν ἐπαινέσαντες τὰ δῆθεν εἰς κατηγορίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιδοθέντα συγγράμματα.—Epist. 138.

‡ Βασιλικοῖς γὰρ ἡμᾶς τῇ Κύρκῳ προσδήσαντες γράμμασιν ——. Epist. 115; *vide* Theod. Epist. supr. et Ep. 127, 129. Καί με νόμος ἐνθάδε καθειργει βασιλικός. Βασιλικοῖς γράμματι κωλυθέντες καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἔφεσον ——. Ep. 138, 139. Μαθεῖν ἀντιβολῶ παρ' ὑμῶν εἴτε χρή με στέρξαι τὴν ἄδικον ταύτην καθαίρεσιν, ἢ μή. Ep. 113. Ὥστε καὶ τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ὀπολαῦσαι κηδεμονίας.—Ep. 118.

|| Τὰ γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν κριθησόμενα στέρξομεν ὁποῖα ἂν ᾖ.

* Τὴν σὴν ἁγιωσύνην παρακαλοῦμεν τῆς πολεμουμένης πίστεως ὑπερμαχῆσαι, καὶ τῶν πατηθέντων ὑπεραγωνίσασθαι κανόνων.—Theod. Epist. 86.

† Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν πρωτεύειν ἁρμόττει ——.

‡ Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κοσμεῖται πλεονεκτήμασι. Ἔχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, διὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὅτι αἱρετικῆς μεμένηκε δυσωδίας ἄμυητος, καὶ οὐδεὶς τἀναντία φρονῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκάθισεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν χάριν ἀκήρατον διεφύλαξε.—Theod. Ep. 116. (ad Renatum. Presb.)

|| That holy See has the principality over the churches in all the world, for many reasons;

4. We may also observe, that whatever the opinion of Theodoret was now concerning the pope's power, he not long before did hardly take him for such a judge, when he did oppose Pope Celestine, concurring with Cyril, at the first Ephesine synod. He then indeed, looking on Pope Celestine as a prejudiced adversary, did not write to him, but to the other bishops of the west, as we see by those words in his Epistle to Domnus: "And we have written to the bishops of the west about these things, to him of Milain, I say, to him of Aquileia, and him of Ravenna, testifying,"* &c.

5. Yea, we may observe, that Theodoret did intend, with the emperor's leave, to appeal, or refer his cause, to the whole body of western bishops, as himself doth express in those words to Anatolius: "I do pray your magnificence, that you would request this favour of our dread sovereign, that I may have recourse to the west, and may be judged by the most religious and holy bishops there."†

Bellarmine further doth allege the appeal of Hadrianus, bishop of Thebes, to Pope Gregory I.[a] the which he received and asserted by excommunicating the archbishop of Justiniana Prima, for deposing Hadrianus, without regard to that appeal. I answer,

1. The example is late, when the popes had extended their power beyond the ancient and due limits: those maxims had got in before the time of that worthy pope; who thought he might use the power of which he found himself possessed.

2. It is impertinent, because the bishop of Justiniana had then a special dependence upon the Roman See; from whence an universal jurisdiction upon appeal cannot be inferred.

3. It might be an usurpation; nor doth the opinion or practice of Pope Gregory suffice to determine a question of right; for good men are liable to prejudice, and its consequences.

To these instances produced by Bellarmine, some add the appeal of Eutyches to Pope Leo; to which it may be excepted, that if he did appeal, it was not to the pope solely, but to him with the other patriarchs; so it is expressly said in the Acts of the Chalcedon synod, "His deposition being read, he did appeal to the holy synod of the most holy bishop of Rome, and of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem, and of Thessalonica:"* the which it is an argument that he did not apprehend the right of receiving appeals did solely or peculiarly belong to him of Rome.

Liberatus saith, that "Johannes Talaida went to Calendion, patriarch of Antioch, and taking of him intercessory synodical letters, appealed to Simplicius, Bishop of Rome, as St. Athanasius had done, and persuaded him to write in his behalf to Acacius, bishop of Constantinople."†

In regard to any more instances of this kind we might generally propose these following considerations:—

1. It is no wonder, that any bishop being condemned, especially in causes relating to faith or common interest, should have recourse to the Roman bishop, or to any other bishop of great authority, for refuge or for relief; which they may hope to be procured by them by the influence of their reputation, and their power among their dependents.

2. Bad men, being deservedly corrected, will absurdly resort any whither with mouths full of clamour and calumny, if not with hope of relief, yet with design of revenge; as did Marcion, as did Felicissimus, as did Apiarius to the pope.'

3. Good men being abused will express some resentment, and complain of

but especially because she continued free from the taint of heresy, and none otherwise minded ever sat in her, she having kept the apostolic state always unmixed.

* Καὶ τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις δὲ τῆς δόσεως ἐπισκόποις, τῷ Μεδιολάνου φημὶ, καὶ τῷ Ἀκυιλείας καὶ τῷ Ῥαβέννης περὶ τούτων ἐγράψαμεν, διαμαρτυρόμενοι ὡς τῆς Ἀπολιναρίου ταῦτα καινοτομίας πεπλήρωται. —Theod. Epist. 112.

† Ἀντιβολῶ τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ταύτην αἰτῆσαι τὴν χάριν τὴν καλλίνικον κορυφὴν, ὥστε με τὴν ἑσπέραν καταλαβεῖν, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν ἐκείνῃ θεοφιλεστάτοις καὶ ἁγιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις δικάσασθαι.—Theod. Ep. 119. (ad Anatol.)

[a] Greg. lib. ii; Indict, 11, Ep. 6.

* Ἀναγινωσκομένης τῆς καθαιρέσεως, ἐπεκαλέσατο τὴν ἁγίαν σύνοδον τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης, καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ Θεσσαλονίκης.—Syn. Chalc. Act. 1.

† Ingressus est ad Calendionem Antiochenum patriarcham, et sumptis ab eo intercessionis synodicis literis Romanum pontificem Simplicium appellavit, sicut B. fecerat Athanasius, et suasit scribere pro se Acacio Constantinopolitano episcopo ——. *Liber.* cap. 18; *Baron.* ann. 483, § 1.

their wrongs, where they may presume of a fair and favourable hearing: so did Athanasius, Flavianus, St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, apply themselves to the same bishops, flourishing in so great reputation and wealth.

So did the monks of Egypt (Ammonius and Isidorus), from the persecutions of Theophilus, fly to the protection and succour of St. Chrysostom; which gave occasion to the troubles of that incomparable personage; the which is so illustrious an instance, that the words of the historian relating it deserve setting down.

"They jointly did endeavour, that the trains against them might be examined by the emperor as judge, and by the bishop John; for they conceived that he, having conscience of using a just freedom, would be able to succour them according to right; but he did receive the men applying to him courteously, and treated them respectfully, and did not hinder them from praying in the church.—He also writ to Theophilus to render communion to them, as being orthodox; and if there were need of judging their case by law, that he would send whom they thought good to prosecute the cause."*

If this had been to the pope, it would have been alleged for an appeal; and it would have had as much colour as any instance which they can produce.

4. And when men, either good or bad, do resort in this manner to great friends, it is no wonder if they accost them in highest terms of respect and with exaggerations of their eminent advantages; so inducing them to regard and favour their cause.

5. Neither is it strange that great persons favourably should entertain those who make such addresses to them, they always coming crouching in a suppliant posture, and with fair pretences; it being also natural to men to delight in seeing their power acknowledged; and it being a glorious thing to relieve the afflicted: for "eminence is wont to incline toward infirmity, and with a ready goodwill to take part with those who are under."* So when Basilides, when Marcellus, when Eustathius Sebastenus, when Maximus the Cynic, when Apiarius, were condemned, the pope was hasty to engage for them; more liking their application to him than weighing their cause.

6. And when any person doth continue long in a flourishing estate, so that such addresses are frequently made to him, no wonder that an opinion of lawful power to receive them doth arise both in him and in others; so that of a voluntary friend he become an authorized protector, a patron, a judge of such persons in such cases.

X. The sovereign is fountain of all jurisdiction; and all inferior magistrates derive their authority from his warrant and commission, acting as his deputies or ministers, according to that intimation in St. Peter,—*whether to the king as supreme, or to governors as sent by him.*[a]

Accordingly the pope doth challenge this advantage to himself, that he is the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; pretending all episcopal power to be derived from him.

"The rule of the church" (saith Bellarmine) "is monarchical; therefore all authority is in one, and from him is derived to others;"† the which aphorism he well proveth from the form of creating bishops, as they call it: "We do provide such a church with such a person: and we do prefer him to be father and pastor and bishop of the said church; committing to him the administration in temporals and spirituals, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."‡

Pope Pius II., in his Bull of Retractation, thus expresseth the sense of his See: "In the militant church, which re-

* Κοινῇ τε ἐσπούδαζον παρὰ βασιλεῖ κριτῇ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐλέγχεσθαι τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβουλάς· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἐνδίκου παῤῥησίας αὐτὸν ἐπιμελούμενον δυνάσθαι τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ προσελθόντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο, καὶ ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας οὐκ ἐκώλυσε —— ἔγραψε δὲ Θεοφίλῳ κοινωνίαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι, ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζουσιν· εἰ δὲ δίκῃ δέοι κρίνεσθαι τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἀποστέλλειν ὃν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ δικασόμενον.—Soz. viii. 13.

* Φίλεῖ μάλιστα κάμπτεσθαι τὸ προέχον πρὸς τὸ ἀσθενὲς, καὶ δι' εὐνοίας ἑκουσίου τῷ ἐλαττωμένῳ προστίθεσθαι.—Greg. Naz. Orat. 23.

† Regimen ecclesiæ est monarchicum; ergo omnis auctoritas est in uno, et ab illo in alios derivatur.—*Bell.* iv. 24; Epiph. Hær. 42.

‡ Providemus ecclesiæ tali de tali persona, et præficimus eum in patrem, et pastorem, et episcopum ejusdem ecclesiæ, committentes ei administrationem in temporalibus et spiritualibus; in nomine, &c.—*Ib.*

[a] 1 Pet. ii. 13.

sembleth the triumphant, there is one moderator and judge of all, the vicar of Jesus Christ,* from whom, as from the head, all power and authority is derived to the subject members; the which doth immediately flow into it from the Lord Christ."

A congregation of cardinals, appointed by Pope Paulus III., speaking after the style and sentiments of that See, did say to him, "Your holiness doth so bear the care of Christ's church, that you have very many ministers, by which you manage that care; these are all the clergy, on whom the service of God is charged; especially priests, and more especially curates, and above all, bishops."†

Durandus, bishop of Mande, according to the sense of his age, saith, "The pope is head of all bishops, from whom they as members from an head descend, and of whose fulness all receive; whom he calls to a participation of his care, but admits not into the fulness of his power."‡

This pretence is seen in the ordinary titles of bishops, who style themselves bishops of such a place, "by the grace of God and of the apostolic see."|| O shame!

The men of the Tridentine convention (those great betrayers of the church to perpetual slavery, and Christian truth to the prevalency of falsehood, till God pleaseth) do, upon divers occasions, pretend to qualify and empower bishops to perform important matters, originally belonging to the episcopal function, as the pope's delegates.*

But contrariwise, according to the doctrine of holy scripture, and the sense of the primitive church, the bishops and pastors of the church do immediately receive their authority and commission from God; being only his ministers.

The scripture calleth them *the ministers of God*, and *of Christ* (so Epaphras, so Timothy, in regard to their ecclesiastical function are named), *the stewards of God*, *the servants of God*, *fellow-servants* of the apostles.[b]

The scripture saith that *the Holy Ghost had made them bishops to feed the church of God*;[c] that *God had given them*, and *constituted them in the church; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ*;[d] that is, to all effects and purposes concerning their office; for *the work of the ministry* compriseth all the duty charged on them, whether in way of order or of governance;† as they now do precariously and groundlessly in reference to this case distinguish; and *edifying the body* doth import all the designed effects of their office; particularly those which are consequent on the use of jurisdiction; the which St. Paul doth affirm was appointed for edification; *according* (saith he) *to the authority which God hath given me for edification, and not for destruction.*[e] They do *preside in the Lord.* They allow no other head but our Lord, *from whom all the body*,‡ *&c.*

The Fathers clearly do express their sentiments to be the same.

St. Ignatius saith, that the bishop "doth preside in the place of God;"|| and that "we must look upon him as our Lord himself," (or as our Lord's representative;) that therefore "we must be subject to him as unto Jesus Christ."§

* In ecclesia militanti, quæ instar triumphantis habet, unus est omnium moderator et arbiter Jesu Christi vicarius, a quo tanquam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas et authoritas derivatur, quæ a Christo Domino sine medio in ipsum influit.—*P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*.

† Sanctitas vestra ita gerit curam ecclesiæ Christi, ut ministros plurimos habeat, per quos curam exerceat; hi autem sunt clerici omnes, quibus mandatus est cultus Dei; presbyteri præsertim, et maxime curati, et præ omnibus episcopi ——. *Apud Cham. de Pont. Œcum.* 10, 13.

‡ Summus pontifex caput est omnium pontificum, a quo illi tanquam a capite membra descendunt, et de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt quos ipse vocat in partem solicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis.—*Durant. Mimat. Offic.* ii. 1, 17.

|| N. Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia episcopus Colon ——.

* This was an expedient.—*Vide* Concil.

† Ordo confertur a Deo immediate, jurisdictio mediate.—*Bell.* iv. 25.

‡ Προιστάμενοι ἐν Κυρίῳ.—1 Thess. v. 12; Eph. iv. 16.

|| Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ.—Ign. ad Magnes.

§ Τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον.

[b] Col. i. 7; iv. 7; 1 Thess. iii. 2; 1 Tim. iv. 6; Tit. i. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 24.

[c] Acts xx. 28; Naz. Or. 30.

[d] Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 29.

[e] 2 Cor. x. 8; xiii. 10.

St. Cyprian affirmeth "each bishop to be constituted by the judgment of God and of Christ;" and "that in his church he is for the present a judge in the place of Christ;"—and "that our Lord Jesus Christ, one and alone, hath a power both to prefer us to the government of his church, and to judge of our acting."*

St. Basil: "A prelate is nothing else but one that sustaineth the person of Christ."†

St. Chrysostom: "We have received the commission of ambassadors, and come from God; for this is the dignity of the episcopal office."‡

"It behoveth us all, who by divine authority are constituted in the priesthood, to prevent,"|| &c.

Wherefore the ancient bishops did all of them take themselves to be vicars of Christ, not of the pope, and no less than the proudest pope of them all; whence it was ordinary for them in their addresses and compellations to the bishop of Rome, and in their speech about him, to call him their *brother*, their *colleague*, their *fellow-minister;* which had not been modest or just, if they had been his ministers or shadows.[r] Yea, the popes themselves, even the highest and haughtiest of them, who of any in old times did most stand on their presumed pre-eminence, did yet vouchsafe to call other bishops their fellow-bishops and fellow-ministers.

Those bishops of France with good reason did complain of Pope Nicholas I., "for calling them his clerks; whereas, if his pride had suffered him, he should have acknowledged them for his brethren, and fellow-bishops.*

In fine, the ancient bishops did not allege any commission from the pope to warrant their jurisdiction, but from God: "If Moses's chair were so venerable, that what was said out of that ought therefore to be heard, how much more is Christ's throne so?† We succeed him, from that we speak, since Christ has committed to us the ministry of reconciliation."‡

"That which is committed to the priest, it is only in God's power to give."||

"Since we also, by the mercy of Christ our King and God, were made ministers of the gospel."§

This is a modern dream, born out of ambition and flattery, which never came into the head of any ancient divine.

It is a ridiculous thing to imagine that Cyprian, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Austin, &c., did take themselves for the vicegerents or ministers of the popes; if they did, why did they not, so frequent occasion being given them in all their volumes, ever acknowledge it? why cannot Bellarmine and his complices, after all their prolling, shew any passage in them importing any such acknowledgment; but are fain to infer it by far-fetched sophisms, from allegations plainly impertinent or frivolous?

The popes, indeed, in the fourth century, began to practise a fine trick, very serviceable to the enlargement of their power; which was to confer on certain bishops, as occasion served, or for continuance, the title of their vicar or lieutenant; thereby pretending to impart authority to them: whereby they were enabled for performance of divers things, which otherwise by their own episcopal

ριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν.—Ign. ad Ep. Ὅταν ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.—Ign. ad Trall.

* De Dei et Christi ejus judicio.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52, *et alibi sæpe.* Unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex, vice Christi.—*Id.* Ep. 55. Sed expec temus universi judicium, Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro judicandi.—*Id. in Conc. Carthag.*

† Ὁ γὰρ καθηγούμενος οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν, ἢ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπέχων πρόσωπον.—Bas. Const. Mon. Cap. 22.

‡ Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν πρεσβείας ἀνεδεξάμεθα λόγον καὶ ἥκομεν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξίωμα.—Chrys. in Coloss. Orat. 3.

|| Oportere nos omnes, qui Deo auctore sumus in sacerdotio constituti illius certaminibus obviare, &c.—*Anatol. in Syn. Chalc.* p. 512.

[r] Leo Ep. 84.

* Sciesque nos non tuos esse ut te jactas et extollis clericos, quos ut fratres et coepiscopos recognoscere si elatio permitteret, debueras.—*Ann. Pith.*

† Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ——. S. Chrys. sup.

‡ Εἰ ὁ Μωσέως θρόνος οὕτως ἦν αἰδέσιμος, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀκούεσθαι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ Χριστοῦ θρόνος; ἐκεῖνον ἡμεῖς διεδεξάμεθα, ἀπὸ τούτου φθεγγόμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔθετο ἐν ἡμῖν τὴν διακονίαν τῆς καταλλαγῆς.—Chrys. in Coloss. Orat. 3.

|| Ἃ γὰρ ἐγκεχείρισται ὁ ἱερεὺς, Θεοῦ μόνου ἐστὶ δωρεῖσθαι, &c.—Chrys. in Joh. Orat. 83.

§ Ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλέει τοῦ συμβασιλέως (l. παμβασιλέως) ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἱερουργοὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκληρώθημεν ——. Flavian. in Chalc. Act. i. p. 4.

or metropolitical power they could not perform. By which device they did engage such bishops to such a dependence on them, whereby they did promote the papal authority in provinces, to the oppression of the ancient rights and liberties of bishops and synods, doing what they pleased under pretence of this vast power communicated to them; and for fear of being displaced, or out of affection to their favourer, doing what might serve to advance the papacy.

Thus did Pope Celestine constitute Cyril in his room.[g]

Pope Leo appointed Anatolius of Constantinople.

Pope Felix, Acacius of Constantinople.[h]

Pope Hormisdas, Epiphanius of Constantinople.

Pope Simplicius, to Zeno, bishop of Seville—"We thought it convenient that you should be held up by the vicariat authority of our See."*

So did Siricius and his successors constitute the bishops of Thessalonica to be their vicars in the diocese of Illyricum, wherein being then a member of the western empire they had caught a special jurisdiction; to which Pope Leo did refer in those words, which sometimes are impertinently alleged with reference to all bishops, but concern only Anastatius, bishop of Thessalonica: "We have intrusted thy charity to be in our stead, so that thou art called into part of the solicitude, not into plenitude of the authority."†

So did Pope Zozimus bestow a like pretence of vicarious power upon the bishop of Arles, which city was the seat of the temporal exarch in Gaul.[i]

So to the bishop of Justiniani Prima in Bulgaria (or Dardania Europæa), the like privilege was granted [by procurement of the Emperor Justinian, native of that place.]

Afterwards temporary or occasional vicars were appointed (such as Austin in England, Boniface in Germany), who in virtue of that concession did usurp a paramount authority; and by the exercise thereof did advance the papal interest; depressing the authority of metropolitans and provincial synods.

So at length legates, upon occasion despatched into all countries of the west, came to do there what they pleased, using that pretence to oppress and abuse both clergy and people very intolerably.

Whence divers countries were forced to make legal provisions for excluding such legates,[j] finding by much experience that their business was to rant and domineer in the pope's name, to suck money from the people, and to maintain luxurious pomp upon expense of the countries where they came.

Of this, John XXII. doth sorely complain;* and decrees that all people should admit his legates, under pain of interdicts.

In England, Pope Paschal finds the same fault in his letter to King Henry I. "Nuncios, or letters from the apostolic see, unless by your majesty's command, are not thought worthy any admittance or reception within your jurisdiction: none complains thence, none appeals thence for judgment to the apostolic see."†

The pope observing what authority and reverence the archbishops of Canterbury had in this nation, whereby they might be able to check his attempts, did think good to constitute those archbishops his legates of course (*legatos natos*), that so they might seem to exercise their jurisdiction by authority derived from him; and owing to him that mark of favour, or honour, with enlargement of power, might pay him more devotion, and serve his interests.

Bellarmine doth from this practice prove the pope's sovereign power;[k] but he might from thence better have de-

* Congruum duximus vicaria sedis nostræ te auctoritate fulciri.—*Baron.* ann. 482, § 46.

† Vices enim nostras ita tuæ credidimus charitati, ut in patrem sis vocatus solicitudinis, non in plenitudinem potestatis.—*P. Leo.* Ep. 84 (*ad Anastas. Thess.*)

[g] Evagr. Act. Eph. p. 134.

[h] Act. Conc. sub. Menna. p. 70.

[i] P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 93.

* Extrav. commun. i. 1 (p. 310.) Occulti inimici regni.—*Matt. Par.* p. 524.

† Sedis apostolicæ nuncii vel literæ præter jussum regiæ majestatis nullam in potestate tua susceptionem aut aditum promerentur, nullus inde clamor, nullum judicium ad sedem apostolicam destinantur.—*P. Pasch. II. Eadm.* p. 113.

[j] P. Pasch. II. Epist. apud Eadm. p. 113, &c.

[k] Bell. ii. 10.

monstrated their great cunning. It might, from such extraordinary designation of vicegerents, with far more reason be inferred, that ordinarily bishops are not his ministers.

XI. It is the privilege of a sovereign, that he cannot be called to account, or judged, or deposed, or debarred communion, or anywise censured and punished; for this implieth a contradiction or confusion in degrees, subjecting the superior to inferiors; this were making a river run backwards; this were to dam up the fountain of justice; to behead the state; to expose majesty to contempt.

Wherefore the pope doth pretend to this privilege, according to those maxims in the canon law, drawn from the sayings of popes (either forged or genuine, but all alike) obtaining authority in their court.[1]

And according to what Pope Adrian let the eighth synod know, "because" (says he) "the apostolic church of Rome stoops not to the judgment of lesser churches."* They cite also three old synods (of Sinuessa, of Rome under Pope Silvester, of Rome under Sextus III.); but they are palpably spurious, and the learned amongst them confess it.

But antiquity was not of this mind; for it did suppose him no less obnoxious to judgment and correction than other bishops, if he should notoriously deviate from the faith, or violate canonical discipline.

The canons generally do oblige bishops, without exception to duty, and (upon defailance) to correction: why is not he excepted, if to be excused or exempted?

It was not questioned of old, but that a pope, in case he should notoriously depart from the faith, or notably infringe discipline, might be excommunicated: the attempting it upon divers occasions doth shew their opinion, although it often had not effect, because the cause was not just and plausible; the truth and equity of the case appearing to be on the pope's side.

St. Isidore Pelusiota denieth of any bishop's office, that it is ἀρχὴ ἀνυπεύθυνος, "an uncontrollable government."

In the times of Polycrates and Pope Victor, the whole eastern church did forbear communion with the pope.* Firmilian told Pope Stephanus, that by conceiting he might excommunicate all other bishops, he had excommunicated himself. The Fathers of the Antiochene synod did threaten to excommunicate and depose Pope Julius. "They did promise to Julius peace and communion, if he did admit the deposition of those whom they had expelled, and the constitution of those whom they had ordained; but if he did resist their decrees, they denounce the contrary."† The oriental bishops at Sardica did excommunicate and depose him.[m] St. Hilary did anathematize Pope Liberius, upon his defection to the Arians.‡ Dioscorus did attempt to excommunicate Pope Leo.‖ Acacius of Constantinople renounced the communion of Pope Felix.[n] Timotheus Ælurus cursed the Pope.[o] The "African bishops" did "synodically excommunicate Pope Vigilius."§ Pope Anastasius was rejected by his own clergy.[p] Pope Constantine, by the people;[q] and so was Pope Leo VIII.[r] Diverse bishops of Italy and

* Διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς Ῥώμης τῇ τῶν ἐλαττόνων μὴ ὑποκύπτειν κρίσει.—P. Adrian. in Syn. VIII. Act. vii. p. 963.

[1] Bell. ii. 26; de Conc. ii. 17; Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 6; xxi. 7; Caus. ix. qu. 3, cap. 10—; Extrav. comm. lib. i. tit. 8, cap. 1; P. Leo IX. Ep. i. cap. 10—17; P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. (p. 504;) P. Joh. VIII. Ep. 75. (p. 31;) P. Gelas. Ep. 4. (p. 625, 626;) Ep. 13. (p. 640;) P. Greg. VII. Ep. 8, 21.

* Ἐν τε χρόνοις Πολυκράτους καὶ Βίκτωρος ὡς ἡ ἀνατολὴ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν διαφερομένη εἰρηνικὰ καρ' ἀλλήλων οὐκ ἐδέχοντο.—Epiph. Hær. 70. Audianorum. Dum enim putas omnes abs te abstineri posse, solum te ab omnibus abstinuisti.—*Firm. apud Cypr. Ep.*

† Δεχομένῳ μὲν Ἰουλίῳ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῶν πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐληλαμένων, καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν χειροτονηθέντων, εἰρήνην καὶ κοινωνίαν ἐπηγγέλλοντο· ἀνθισταμένῳ δὲ τοῖς δεδογμένοις τἀναντία προηγόρευσαν.—Soz. iii. 8.

‡ Anathema tibi, papa Liberi.— *Hil. fragm.*

‖ Ἐτόλμησε δὲ καὶ ἀκοινωνησίαν ὑπαγορεῦσαι κατὰ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Λέοντος.—Evag. ii. 4.

§ Africani antistites Vigilium Rom. episc. damnatorem capitulorum synodaliter a catholica communione, reservato ei pœnitentiæ loco, recludunt (l. excludunt.)—*Vict. Tun. post. Cons. Basilii V. C.* an. 10.

[m] Soz. iii. 11.

[n] Niceph xvi. 17; Baron. ann. 484, § 35.

[o] Baron. ann. 457. § 25.

[p] Plat. p. 131, et Dist. xix. cap. 21, 22.

[q] Plat. p. 223.

[r] Id. p. 291.

Illyricum did abstain from the pope's communion for a long time, because they did admit the fifth synod.[s] Photius did excommunicate and depose Pope Nicholas I.* Maurus, bishop of Revenna, did anathematize Pope Vitalianus.† The emperor Otho II. having with good advice laboured to reclaim Pope John XII. without effect,[t] did "indict a council, calling together the bishops of Italy, by the judgment of whom the life of that wicked man should be judged;"‡ and the issue was, that he was deposed. Pope Nicholas I. desired to be judged by the emperor.[u] The fifth synod did in general terms condemn Pope Vigilius; and the Emperor Justinian did banish him for not complying with the decrees of it. The sixth and seventh general synods did anathematize Honorius by name, when he was dead, because his heresy was not before confuted; and they would have served him so if he had been alive. Divers synods (that of Worms, of Papia, of Brescia, of Mentz, of Rome, &c.), did reject Pope Gregory VII.[v] Pope Adrian himself, in the eighth synod (so called), did confess, that a pope being found deviating from the faith might be judged, as Honorius was. Gerbertus (afterwards Pope Sylvester II.) did maintain, that popes might be held as ethnics and publicans, if they "did not hear the church."[w] The synod of Constance did judge and depose three popes.

The synod of Basil did depose Pope Eugenius; affirming, that "the Catholic church hath often corrected and judged popes, when they either erred from the faith, or by their ill manners became notoriously scandalous to the church."||

The practice of popes, to give an account of their faith (when they entered upon their office) to the other patriarchs and cheif bishops, approving themselves thereby worthy and capable of communion, doth imply them liable to judgment.* Of the neglect of which practice Euphemius, bishop of Constantinople, did complain.[x]

Of this we have for example the Synodical Epistles of Pope Gregory I.

XII. To the sovereign in ecclesiastical affairs it would belong to define and decide controversies in faith, discipline, moral practice; so that all were bound to admit his definitions, decisions, interpretations. He would be the supreme interpreter of the divine law, and judge of controversies. No point or question of moment should be decided without his cognizance. This he therefore doth pretend to; taking upon him to define points, and requiring from all submissions to his determinations. Nor doth he allow any synods to decide questions.

But the ancients did know no such thing. In case of contentions, they had no recourse to his judgment; they did not stand to his opinion, his authority did not avail to quash disputes. They had recourse to the holy scriptures, to Catholic tradition, to reason; they disputed and discussed points by dint of argument.

Irenæus, Tertullian, Vincentius, Lirinensis and others, discoursing of the methods to resolve points of controversy, did not reckon the pope's authority for one. Divers of the Fathers did not scruple openly to dissent from the opinions of popes; nor were they wondered at, or condemned for it.

So St. Paul did withstand St. Peter.[y] So Polycarpus dissented from Pope Eluterius. So Polycrates from Pope Victor. So St. Cyprian from Pope Stephen. So Dionysius Alex. from Pope Stephen. All which persons were renowned for wisdom and piety in their times.

Highest controversies were appeased

* Καθαίρεσιν ὡς ἐνόμισε καὶ ἀναθεματισμὸν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖται Νικολαοῦ.—Vit. Ignatii. Patr. apud Bin. p. 892; Baron. ann. 863.

† —— Communi totius sancti concilii consensu depositus.—*Luitprand.* vi. 6.

‡ —— Concilium indicit, convocatis episcopis Italiæ, quorum judicio vita sceleratissimi hominis dijudicaretur.—*Plat. in Joh. XIII.* (*pro XII.*) Vide *Baron.* ann. 960, *et Binium.*

|| Ecclesia catholica sæpenumero summos pontifices sive a fide delirantes, sive pravis moribus notorie ecclesiam scandalizantes correxit, et judicavit ——. *Conc. Bass.* sess. 12.

[s] P. Pelag. II. Ep. iii. 13.

[t] Baron. ann. 669, § 2.

[u] Grat. Caus. ii. qu. 7, cap. 41.

[v] Ann. 1076; *vide* Baron. ann. 1033, § 3.

[w] Baron. an. 992, § 44 —; Conc. Bas. sess. xxxviii. p. 101.

* Mos est Romanæ ecclesiæ sacerdoti noviter constituto formam fidei suæ ad sanctas ecclesias prærogare.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 1, *ad Laur.*

[x] Gelas. Ep. 9; Baron. ann. 492, § 10; *vide* Tract. de. Unit. Eccl.

[y] Gal. ii. 11, ἀντίστην.

by synods out of the holy scripture, Catholic tradition, the analogy of faith, and common reason, without regard to the pope. Divers synods in Afric and Asia defined the point about *rebaptization* without the pope's leave, and against his opinion. The synod of Antioch condemned the doctrine of Paulus Samosatenus, without intervention of the pope, before they gave him notice. In the synod of Nice, the pope had very small stroke. The general synod of Constantinople declared the point of the *divinity* of the Holy Ghost against Macedonius, without the pope; who did no more than afterward consent: this the synod of Chalcedon, in their compellation to the Emperor Marcian, did observe: "The Fathers, met in Sardica to suppress the relics of Arianism, communicated their decrees to the eastern bishops; and they who here discovered the pestilence of Apolinarius, made known theirs to the western."*

The synod of Afric defined against Pelagius, before their informing Pope Innocentius thereof; not seeking his judgment, but desiring his consent to that which they were assured to be truth.

Divers popes have been incapable of deciding controversies, themselves having been erroneous in the questions controverted; as Pope Stephanius (in part), Pope Liberius, Pope Felix, Pope Vigilius, Pope Honorius, &c. And in our opinion, all popes for many ages.

It is observable how the synod of Chalcedon, in their allocution to the Emperor Marcian, do excuse Pope Leo for expounding the faith, in his Epistle (the which it seems some did reprehend as a novel method disagreeable to the canons:) "Let not them" (say they†) "object to us the Epistle of the marvellous prelate of Rome, as obnoxious to imputation of novelty; but if it be not consonant to the scriptures, let them confute it; or if it be not consentaneous to the Fathers who have preceded; or if it be not apt to confute the irreligious," &c.

It was not his judicial authority which they did insist upon to maintain his Epistle, but the orthodoxy and intrinsic usefulness of it to confute errors; upon which account they did embrace and confirm it by their suffrage.

XIII. If the pope were a sovereign of the church, as they make him, it were at least expedient that he should be infallible; for why otherwise should he undertake confidently to pronounce in all cases, to define high and difficult points, to impose his dictates, and require assent from all? If he be fallible, it is very probable that often he doth obtrude errors upon us for matters of faith and practice.

Wherefore the true fast friends of papal interest do assert him to be infallible, when he dictateth as pope, and setting himself into his chair doth thence mean to instruct the whole Church.[a] And the pope therefore himself, who countenanceth them, may be presumed to be of that mind.

Pighius said bouncingly, "The judgment of the apostolic see, with a council of domestic priests, is far more certain than the judgment of an universal council of the whole earth without the pope."*

This is the syllogism we propose:—

The supreme judge must be infallible;
The pope is not infallible: therefore—

The *major*, the Jesuits, canonists, and courtiers are obliged to prove, it being their assertion; and they do prove it very wisely and strongly.

The *minor* is asserted by the French doctors; and they do with clear evidence maintain it.

The *conclusion* we leave them to infer who are concerned.

It is in effect Pope Gregory's argumentation: *no* bishop can be universal bishop (or universal pastor and judge of the

* Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμπον, οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες τοῖς ἐν ὄσοις τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνώριζον.—Conc. Chalced. ad Marc. Orat. p. 468.

† Ὡς ξένην τινὰ καὶ τοῖς κανόσιν οὐ νενομισμένην τῆς ἐπιστολῆς διαβάλλῃ τὴν σύνταξιν.—Act. Syn. Chalc. p. 465. Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμῖν τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης προέδρου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὡς καινοτομίας ἔγκλημα, προσφερέτωσαν· ἀλλὰ εἰ μὴ σύμφωνος ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐλεγχέτωσαν. εἰ μὴ τοῖς προλαβοῦσι πατράσιν ὁμόδοξος· εἰ μὴ πρὸς δυσσεβῶν κατηγορίαν γεγένηται ——.

* Longe certius est unius apostolicæ sedis cum concilio domesticorum sacerdotum judicium, quam sine pontifice judicium universalis concilii totius orbis terrarum.—*Pighius de Hier.* lib. 6.

[a] Bell. lib. iv.

church), because no bishop can be infallible; for that the lapse of such a pastor would throw down the church into ruin, by error and impiety. "Therefore the universal church (which God forbid!) falls, when he falls who is called universal.*—The state and order of our Lord's family will decay, when that which is required in the body is not to be found in the head."

But that he is not infallible, much experience and history do abundantly shew.

The ancients knew no such pretender to infallibility; otherwise they would have left disputing, and run to his oracular dictates for information. They would have only asserted this point against heretics. We should have had testimonies of it innumerable. It had been the most famous point of all.†

I will not mention Pope Stephanus universally approving the baptism of heretics against the decrees of the synod of Nice and other synods. Nor pope Liberius complying with Arianism. Nor Pope Innocent I. and his followers, at least till Pope Gelasius, first asserting the "Communion of infants" for needful.[a] Nor Pope Vigilus dodging with the fifth synod. Nor Pope Honorius condemned by so many councils and popes for monothelitism. But surely Pope Leo and Pope Gelasius were strangely deceived when they condemned "partaking in one kind."[b] Pope Gregory was foully out when he condemned "the worship of images;" and when he so declaimeth against the title of "universal bishop;" and when he avowed himself a subject to the Emperor Mauritius; and when he denied the books of Maccabees to be "canonical;" and when he asserted the perfection of holy scripture.[c] Pope Leo II. was mistaken, when he did charge his infallible predecessor Honorius of monothelitism; Pope Nicholas was a little deceived, when he determined the "attrition of Christ's body."* Pope Urban II. was out, when he allowed it lawful for good catholics to commit murder on persons excommunicate.[d] Pope Innocent IV. erred, when he called kings "the pope's slaves."†

Surely those popes did err, who confirmed the synods of Constance and Basil; not excepting the determinations in favour of general councils being superior to popes.[e] All those popes have devilishly erred, who have pretended to dispose of kingdoms; to depose princes; to absolve subjects of their oaths. Pope Adrian II. did not take the pope to be infallible, when he said he might not be judged, excepting in case of heresy; and thereby excuseth the orientals for anathematizing Honorius, he being accused of heresy.

There is one heresy, of which, if all histories do not lie grievously, divers popes have been guilty; a heresy defined by divers popes; the "heresy of simony."‡ How many such heretics have sat in that chair! of which how many popes are proclaimed guilty with a loud voice in history! "The hand" (says St. Bernard) "does all the papal business: shew me a man in all this greatest city who would admit thee to be pope without the mediation of a bribe!"‖ Yea, how few for some ages have been guiltless of this heresy! It may be answered, they were no popes, because their election was null; but then the

* Universa ergo ecclesia, quod absit, a statu suo corruit, quando is qui vocatur universalis cadit.—*Greg. M. Epist.* iv. 32. Totius familiæ Domini status et ordo nutabit, si quod requiritur in corpore, non inveniatur in capite.—*P. Leo.* Ep. 87.

† In nullo aliter sapere quam res se habet angelica perfectio est.—*Aug. de Bapt. Contr. Don.* ii. 5. Not to think of a thing otherwise than it is, is an angelical perfection.

[a] P. Gelas. i. Ep. ix. p. 636.

[b] De Consecr. Dist. ii. cap. 12.

[c] Greg. Ep vii. 110; ii 62; iv. 32, 36, 38; vi. 30; In Joh. lib. xix. cap. 13; xviii. 14.

* If many popes had been writers, we should have had more errors to charge them with.

† Mancipia papæ.—*Matt. Paris.* ann. 1253.

‡ P. Greg. VII. Ep. lib. iii. 7.—Simoniaca hæresis. P. Jul. II. Conc. Lat. Sess, 5. (p. 57.) —Idem electus non apostolicus, sed apostaticus, et tanquam hæresiarcha, &c. *Ibid. Tract.* iv. § 12, 16.—Decernimus, quod —— sed etiam contra dictum sic electum vel assumptum a simoniaca labe opponi et excipi possit sicut de vera et indubitata hæresi ——.

‖ Omne papale negotium manus agunt; quem dabis mihi de tota maxima urbe, qui te in papam receperit pretio non intercedente?—*Bern. de Consid.* iv. 2.

[d] Gratt. de Consecr. ii. Dist. ii. cap. 42; Grat. Caus. xxiii. qu. 5, cap. 47.

[e] Joh. XXII. Gerson. Serm. in Pasch. Occam. Celestinus ——; Alph. a Castro. Hær. i. 4; Bin. tom. vii. p. 994.

church hath often and long been without a *head*. Then numberless acts have been void; and creations of cardinals have been null; and consequently there hath not probably been any true pope for a long time.

In the judgment of so many great divines, which did constitute the synod of Basil, many popes (near all surely) have been heretics; who have followed or countenanced the opinion that popes are superior to general councils; the which there is flatly declared heresy. Pope Eugenius by name was there declared "a pertinacious heretic, deviating from the faith."*

It often happeneth that the pope is not skilled in divinity, as Pope Innocent X. was wont to profess concerning himself (to wave discourse about theological points;) he therefore cannot pronounce, in use of ordinary means, but only by miracle, as Balaam's ass. So pope Innocent X. said, that "the vicar of Jesus Christ was not obliged to examine all things by dispute; for that the truth of his decrees depended only on divine inspiration."† What is this but downright *quakerism*, *enthusiasm*, *imposture?*

Pope Clemens V. did not take himself to be infallible, when in his great synod of Vienna, the question, whether, beside remission of sin, also virtue were conferred to infants, he resolved thus very honestly,—"The second opinion, which says, that informing grace and virtues are in baptism conferred both upon infants and adult persons, we think fit, with the consent of the holy council, to be chosen; as being more probable, and more consonant and agreeable to the divinity of the modern doctors."‡

Which of the *two* popes was in the right,—Pope Nicholas IV., who decided that our Lord was so poor that he had right to nothing—or Pope John XXII., who declared this to be a heresy, charging our Lord with injustice?[f]

XIV. A sovereign is in dignity and authority superior to any number of subjects, however conjoined or congregated; as a head is above all the members, however compacted: he is not supreme, who is anywise subject or inferior to a senate, or any assembly in his territory.

Therefore the pope doth claim a superiority over all councils;[g] pretending that their determinations are invalid without his consent and confirmation; that he can rescind or make void their decrees; that he can suspend their consultations, and translate or dissolve them.

And Baronius reckons this as one error in Hincmarus, bishop of Rheims, "that he held as if the canons of councils were of greater authority in the church of God than the decrees of popes, which," says he, "how absurd and unreasonable an opinion it is," &c.*

"That the authority of the apostolic see, in all Christian ages, has been preferred before the universal church, both the canons of our predecessors and manifold tradition do confirm."†

This is a question stiffly debated among Romanists: but the most (as Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II. did acutely observe), with good reason, do adhere to the pope's side, because the *pope* disposeth of *benefices*, but *councils* give none.

But in truth, anciently the pope was not understood superior to councils; for "greater is the authority of the world that of one city,"‡ says St. Jerome. He was but one bishop, that had nothing to do out of his precinct. He had but his

* A fide devius, pertinax hæreticus ——. *Concil. Basil.* sess. xxxiv. p. 96, 107.

† Le pape respondit, que le vicaire de J. C. n'estoit point oblige d'examiner toutes choses par la dispute; que la verite de ses decrets dependoit seulement de l'inspiratione divine.—*Memor. Hist. de 5, Propos.*

‡ —— Opinionem secundam, quæ dicit tam parvulis quam adultis conferri in baptismo informantem gratiam et virtutes, tanquam probabiliorem ac doctorum modernorum theologiæ magis consonam et concordem sacro approbante concilio duximus eligendam.—*Clem. in Tit.* 1.

* Plane significat majoris esse auctoritatis in ecclesia Dei canones conciliorum decretis pontificum: hæc quam sint absurda et ab omni ratione penitus aliena, &c.—*Baron.* ad ann. 992, § 56; Conc. Later. V. sess. 11, p. 152; Th. Cajet. Orat. in Conc. Lat. p. 36.

† Apostolicæ vero sedis auctoritas, quod cunctis seculis Christianis ecclesiæ prælata sit universæ, et canonum serie paternorum, et multiplici traditione firmatur.— *P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 8. (o impudentiam!)

‡ Major est auctoritas orbis quam urbis.—*Hier. et Evag.*

[f] Bell. iv. 14. (p. 1318;) Confer Sext. lib. v. tit. 12; cap. 3; Extrav. Joh. XXII. tit. xiv. cap. 3-5.

[g] Bellarm. de Concil. ii. 17.

vote in them; he had the first vote, as the patriarch of Alexandria the second, of Antioch the third—but that order neither gave to him or them any advantage, as to decision; but common consent, or the suffrages of the majority, did prevail. He was conceived subject to the canons no less than other bishops. Councils did examine matters decreed by him, so as to follow or forsake them as they saw cause. The popes themselves did profess great veneration and observance of conciliar decrees. Pope Leo I. did oppose a canon of the synod of Chalcedon (not pretending his superiority to councils, but the inviolability of the Nicene canons), but it, notwithstanding that opposition, did prevail.

Even in the dregs of times, when the pope had clambered so high to the top of power, this question in great numerous synods of bishops was agitated, and positively decided against him, both in doctrine and practice.[h]

The synod of Basil affirmeth the matter of these decrees to be a "verity of the Christian faith, which whoever doth pertinaciously resist, is to be deemed a heretic."*——Those Fathers say, that "none of the skilful did ever doubt of this truth, that the pope, in things belonging to faith, was subject to the judgment of the same general councils——that the council has an authority immediately from Christ, which the pope is bound to obey."† Those synods were confirmed by popes, without exception of those determinations.

Great churches, most famous universities, a mighty store of learned doctors of the Roman communion, have reverenced those councils, and adhered to their doctine. Insomuch that the cardinal of Lorrain did affirm him to be an heretic in France, who did hold the contrary.

* Veritas catholicæ fidei, cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus.—*Concil. Bas.* sess. 33.

† Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio eorundem conciliorum universalium esse subjectum.—*Conc. Basil. Decret.* p. 117. Concilium habet potestatem immediate a Christo, cui papa obedire tenetur ——. *Conc. Bas.* sess. 38, p. 101.

[h] Concil. Const. sess. iv. (p. 1003;) Conc. Bass. sess. 2, 33.

These things sufficiently demonstrate that the pope canont pretend to supremacy by universal tradition; and if he cannot prove it by that, how can he prove it? Not surely by scripture, nor by decrees of ancient synods, nor by any clear and convincing reason.

XV. The sovereign of the church is by all Christians to be acknowledged the chief person in the world, inferior and subject to none; above all commands; the greatest emperor being his *sheep* and *subject*.

He therefore now doth pretend to be above all princes.* Divers popes have affirmed this superiority. They are allowed, and most favoured by him, who teach this doctrine. In their Missal he is preferred above all kings, being prayed for before them.

But in the primitive times this was not held; for St. Paul requires *every soul to be subject to the higher powers.*[i] Then the emperor was avowed the first person, next to God: "To whom" (says Tertullian), "they are second, after whom they are first, before all and above all gods. Why? &c.——we worship the emperor as a man next to God, and less only than God."† And Optatus, ——"Since there is none above the emperor but God who made him."—— "While Donatus extolleth himself above the emperor, he raises himself as it were above humanity, and thinks himself to be God, and not man. For the king is the top and head of all things on earth."‡ Then even "apostles, evangelists, prophets, all men whoever, were subject to the emperor."[j] The emperors did command them, "even the blessed bishops

* As in Israel, Saul was the head.—1 Sam. xv. 17.

† —— a quo sunt secundi, post quem primi ante omnes, et super omnes deos; quidni? cum super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt. —*Tertul. Apol.* cap. 30. Colimus imperatorem ut hominem a Deo secundum, et solo Deo minorem.—*Tertul. ad Scap.* cap. 2.

‡ Cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus, qui fecit imperatorem.—*Opt.* 3; vide *Tr.* v. § 14. Dum se Donatus super imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum non hominem æstimaret.—*Id. ibid.* Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων.—Chrys. Ἀνδρ. β'. p. 463.

[i] Rom. xiii. 1.

[j] Chrys. in Rom. xiii. 1.

and patriarchs of old Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Theopolis, and Jerusalem."* Divers popes did avow themselves subject to the emperor.

XVI. The confirmation of magistrates, elected by others, is a *branch* of *supremacy* which the pope doth assume.[k]

Baronius saith that this was the ancient custom;[l] and that Pope Simplicius did confirm the election of Calendion, bishop of Antioch.

"Meletius confirmed the most holy Gregory in the bishopric of Constantinople."†

But the truth is, that anciently bishops being elected did only give an account of their choice unto all other bishops; especially to those of highest rank, desiring their approbation and friendship, for preservation of due communion, correspondence, and peace. So the synod of Antioch gave account to the bishops of Rome and Alexandria, "and all their fellow ministers throughout the world,"‡ &c. of the election of Domnus after Paulus Samosatenus. So the Fathers of Constantinople acquainted Pope Damasus and the western bishops with the constitution of Nectarius, Flavianus, &c.

This was not to request confirmation, as if the pope or other bishops could reject the election, if regular, but rather to assure whom they were to communicate with. "We have" (say the Fathers of the syond against Paulus Samosatenus) "signified this (our choosing of Domnus into Paulus's room), that you may write to him, and receive letters of communion from him."||—And St. Cyprian, "That you and our colleagues may know to whom they may write, and from whom they may receive letters."*

Thus the bishops of Rome themselves did acquaint other bishops with their election, their faith, &c.[m] So did Cornelius; whom therefore St. Cyprian asserteth as established by the consent and approbation of his colleagues: "When the place of Peter and the sacerdotal chair was void, which by God's will being occupied, and with all our consents confirmed,"† &c.—"and the testimony of our fellow bishops, the whole number of which all over the world unanimously consented."‡

The emperor did confirm bishops, as we see by that notable passage in the synod of Chalcedon; where Bassianus, bishop of Ephesus, pleading for himself saith,—"Our most religious emperor knowing these things, presently ratified it, and by a memorial published it, confirming the bishopric; afterwards he sent his rescript by Eustathius, the silentiary again confirming it."||

XVII. It is a privilege of sovereigns to grant *privileges*, *exemptions*, *dispensations*.

This he claimeth;[n] but against the laws of God and rights of bishops; against the decrees of synods—against the sense of good men in all times.

XVIII. It is a prerogative of sovereign power, to erect, translate spiritual presidences.

Wherefore this the pope claimeth. *Cum ex illo*, &c.[o]

But at first he had nothing to do there-

* Jubemus igitur beatissimos episcopos et patriarchas, hoc est senioris Romæ, et Constantinopoleos, et Alexandriæ, et Theopoleos, et Hierosolymorum.—*Justinian. Novel.* cxxiii. cap. 3; *P. Greg. M.* Ep. ii. 62, *supra in præf.* § iv. Tract. 5, § 14.

† Ἐβεβαίωσε τῷ θειοτάτῳ Γρηγορίῳ τὴν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως προεδρίαν.—Theod. v. 8.

‡ Καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς ——. Euseb. vii. 30.

|| Ἐδηλώσαμέν τε ὑμῖν ὅπως τοῦτῳ γράφητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα ——. Euseb. ibid.

[k] *Vide* § 5, Dist. lxiii. cap. 4; P. Nic. I. Ep.

[l] Ann. 482, § 1.

* Ut scires tu, et collegæ nostri quibus scribere, et literas mutuo a quibus vos accipere oporteret ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 55. (*ad Cornel.*)

† Cum locus Petri, et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret, quo occupato de Dei voluntate, atque omnium nostrum consensione firmato ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 52.

‡ —— et coepiscoporum testimonio, quorum numerus universus per totum mundum concordi unanimitate consensit.—*Ibid.*

|| Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς, εὐθὺς τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐβεβαίωσε, καὶ εὐθέως διὰ ὑπομνηστικοῦ ἐδήλωσεν ἐν φανερῷ, βεβαιῶν τὴν ἐπισκοπήν· μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλε σάκραν πάλιν διὰ Εὐσταθίου τοῦ Σιλεντιαρίου βεβαιοῦσαν τὴν ἐπισκοπήν. — Conc. Chalc. Act. xi. (p. 404.)

[m] *Vide* P. Greg. Tract. de Unit. Eccl.

[n] *Vide* Bern.

[o] P. Innoc. III. in Greg. Decr. lib. i. tit. 7. cap. 1,—&c.

in, except in his own province or diocese.

As Christianity did grow and enter into cities, so the neighbour bishops did ordain bishops there.

Princes often, as they did endow, so they did erect episcopal sees, and did, as was suitable, change places.

Pope Paschal II. doth by complaining attest to this, writing to the archbishop of Poland, "What shall I say of the translations of bishops, which among you are presumed to be made, not by apostolic authority, but the king's command?"*

XIX. It is a great prerogative of sovereignty to impose taxes on the clergy or people.

Wherefore the pope doth assume this; as for instance that decree of Pope Innocent IV. in the first synod of Lyons: "By the common consent of the council we ordain that all the clergy, as well those who are under the authority as the prelates, pay for three years a twentieth part of their ecclesiastical revenues towards the assistance of the Holy Land, into the hands of those who shall be thereto appointed by the prudence of the apostolic see.—And let all know, this they are bound faithfully to do under pain of excommunication."†

But antiquity knew no such impositions: when the church, the clergy, the poor, were maintained and relieved by voluntary offerings, or obventions.

Even the invidious splendour of the Roman bishop was supported by the "oblations of matrons," as Marcellinus observeth.‡

This is an encroachment upon the right of princes, unto whom clergymen are subjects, and bound *to render tribute to whom tribute belongeth.*[p]

SUPPOSITION VII.

A farther grand assertion of the Roman party is this, "That the papal supremacy is indefectible and unalterable."

But good reasons may be assigned, why, even supposing that the pope had an universal sovereignty in virtue of his succession to St. Peter conferred on him, it is not assuredly consequent, that it must always, or doth now belong to him. For it might be settled on him, not absolutely, but upon conditions, the which failing, his authority may expire. It might be God's will that it should only continue for a time. And there are divers ways whereby, according to common rules of justice, he might be disseized thereof.

1. If God had positively declared his will concerning this point, that such a sovereignty was by him granted irrevocably and immutably, so that in no case it might be removed or altered, then indeed it must be admitted for such; but if no such declaration doth appear, then to assert it for such is to derogate from his power and providence, by exemption of this case from it. It is the ordinary course of providence so to confer power of any kind or nature on men, as to reserve to himself the liberty of transferring it, qualifying it, extending or contracting it, abolishing it, according to his pleasure, in due seasons and exigencies of things. Whence no human power can be supposed absolutely stable, or immoveably fixed in one person or place.

2. No power can have a higher source, or firmer ground, than that of the civil government hath; for *all such power is from heaven:* and in relation to that it is said, *There is no power but from God; the powers that are, are ordained*

* Quid super episcoporum translationibus loquar, quæ apud vos non auctoritate apostolica, sed nutu regis præsumuntur?—*P. Pasch. II.* Ep. 6. Præter authoritatem nostram episcoporum translationes præsumitis ——. *Eadm.* p. 115.

† Cæterum ex communi concilii approbatione statuimus, ut omnes omnino clerici, tam subditi quam prælati, vigesimam ecclesiarum proventuum usque ad triennium conferant in subsidium terræ sanctæ, per manus eorum, qui ad hoc apostolica fuerint providentia ordinati. —— sciantque se omnes ad hoc fideliter observandum per excommunicationis sententiam obligatos.—*Lugdun. Concil.* 1. (anno 1245.)

‡ Ut ditentur oblationibus matronarum.—*Marcel.* 27; vide *Const. Apost.* ii. 25. Nam qui constituerunt vel fundarunt sanctissimas ecclesias pro sua salute et communis reipublicæ, reliquerunt illis substantias, ut per eas debeant sacræ liturgiæ fieri, et ut illis a ministrantibus piis clericis Deus colatur.—*Cod. Lib.* i. tit, 3, § 42.

[p] Rom. xiii. 7.

by God:[q] but yet such power is liable to various alterations, and is like the sea, having ebbs and flows, and ever changing its bounds, either personal or local.

Any temporal jurisdiction may be lost by those revolutions and vicissitudes of things, to which all human constitutions are subject; and which are ordered *by the will and providence of the Most High, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, appointing over it whom he pleaseth; putting down one, and setting up another.*[r]

Adam, by God's appointment, was sovereign of the world; and his first-born successors derived the same power from him: yet in course of time that order hath been interrupted, and divers independent sovereignties do take place.

Every prince hath his authority from God, or by virtue of divine ordination, within his own territory; and according to God's ordinance the lawful successor hath a right to the same authority; yet by accidents such authority doth often fail totally, or in part, changing its extent.

Why then may not any spiritual power be liable to the same vicissitudes? Why may not a prelate be degraded as well as a prince? Why may not the pope, as well as the emperor, lose all, or part of his kingdom?

Why may not the successor of Peter, no less than the heir of Adam, suffer a defailure of jurisdiction?

That spiritual corporations, persons, and places, are subject to the same contingencies with others, as there is like reason to suppose, so there are examples to prove:—God removed his sanctuary from Shiloh; *Go ye now unto my place, which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at first*,[s] &c. He deserted Jerusalem. He removeth the candlesticks.[t] He placed Eli (of the family of Ithamar) in the high priesthood, and displaced his race from it; *I said indeed* (saith God) *that thy house and the house of thy father, should walk before me forever: but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me*,[u] &c.

[q] John. xix. 11; Rom. xiii. 1—.
[r] Dan. v. 21; Psal. lxxv. 7.
[s] Jer. vii. 12, 14. [t] Rev. ii. 5.
[u] 1 Sam. ii. 30; 1 Kings ii. 27.

3. The reason and exigency of things might be sufficient ground for altering an universal jurisdiction; for when it should prove very inconvenient or hurtful, God might order such an alteration to happen, and men be obliged to allow it.

As God first did institute one universal monarchy, but that form (upon the multiplication of mankind, and peopling of the earth) proving incommodious, Providence gave way for its change, and the setting up of particular governments; to which men are bound to submit: so God might institute a singular presidency of the church; but when the church grew vastly extended, so that such a government would not conveniently serve the whole, he might order a division, in which we should acquiesce.

4. It hath ever been deemed reasonable, and accordingly been practised, that the church, in its exterior form and political administrations, should be suited to the state of the world, and constitution of worldly governments, that there might be no clashing or disturbance from each to other.

Wherefore, seeing the world is now settled under so many civil sovereignties, it is expedient that ecclesiastical discipline should be so modelled, as to comply with each of them.

And it is reasonable, that any pretence of jurisdiction should vail to the public good of the church and the world.

That it should be necessary for the church to retain the same form of policy, or measure of power affixed to persons or places, can nowise be demonstrated by sufficient proof, and it is not consistent with experience; which sheweth the church to have subsisted with variations of that kind.

There hath in all times been found much reason or necessity to make alterations, as well in the places and bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as of secular empire.

Wherefore St. Peter's monarchy, reason requiring, might be cantonized into divers spiritual supremacies; and as other ecclesiastical jurisdiction have been chopped and changed, enlarged or diminished, removed and extinguished, so might that of the Roman bishop. The pope cannot retain power in any state against the will of the prince: he is not bound

to suffer correspondence with foreigners, especially such who apparently have interests contrary to his honour and the good of his people.

5. Especially that might be done, if the continuance of such a jurisdiction should prove abominably corrupt, or intolerably grievous to the church.

6. That power is defectible, which according to the nature and course of things doth sometime fail.

But the papal succession hath often been interrupted by contingencies (of *sedition*, *schism*, *intrusion*, *simoniacal election*, *deposition*, &c., as before shewed), and is often interrupted by vacancies from the death of the incumbents.

7. If, leaving their dubious and false suppositions (concerning divine institution, succession to St. Peter, &c.), we consider the truth of the case, and indeed the more grounded plea of the pope, that papal pre-eminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the Roman city, and by the collation or countenance of the imperial authority; then by the defect of such advantages it may cease or be taken away; for when Rome hath ceased to be the capital city, the pope may cease to be head of the church. When the civil powers, which have succeeded the imperial, each in its respective territory, are no less absolute than it, they may take it away, if they judge it fit; for whatever power was granted by human authority, by the same may be revoked; and what the emperor could have done, each sovereign power now may do for itself.

An indefectible power cannot be settled by man; because there is no power ever extant at one time greater than there is at another; so that whatever power one may raise, the other may demolish; their being no bounds whereby the present time may bind all posterity.

However, no human law can exempt any constitution from the providence of God; which at pleasure can dissolve whatever man hath framed. And if the pope were divested of all adventitious power, obtained by human means, he would be left very bare; and hardly would take it worth his while to contend for jurisdiction.

8. However or whencesover the pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by defects and defaults incurred by him.

If the pope doth encroach on the rights and liberties of others, usurping a lawless domination, beyond reason and measure, they may in their own defence be forced to reject him, and shake off his yoke.

If he will not be content to govern otherwise than by infringing the sacred laws, and trampling down the inviolable privileges of the churches, either granted by Christ, or established by the sanctions of general synods; he thereby depriveth himself of all authority; because it cannot be admitted upon tolerable terms, without greater wrong of many others (whose right outweigheth his), and without great mischief to the church, the good of which is to be preferred before his private advantage.

This was the maxim of a great pope, a great stickler for his own dignity; for when the bishop of Constantinople was advanced by a general synod above his ancient pitch of dignity, that pope opposing him did say, that "whoever doth affect more than his due, doth lose that which properly belongeth to him;"* the which rule, if true in regard to another's case, may be applied to the pope; *For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.*[v]

On such a supposition of the papal encroachment, we may return his words upon him: "It is too proud and immoderate a thing to stretch beyond one's bounds, and, in contempt of antiquity, to be willing to invade other men's right, and to oppose the primacies of so many metropolitans, on purpose to advance the dignity of one."†

"For the privileges of churches, being instituted by the canons of the holy Fathers, and fixed by the decrees of the venerable synod of Nice, cannot be plucked

* Propria perdit, qui indebita concupiscit.—*P. Leo I.* Ep. 54.

† Superbum nimis est et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere; utque unius crescat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus ——. *P. Leo I.* Ep. 55.

[v] Matt. vii. 2.

up by any wicked attempt, nor altered by any innovation."*

"Far be it from me, that I should in any church infringe the decrees of our ancestors made in favour of my fellow priests; for I do myself injury, if I disturb the rights of my brethren."†

The pope surely (according to any ground of scripture, or tradition, or ancient law) hath no title to greater principality in the church, than the duke of Venice hath in that state: now if the duke of Venice, in prejudice to the public right and liberty, should attempt to stretch his power to an absoluteness of command, or much beyond the bounds allowed him by the constitution of that commonwealth, he would thereby surely forfeit his supremacy (such as it is), and afford cause to the state of rejecting him; the like occasion would the pope give to the church by the like demeanour.

9. The pope, by departing from the doctrine and practice of St. Peter, would forfeit his title of successor to him; for in such a case no succession in place or in name could preserve it; "The popes themselves had swerved and degenerated from the example of Peter."‡

"They are not the sons of the saints, who hold the places of the saints, but they that do their works."|| Which place is rased out of St. Jerome.)

"They have not the inheritance of Peter, who have not the faith of Peter, which they tear asunder by ungodly division."§

So Gregory Nazianzen saith of Athanasius, that "he was successor of Mark no less in piety than presidency: the which we must suppose to be properly succession:"¶ otherwise the mufti of Constantinople is successor to St. Andrew, of St. Chrysostom, &c.; the mufti of Jerusalem to St. James.

If then the bishop of Rome, instead of teaching Christian doctrine, doth propagate errors contrary to it; if, instead of guiding into truth and godliness, he seduceth into falsehood and impiety; if, instead of declaring and pressing the laws of God, he delivereth and imposeth precepts opposite, prejudicial, destructive of God's laws; if, instead of promoting genuine piety, he doth (in some instances) violently oppose it; if, instead of maintaining true religion, he doth pervert and corrupt it by bold defalcations, by superstitious additions, by foul mixtures and alloys; if he coineth new creeds, articles of faith, new scriptures, new sacraments, new rules of life, obtruding them on the consciences of Christians; if he conformeth the doctrines of Christianity to the interests of his pomp and profit, *making gain godliness;* if he prescribe vain, profane, superstitious ways of worship, turning devotion into foppery and pageantry; if, instead of preserving order and peace, he fomenteth discords and factions in the church, being a makebait and incendiary among Christians; if he claimeth exorbitant power, and exerciseth oppression and tyrannical domination over his brethren, cursing and damning all that will not submit to his dictates and commands; if, instead of being a shepherd, he is a wolf, worrying and tearing the flock by cruel persecution: he, by such behaviour, *ipso facto* depriveth himself of authority and office; he becometh thence no guide or pastor to any Christian; there doth in such case rest no obligation to hear or obey him; but rather to decline him, to discost from him, to reject and disclaim him.*

This is the reason of the case; this the holy scripture doth prescribe; this is according to the primitive doctrine, tradition, and practice of the church. For,

* Privilegia enim ecclesiarum, sanctorum patrum canonibus instituta, et venerabilis Nicenæ synodi fixa decretis, nulla possunt improbitate convelli, nulla novitate mutari.—*Ibid.*

† Absit hoc a me, ut statuta majorum consacerdotibus meis in qualibet ecclesia infringam, quia mihi injuriam facio, si fratrum meorum jura perturbo.—*Greg. l. Epist.* ii. 37.

‡ Pontifices ipsi a Petri vestigiis discesserant.—*Plat. in Joh.* x. (p. 275.)

|| Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum ——. *Hieron. ad Heliod. apud Grat. Dist.* xl. cap. 2.

§ Non habent Petri hæreditatem qui Petri fidem non habent, quam impia divisione discerpunt.—*Ambr. de Pœn.* i. 6.

¶ Οὐχ' ἧττον τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἢ τῆς προεδρίας διάδοχος —— ἦν δὴ καὶ κυρίως ὑπολημπτέον διαδοχήν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ ὁμόθρονον· τὸ δὲ ἀντιδοξον καὶ ἀντίθρονον ——. Greg. Naz. Or. 21.

* Non facit ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum.—*Hier.* Ecclesiastical dignity makes not a Christian. Non omnes episcopi episcopi sunt.—*Id.* All bishops are not bishops. Οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς κατάσκοποι, οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσκοποι.—Athan. Const. Ap. viii. 2. They with them are scouts or spies, not overseers or bishops.

10. In reason, the nature of any spiritual office consisting in instruction in truth and guidance in virtue toward attainment of salvation; if any man doth lead into pernicious error or impiety, he thereby ceaseth to be capable of such office: as a blind man, by being so, doth cease to be a guide; and much more he that declareth a will to seduce; for, *Who so blind as he that will not see?*[*]

No man can be bound to *follow any one into the ditch;*[v] or to obey any one in prejudice to his own salvation; *to die in his iniquity.* Seeing God saith in such a case, *μάτην σέβονται με, In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men.*[x]

They themselves do acknowledge, that heretics cease to be bishops; and so to be popes. Indeed they cease to be Christians; for, *ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος*, "such a one is subverted."[y]

11. According to their principles, the pope hath the same relation to other bishops and pastors of the church, which they have to their people; he being pastor of pastors: but if any pastor should teach bad doctrine, or prescribe bad practice, his people may reject and disobey him; therefore, in proportion, the pastors may desert the pope misguiding or misgoverning them. In such cases any inferior is exempted from obligation to comply with his superior, either truly or pretendedly such.

12. The case may be, that we may not hold communion with the pope, but may be obliged to shun him; in which case his authority doth fail, and no man is subject to him.

13. This is the doctrine of the scripture. The high priest and his fellows, under the Jewish economy, had no less authority than any pope can now pretend unto; they did *sit in the chair of Moses,*[z] and therefore all their true doctrines and lawful directions the people were obliged to learn and observe; but their false doctrines and impious precepts they were bound to shun;† and consequently to disclaim their authority, so far as employed in urging such doctrines and precepts: *Ἄφετε αὐτοὺς, Let them alone,* saith our Saviour, *they are blind leaders of the blind.*[a] Under the Christian dispensation the matter is no less clear: our Lord commandeth us *to beware of false prophets;* and to *see that no man deceive us;*[b] although he wear the clothing of a sheep, or come under the name of a shepherd (*coming in his mane.*[c]) St. Paul informeth us, that if *an apostle,* if *an angel from heaven,* doth preach beside the old apostolical docrine (introducing any new gospel, or a divinity devised by himself), he is to be *held accursed* by us.[d] He affirmeth, that even the apostles themselves were not *lords of our faith,* nor might challenge any power inconsistent with the maintenance of Christian truth and piety: *We* (saith he) *can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth:*[e] the which an ancient writer doth well apply to the pope, saying, that he "could do nothing against the truth more than any of his fellow priests could do;"* which St. Paul did in practice shew, when he *resisted* St. Peter, *declining from the truth of the gospel.* He chargeth, that if any one doth *ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, teach heterodoxies,* we should *stand off from him;*† that *if any brother walketh disorderly, and not according to apostolical tradition, we should withdraw from him;*‡ that if any one doth *raise divisions and scandals beside the doctrines received from the apostles, we should decline from him;*‖ that we are *to refuse any heretical person.*[f] He telleth us, that *grievous wolves should come into the church, not sparing the flock;*§ that *from among Christians there should arise men speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them:*[g]

* Luke vi. 39.—Μήτι δύναται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;
† Matt. xvi. 6.—Ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς
v Matt. xv. 14.
x Ezek. iii. 18; Matt. xv. 9.
y Bell. de P. R. 2, 30. (p. 1083.)
z Matt. xxii 2; xv. 6.

ζύμης —— ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς. Vers. 12. Beware and take heed of the leaven —— of the doctrine.

* Nec aliquid contra veritatem, sed pro veritate, plus suis consacerdotibus potest.—*Fac. Hermian.* ii. 6. Gal. ii. 11, 14, Ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

† 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5.—Εἴ τις ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖ —— ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

‡ 2 Thess. iii. 6.—Στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ ——.

‖ Rom. xvi. 17.—Ἐκκλίνειν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν.

§ Acts xx. 29.—Εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ὑμᾶς.

a Matt. xv. 14.
b Matt. vii. 15.
c Matt. xxiv. 4.
d Gal. i. 8, 9.
e 2 Cor. i. 24; xiii. 7, 8.
f Tit. iii. 10.
g Acts xx. 30.

but no man surely ought to follow, but to shun them.

These precepts and admonitions are general, without any respect or exception of persons great or small, pastor or layman: nay, they may in some respect more concern bishops than others; for that they declining from truth, are more dangerous and contagious.

14. The Fathers (in reference to this case) do clearly accord, both in their doctrine and practice. St. Cyprian telleth us, that "a people obedient to the Lord's commandments, and fearing God, ought to separate itself from a sinful bishop;"* that is, from one guilty of such sins which unqualify him for Christian communion, or pastoral charge: and, "Let not" (addeth he) "the common people flatter itself, as if it could be free from the contagion of guilt, if it communicate with a sinful bishop;"† whose irreligious doctrine or practice doth render him uncapable of communion; for, "How" (saith he otherwhere) "can they preside over integrity and continence, if corruptions and the teaching of vices do begin to proceed from them?"‡

"They who reject the commandment of God, and labour to establish their own tradition, let them be strongly and stoutly refused and rejected by you."||

St. Chrysostom, commenting on St. Paul's words, *If I, or an angel*——saith, that St. Paul "meaneth to shew, that dignity of persons is not to be regarded where truth is concerned;"§ that "if one of the chief angels from heaven should corrupt the gospel, he were to be accursed;"¶ that "not only, if they shall speak things contrary, or overturn all, but if they preach any small matter beside the apostolical doctrine, altering the least point whatever, they are liable to an anathema."*

And otherwhere, very earnestly persuading his audience to render due respect and obedience to their bishop, he yet interposeth this exception: "If he hath a perverse opinion, although he be an angel, do not obey him: but if he teacheth right things, regard not his life, but his words."†

"Ecclesiastical judges, as men, are for the most part deceived."‡

"For neither are catholic bishops to be assented to, if peradventure in any case they are mistaken, so as to hold anything contrary to the canonical scriptures of God."||

"If there be any church which rejects the faith, and does not hold the fundamentals of the apostolical doctrine, it ought to be forsaken, lest it infect others with its heterodoxy."§

If in such a case we must desert any church, then the Roman; if any church, then much more any bishop, particularly him of Rome.

This hath been the doctrine of divers popes.

"Which not only the apostolical prelate, but any other bishop may do, viz. discriminate and sever any men, and any place, from the catholic communion, according to the rule of that fore-condemned heresy."¶

* Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis et Deum metuens a peccatore præposito separare se debet.—*Cypr.* Ep. 68.

† Nec sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse a contagio delicti possit cum sacerdote peccatore communicans.—*Cypr.* Ep. 68.

‡ Quomodo enim possunt integritati et continentiæ præesse, si ex ipsis incipiant corruptelæ et vitiorum magisteria procedere?—*Cypr.* Ep. 62.

|| Qui mandatum Dei rejiciunt, et traditionem suam statuere conantur, fortiter a vobis et firmiter respuantur.—*Cypr.* Ep. 40. (p. 73.)

§ Ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι ἀξίωμα προσώπων οὐ προσίεται, ὅταν περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ.—Chrys. in Gal. i. 9.

¶ Κἂν γὰρ τῶν πρώτων ἀγγέλων ᾖ τις τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, διαφθείρων τὸ κήρυγμα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.—Ibid. i. 8.

* Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐὰν ἐναντία καταγγέλωσιν, ἢ ἀνατρέπωσι τὰ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ κἂν μικρόν τι εὐαγγελίζωνται παρ' ὃ εὐαγγελισάμεθα, κἂν τὸ τυχὸν παρακινήσωσι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν.—Ibid.

† Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δόγμα ἔχει διεστραμμένον, κἂν ἄγγελος ᾖ, μὴ πείθου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθὰ διδάσκει, μὴ τῷ βίῳ πρόσεχε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασι.—Chrys. in 2 Tim. Orat. 2.

‡ Ecclesiastici judices ut homines plerunque falluntur——. *Aug. Contr. Cresc.* ii. 21.

|| Quia nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, ut contra canonicas Dei scripturas aliquid sentiant.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 10.

§ Si qua est ecclesia, quæ fidem respuat, nec apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ possit aspergere deserenda est.—*Ambr. in Luc.* ix. (p. 85.)

¶ Quod non solum præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque, pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum, secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ, a catholica communione discernant.—*P. Gelas. I.* Ep. 4.

"Faith is universal, common to all, and belongs, not only to clergymen, but also to laics, and even to all Christians."*

"Therefore the sheep which are committed to the cure of their pastor ought not to reprehend him, unless he swerve and go astray from the right faith."†

15. That this was the current opinion, common practice doth shew, there being so many instances of those who rejected their superiors, and withdrew from their communion, in case of their maintaining errors, or of their disorderly behaviour; such practice having been approved, by general and great synods, as also by divers popes.

When Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, did introduce new and strange doctrine,‡ "divers of his presbyters did rebuke him, and withdraw communion from him;" which proceeding is approved in the Ephesine synod.

Particularly Charisius did assert this proceeding in those remarkable words presented to that same synod: "It is the wish and desire of all well-affected persons, to give always all due honour and reverence especially to their spiritual fathers and teachers: but if it should so happen, that they, who ought to teach, should instil unto those who are set under them such things concerning the faith, as are offensive to the ears and hearts of all men, then of necessity the order must be inverted, and they who teach wrong doctrine must be rebuked of those who are their inferiors."||

Pope Celestine I. in that case did commend the people of Constantinople deserting their pastor: "Happy flock," said he, "to whom the Lord did afford to judge about its own pasture."*

St. Jerome did presume to write very briskly and smartly in reproof of John, bishop of Jerusalem, in whose province he a simple presbyter did reside.

"Who makes a schism in the church? we whose whole house in Bethlehem communicate with the church, or thou, who either believest aright, and proudly concealest the truth, or art of a wrong belief, and really makest a breach in the church? Art thou only the church? and is he who offendeth thee excluded from Christ?"†

Malchion, presbyter of Antioch, disputed against Paulus Samosatenus, his bishop.‡

Beatus, presbyter, confuted his bishop Elipandus of Toledo.

"But if the rector swerve from the faith, he is to be reproved by those who are under him."||

16. The case is the same of the pope; for if other bishops, who are reckoned successors of the apostles, and vicars of Christ within their precinct; if other patriarchs, who sit in apostolical sees, and partake of a like extensive jurisdiction, by incurring heresy or schism, or committing notorious disorder and injustice, may be deprived of their authority, so that their subjects may be obliged to forsake them, then may the pope lose his: for truth and piety are not affixed to the chair of Rome more than to any other; there is no ground of asserting any such privilege, either in holy scripture or in old tradition; there can no promise be alleged for it, having any probable show (that of *Oravi pro te* being a

* Fides universalis est, omnium communis est, non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos. *P. Nich. I.* Ep. viii. p. 506.

† Oves ergo quæ pastori suo commissæ fuerint, eum nec reprehendere, nisi a recta fide exorbitaverit, debent ——. *P. Joh. I.* Ep. 1. (*apud Bin.* tom. iii. p. 812.)

‡ Ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πολλάκις τινὲς τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων πρεσβυτέρων ἤλεγξαν αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον ——. Conc. Eph. part. i. p. 220.

|| Εὐχὴ μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι, τιμὴν δεῖ καὶ τρέπεσθαι αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς πάμπαν πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἀπονέμειν· εἰ δέ που σκῶλῃ τοὺς διδάσκειν ὀφείλοντας τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνηχεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, οἷα τῆς ἁπάντων ἀκοὰς καὶ καρδίας καταβλάπτει, ἀνάγκη τὴν τάξιν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς διδάσκειν ἑλομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσσόνων διελέγχεσθαι.—Charis. in Conc. Eph. Act. vi. p. 358.

* Μακάριος δὲ ὄμως ἡ ἀγέλη ᾗ παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς.—Celest. I. in Conc. Eph. p. 190.

† Quis scindit ecclesiam? nos quorum omnis domus in Bethlehem in ecclesia communicat; an tu qui aut bene credis, et superbe de fide taces, aut male et vere scindis ecclesiam? —— An tu solus ecclesia es: et qui te offenderit a Christo excluditur?—*Hier.* Ep. lxi. cap. 16. Ep. lxii.

‡ Malchion disertissimus Antiochenæ ecclesiæ presbyter, adversus Paulum Samosatenum, qui Antiochenæ ecclesiæ episcopus dogma Arsemonias instaurarat, disputavit.—*Hieron. in Catal.*

|| Quod si a fide exorbitaverit rector, tunc arguendus erit a subditis.—*Isid. Hisp. de Offic.* iii. 39; *vide* Thomam. Aq. in 4, Dist. xix. Art. 2.

ridiculous pretence), it cannot stand without a perpetual miracle; there is in fact no appearance of any such miracle; from the ordinary causes of great error and impiety (that is, ambition, avarice, sloth, luxury) the papal state is not exempt; yea, apparently, it is more subject to them than any other; all ages have testified and complained thereof.

17. Most eminent persons have in such cases withdrawn communion from the popes; as otherwhere we have shewed by divers instances.

18. The canon law itself doth admit the pope may be judged if he be a heretic:—"Because he that is to judge all persons is to be judged of none, except he be found to be gone astray from the faith."*

The supposition doth imply the possibility; and therefore the case may be put that he is such, and then he doth (according to the more current doctrine ancient and modern) cease to be a bishop, yea a Christian; hence no obedience is due to him; yea no communion is to be held with him.

19. This in fact was acknowledged by a great pope, allowing the condemnation of Pope Honorius for good, because he was erroneous in point of faith: "For" (saith he, in that which is called the eighths ynod) "although Honorius was anathematized after his death by the oriental bishops, it is yet well known that he was accused for heresy; for which alone it is lawful for inferiors to rise up against superiors."†

Now that the pope (or papal succession) doth pervert the truth of Christian doctrine, in contradiction to the holy scripture, and primitive tradition; that he doth subvert the practice of christian piety, in opposition to the divine commands; that he teacheth falsehoods, and maintaineth impieties, is notorious in many particulars, some whereof we shall touch.

We justly might charge him with all those extravagant doctrines and practices which the highflying doctors do teach, and which the fierce zealots upon occasion do act; for the whole succession of popes of a long time hath most cherished and encouraged such folks, looking squintly on others, as not well affected to them; but we shall only touch those new and noxious or dangerous positions, which great synods, managed and confirmed by their authority, have defined, or which they themselves have magisterially decreed; or which are generally practised by their influence or countenance.

It is manifest, that the pope doth support and cherish as his special favourites, the ventors of wicked errors; such as those who teach the *pope's infallibility*, his *power over temporal princes*, to cashier and depose them, to *absolve subjects from their allegiance*—the doctrine of *equivocation*, *breach of faith*, *with heretics*, &c.; the which doctrines are heretical, as inducing pernicious practice; whence whoever doth so much as communicate with the maintainers of them, according to the principles of ancient Christianity, are guilty of the same crimes.

The holy scripture and catholic antiquity do teach and enjoin us *to worship and serve God alone*, our Creator; forbidding us to worship any creature, or *fellow-servant*;[h] even not *angels*: "For I who am a creature will not endure to worship one like to me."*

But the pope and his clients do teach and charge us to worship angels and dead men; yea even to venerate "the relics and dead bodies of the saints."†

The holy scripture teacheth us to *judge nothing* (about the present or future state of men, absolutely) *before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts, and*

* Quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide devius.—*Grat.* Dist. xl. cap. 6; *vide* P. Innoc. III. apud Laun. contra Baron ——.

† Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τῷ Ὀνορίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἀνάθεμα ἐῤῥέθη, ὅμως γνωστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ αἱρέσει κατηγορήθη, δι' ἣν καὶ μόνον ἔξεστι τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους τῶν μειζόνων κατεξανίστασθαι.—Syn. VIII. Act. vii. p. 963.

* Κρίσμα γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸν ὅμοιον προσκυνεῖν.—Bas. apud Sozom. vi. 16.

† Similiter et sanctos una cum Christo regnantes venerandos atque invocandos esse:—atque horum reliquias esse venerandas.—*Pii IV. Profess. Fid.* Bonum atque utile esse eos invocare——sanctorum quoque corpora —— a fidelibus veneranda esse. *Conc. Trid.*

[h] Matt. iv. 10; Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 9; Col. ii. 18; Rom. i. 25.

then each man shall have praise of God."[i]

But the pope notoriously (in repugnance to those precepts, anticipating God's judgment, and arrogating to himself a knowledge requisite thereto) doth presume to determine the state of men, canonizing them, declaring them to be saints, and proposing them to be worshipped; and on the other side, he damneth, curseth, and censureth his fellow-servants.

God in his law doth command us not *to bow down ourselves unto any image*, or worship *the likeness of any thing in heaven, or earth, or under the earth;** the which law (whether moral or positive) the gospel doth ratify and confirm, charging us to *keep ourselves from idols, and to fly worshipping of idols;*[j] that is, to observe the Second Commandment; the validity whereof the Fathers most expressly assert; and divers of them were so strict in their opinion about it, that they deemed it unlawful so much as to make any image.

But the pope and his adherents (in point blank opposition to divine law and primitive doctrine) require us to *fall down before* and to worship images. "Moreover we decree, that the images of saints be especially had and retained in churches, and that due honour and veneration be imparted to them——so that by those images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and fall down, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear."†

Neither is he satisfied to recommend and decree these unwarrantable venerations, but (with a horrible strange kind of uncharitableness and ferity) doth he "anathematize those who teach" or think "any thing opposite to his decrees concerning them;"* so that if the ancient Fathers should live now, they would live under this curse.

The holy scripture, under condition of repentance and amendment of life, upon recourse to God and trust in his mercy, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, doth offer and promise remission of sins, acceptance with God, justification and salvation;[k] this is the tenor of the evangelical covenant; nor did the primitive church know other terms.

But the pope doth preach another doctrine, and requireth other terms, as necessary for remission of sins and salvation; for he hath decreed the confession of all and each mortal sin, which a man of recollection can remember, to a priest, to be necessary thereto; anathematizing all who shall say the contrary; although the Fathers (particularly St. Chrysostom frequently) have affirmed the contrary.†

The which is plainly preaching another gospel (forged by himself and his abettors), as offering remission upon other terms than God hath prescribed; and denying it upon those which Christianity proposeth.

He teacheth that no sin is pardoned without absolution of a priest.

He requireth satisfaction imposed by a priest, besides repentance and new obedience, as necessary. Which is also another gospel.‡

He dispenseth pardon of sin upon condition of performances unnecessary and insufficient; such as undertaking "pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, visiting churches," making "war upon

* Exod. xx. 4.—Οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα——.

† Imagines porro —— sanctorum in templis præsertim habendas, et retinendas; eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam —— ita ut per imagines, quas osculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus, et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur.—*Conc. Trid.* sess. 25.

[i] 1 Cor. iv. 5; Rom. xiv. 4.

[j] 1 John v. 21; 1 Cor. x. 14, 7; Clem. Alex. Tertul.

* Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit, aut senserit, anathema sit.—*Ibid.*

† Si quis dixerit in sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debita et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur —— anathema sit.—*Sess.* xiv. *de Pœn.* Can. 7. If any one shall say, that in the sacrament of penance it is not necessary by divine right to confess all and singular mortal sins, the remembrance whereof may be had by due and diligent premeditation, let him be anathema.

‡ Si quis negoverit ad integram et perfectam peccatorum remissionem requiri—contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem.—*Sess.* xiv. Can. 4. If any shall deny that contrition, confession, and satisfaction, is required, to the entire and perfect remission of sin.

[k] Ezek. xviii.; Luke xv.; Rom. x. 9; Mark i. 15.

infidels or heretics, contributing money, repeating prayers," undergoing "corporal penances," &c.* which is likewise to frame and publish another gospel.

These doctrines are highly presumptuous and well may be reputed heretical.

God hath commanded that *every soul should be subject to the higher powers* temporal, *as to God's ministers;* so as to obey their laws, to submit to their judgments, to pay tribute to them. And the Fathers expound this law to the utmost extent and advantage: "If every soul, then yours; if any attempt to except you, he goes about to deceive you."†

But the pope countermandeth, and exempteth all clergymen from those duties, by his canon law; excommunicating lay judges, who shall perform their office in regard to them. "Because indeed some lay persons constrain ecclesiastics, yea and bishops themselves, to appear before them, and to stand to their judgment, those that henceforth shall presume to do so, we decree that they shall be separate from the communion of the faithful."‡

The scriptures do represent the king (or temporal sovereign) as supreme over his subjects, to whom all are obliged to yield special respect and obedience: the Fathers yield him the same place, above all, next to God; and subject to God alone: the ancient good popes did acknowledge themselves servants and subjects to the emperor.‖

But later popes, like *the man of sin* in St. Paul,* have advanced themselves above all civil power; claiming to themselves a supereminency, not only of rank, but of power, over all Christian princes; even to depose them. "Christ hath committed the rights both of terrestrial and celestial government to that blessed man who bears the keys of eternal life."*

"If the secular power be believers, God would have them subject to the priests of the church—Christian emperors ought to submit, and not prefer the execution of their laws to the rulers of the church."†

God by indispensable law hath obliged us to retain our obedience to the king, even pagan; charging us under pain of damnation to be subject to him, and not to resist him——.

But the pope is ready upon occasion to discharge subjects from that obligation, to absolve them from their solemn oaths of allegiance, to encourage insurrection against him, to prohibit obedience——.‡ "We observing the decrees of our holy predecessors, by our apostolical authority absolve those from their oath who were bound by their fealty and oath to excommunicated persons: and we forbid them by all means that they yield them no allegiance, till they come and make satisfaction."

Thus doth he teach and prescribe *rebellion*, *perjury*—together with all the *murders* and *rapines* consequent on them: which is a far greater heresy, then if he should teach *adultery*, *murder*, or *theft* to be lawful. "For they are enjoined by no authority to perform the allegiance which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who is an adversary to God and

* Et qui Hierosolyman proficiscuntur, et ad Christianam gentem defendendam, et tyrannidem infidelium debellandum efficaciter auxilium præbuerint, quorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus ——. *Conc. Lat. I.* Can. 11. And whoever go to Jerusalem, and powerfully afford help to defend Christian people, and to subdue the tyranny of infidels, to them we grant forgiveness of their sins ——.

† Si omnis et vestra —— si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere.—*Bern.* Ep. 42.

‡ Lex canonica simpliciter eos eximit.—*Bell. de Cler.* cap. 1. Sane quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas personas et ipsos etiam episcopos suo judicio stare compellunt, eos quide cætero id præsumpserint, a communione fidelium decernimus segregandos.—*Conc. Lat. III.* Can. 14; *Ibid. II.* 15; *Steph. VI.* Ep. 1. (tom. i. p. 130;) *Nich. I.* Ep. 8. (tom. vi. p. 513.)

‖ Rom. xiii. 1—; Tit. iii. 1; 1 Pet. κᾶν ἀπόστολος ——. Chrys.

* Tertul. Opt. Cyril. &c. alibi; Greg. Ep. ii. 62; Agatho, &c.

* 2 Thess. ii. 4.

* Christus beato æternæ vitæ clavigero terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit.—*P. Nich. II. apud Grat.* Dist. xxii. cap. 1; *Greg. VII.* Ep. viii. 21; *Caus.* xv. qu. 6. cap. 3.

† Reculi potestates si fideles sunt, Deus, ecclesiæ sacerdotibus voluit esse subjectas—imperatores Christiani subdere debent executiones suas ecclesiasticis præsulibus, non præferre.—*P. Joh. VIII. apud Grat.* Dist. xcvi. cap. 11.

‡ Nos sanctorum prædecessorum nostrorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, apostolica auctoritate a sacramento absolvimus; et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus, quousque ipsi ad satisfactionem veniant.—*Greg. VII. in Syn. Rom. Grat. Caus.* xv. qu. 6, cap. 4.

his saints, and contemns their commands."*

Not only the holy scripture,° but common sense doth shew it to be an enormous presumption to obtrude for the inspirations, oracles, and dictates of God, any writings or propositions which are not really such.

This the pope doth notoriously, charging us to admit divers writings (which the greatest part of learned men in all ages have refused for such) as sacred and canonical; anathematizing all those who do not hold each of them for such;—† even as they are extant in a translation, not very exact, and framed partly out of Hebrew, partly out of Greek, upon divers accounts liable to mistake; as its author St. Jerome doth avow.

According to which decree, all who consent with St. Jerome, St. Austin, St. Athanasius, &c., with common sense, with the author of the Second of Maccabees himself, must incur a curse. What can be more uncharitable, more unjust, more silly, than such a definition?

He pretendeth to infallibility, or encourageth them who attribute it to him; which is a continual enthusiasm, and profane bold imposture.

The scripture doth avow a singular reverence due to itself, as containing the oracles of God—.

But the pope doth obtrude the *oral traditions* of his church (divers of which evidently are new, dubious, vain—) to be worshipped with equal reverence as the holy scripture.‡ "And also receives and venerates, with the like pious respect and reverence, the traditions themselves—which have been preserved by continual succession in the catholic church."

Among which traditions they reckon all the tricks and trumpery of their mass service; together with all their new notions about purgatory, extreme unction, &c.— "He also used several ceremonies, as mystical benediction, lights, incensings, garments, and many other such things, from apostolical discipline and tradition."*

The scriptures affirm themselves to be written for common instruction, comfort, edification in all piety; they do therefore recommend themselves to be studied and searched by all people; as the best and surest means of attaining knowledge and finding truth. The Fathers also do much exhort all people (even women and girls) constantly to read, and diligently to study the scriptures.[p]

But the pope doth keep them from the people, locked up in languages not understood by them; prohibiting translations of them to be made, or used.† The scripture teacheth, and common sense sheweth, and the Fathers do assert (nothing indeed more frequently or more plainly), that all necessary points of faith and good morality are with sufficient evidence couched in holy scripture, so that *a man of God*, or pious men, may thence *be perfectly furnished to every work*;[q] but they contrariwise blaspheme the scriptures, as obscure, dangerous, &c.

Common sense dictateth, that devotions should be performed with understanding and affection; and that consequently

* Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurarunt, Deo ejusque sanctis adversanti, eorum præcepta calcanti, nulla cohibentur auctoritate persolvere——. *P. Urb. II. apud Grat. Caus.* xv. qu. 6, cap. 5.

† Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum suis partibus, prout in ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit —— anathema sit.—*Conc. Trid.* sess. 4. But if any shall not receive for sacred and canonical those whole books, with the parts of them, according as they have been wont to be read in the catholic church, and are had in the old vulgar Latin edition; let him be anathema.

‡ —— nec non traditiones ipsas ——continua successione in ecclesia catholica conservatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit, et veneratur.—*Syn. Trid.* sess. 4.

° Ezek. xiii. 3, &c.

* Ceremonias item adhibuit, ut mysticas benedictiones, lumina, thymiamata, vestes, aliaque id genus multa ex apostolica disciplina et traditione ——. *Conc. Trid.* sess. xxii. cap. 5, 11, *de Sacrif. Miss.*

† *N.* P. Pius IV. did authorize certain rules for prohibition and permission of books; in which it is permitted to bishops to grant a faculty of reading the scriptures translated—— but to this rule there is added an observation, that *this power was taken from bishops by command of the Roman universal inquisition.*—Ind. Lib. Prohib. a Clem VIII.

[p] 2 Tim. iii. 15; Rom. xv. 4; 1 Cor. ix. 10; x. 11; 2 Pet. i. 20; ἐνδρέφουσι, John v. 39; Acts xvii. 11; Psal. cxix.—; Hier. ad Læt. Epitaph. Paul. Vit. Hilar.—Chrys. in Colos. Or. 9; Aug. Serm. 55, de temp.

[q] 2 Tim iii. 17.

they should be in a known tongue: and St. Paul expressly teacheth, that it is requisite for private and public edification: "From this doctrine of Paul it appears, that it is better for the edification of the church, that public prayers, which are said in the audience of the people, should be said in a tongue common to the clergy and the people, than that they should be said in Latin."*

All ancient churches did accordingly practise; and most others do so, beside those which the pope doth ride.

But the pope will not have it so, requiring the public liturgy to be celebrated in an unknown tongue; and that most Christians shall say their devotions like parrots. He anathematizeth those who "think the mass should be celebrated in a vulgar tongue;"† that is, all those who are in their right wits, and think it fit to follow the practice of the ancient church.

The holy scripture teacheth us that there is but one head of the church; and the Fathers do avow no other (as we have otherwhere shewed.)

But the pope assumeth to himself the headship of the church, affirming all "power and authority to be derived from him into the subject members of the church."‡

"We decree that the Roman pontiff is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole church."||

The scripture declareth, that God did institute marriage for remedy of incontinency and prevention of sin;[r] forbidding the use of it to none, who should think it needful or convenient for them;§ reckoning the *prohibitation of it* among heretical doctrines;¶ implying it to be *imposing a snare* upon men.**

But the pope and his complices do prohibit it to whole orders of men (*priests*, &c.) engaging them into dangerous vows."[s]

Our Lord forbiddeth any marriage lawfully contracted to be dissolved, otherwise than in case of adultery.[t]

But the pope commandeth priests married to be divorced. "And that marriages contracted by such persons should be dissolved."*

He dissolveth matrimony agreed, by the profession of monkery of one of the espoused.† "If any shall say, that matrimony confirmed, not consummate, is not dissolved by the solemn profession of religion of either party, let him be anathema."

Our Saviour did institute and enjoin us (under pain of damnation, if we should wilfully transgress his order) to eat of his body, and drink of his blood, in participation of the holy supper.‡

The Fathers did accordingly practise, with the whole church, till late times.

But "notwithstanding Christ's institution"|| (as they express it), papal synods do prohibit all laymen, and priests not celebrating, to partake of Christ's blood; so maiming and perverting our Lord's institution: "and yet they decline to drink the blood of our redemption."§

In defence of which practice, they confound body and blood; and under a curse would oblige us to believe that one kind doth contain the other; or that a part doth contain the whole.[v]

* 1 Cor. xiv. 14.—Ex hac Pauli doctrina habetur quod melius est ad ecclesiæ ædificationem orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici lingua communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latine.—*Cajet. in* 1 *Cor.* xiv.

† —— aut lingua tantum vulgari missam celebrari debere—anathema sit.—*Sess.* xxii. Can. 9.

‡ A quo tanquam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas et authoritas derivetur.—*P. Pius II. in Bull. Retract.*

|| Definimus Romanum pontificem——verum Christi vicarium totiusque ecclesiæ caput. ——. *Defin. Syn. Flor.*

§ Μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν;—1 Cor. ix. 5.

¶ Κωλυόντων γαμεῖν—1 Tim. iv. 3.

** Βρόχον ἐπιβάλλειν—1 Cor. vii. 35.

[r] Matt. xix. 11.

* Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi.—*Conc. Lat. I.* cap. 21, *Lat. II. Trid.* Sess. xxiv. Can. 9. ——

† Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum non consummatum, per solennem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema sit.—*Sess.* xxiv. Can. 6.

‡ Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.—Matt. xxvi. 27. Ἐὰν μὴ—πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν.—Joh. vi. 53.

|| Non obstante.—*Conc. Const.* Sess. xiii; Conc. Trid. Sess. xiii. cap. 8, Can. 3; Sess. xxi. cap. 4, Can. 3.

§ This Pope Leo I. condemneth. *De Quadr.* Serm. iv. (p. 38.)—Sanguinem redemptionis nostræ haurire declinant ——P. Gelasius calleth the division of the sacrament a grand sacrilege.—*Gratian. in De Consecr. Dist.* ii. cap. 12.

[s] *Vide* Tom. vii. Conc. p. 465; Syn. Trid. sess. xxiv. de Matr. Can. 9.

[t] Matt. v. 32; xix. 7; 1 Cor. vii. 10.

[v] Conc. Trid. Sess. xxi. Can. 3; Sess. xiii. Can. 3.

Whereas our Lord saith, that *whoso eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood hath eternal life*;[v] and consequently supposeth, that bad men do not partake of his body and blood; yet they condemn this assertion under a curse.*

The holy scripture, and the Fathers after it, commonly do call the elements of the eucharist, after consecration, bread and wine; affirming them to retain their nature.†

But the popish Cabal anathematizeth those who say, "that bread and wine do then remain."

"If any shall say, that in the holy sacrament of the eucharist the substance of bread and wine remain—let him be anathema."‡

The nature of the Lord's supper doth imply communion and company; but they forbid any man to say, that a priest "may not communicate alone;" so establishing the belief of nonsense and contradiction.

The holy scripture teacheth us, that our Lord hath departed, and is absent from us in body; until that he shall come to judge, which is called his *presence;* that heaven, whither he ascended, and where he sitteth at God's right hand, must *hold him till the times of the restitution of all things.*||

But the pope, with his Lateran and Tridentine complices, draw him down from heaven, and make him corporally present every day, in numberless places here.

The scripture teacheth us, that our Lord is a man, *perfectly like to us in all things.*§

But the pope and his adherents make him extremely different from us, as having a body at once present in innumerable places; insensible, &c. divested of the properties of our body; thereby destroying his human nature, and in effect agreeing with Eutyches, Appollinarius, and other such pestilent heretics.

The scripture representeth him born once for us; but they affirm him every day made by a priest, uttering the words of consecration; as if that which before did exist, could be made; as if a man could make his Maker.

The scripture teacheth, that our Lord was *once offered for expiation of* our sins;* but they pretended every day to offer him up as a *propitiatory sacrifice.*

These devices, without other foundation than a figurative expression (which they resolve to expound in a proper sense, although even in that very matter divers figurative expressions are used, as they cannot but acknowledge), they with all violence and fierceness obtrude upon the belief, as one of the most necessary and fundamental articles of the Christian religion.

The scripture teacheth us humbly to acknowledge the rewards assigned by God to be gratuitous and free; and that we, *after we have done all, must acknowledge ourselves unprofitable servants.*[x]

But the papists curse those who, although out of humility and modesty, will not acknowledge the good works of justified persons to be truly meritorious;[y] "deserving the increase of grace, eternal life, and augmentation of glory:"[y] so forcing us to use saucy words and phrases, if not impious in their sense.

The scripture teacheth one church diffused over the whole world; whereof each part is bound to maintain charity, peace, and communion with the rest, upon brotherly terms.

But the Romanists arrogate to themselves the name and privilege of the only church; condemning all other churches besides their own, and censuring all for apostatical who do not adhere to them, or submit to their yoke; just like

* Si quis dixerit tantum in usu, &c.—*Trid. Conc.* Sess. xiii. cap. 8, Can. 4.——

† Ἄρτον τοῦτον.—1 Cor. xi. 26; Theod. Gelas.——

‡ Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto eucharistiæ sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini——anathema sit.—*Trid. Conc. de Euch.* Sess. xiii. Can. 2. Si quis dixerit missas in quibus sacerdos solus sacramentaliter communicat, illicitas esse, anathema sit.—*Sess.* xxii. *de Sacr. Miss.* Can. 8; Sess. xiii. Can. 8.

|| 2 Cor. v. 6—; Act. ii. 33; Col. iii. 1. Εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐκάθισε.—Heb. x. 12. Ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν δέχεσθαι.—Acts iii. 21.

§ Ὤφειλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι.—Heb. ii. 17.

[v] John vi. 54.

* Heb. ix. 26; x. 10, 12, 14.—ἐφάπαξ. μιᾷ προσφορᾷ.

[x] Eph. ii. 8, 9; Tit. iii. 5; Rom. iii. 24; Luke xvii. 10.

[y] Sess. vi. de Justif. Can. 32.

the Donatists, who said that "the world had apostatized," excepting those who upon their own terms did communicate with them; "only the communion of Donatus remained" the true church.*

The holy scripture biddeth us take care of persons pretending to extraordinary inspirations; charging on the Holy Spirit their own conceits and devices.[a]

Such have been their synods, boldly fathering their decrees on God's Spirit.—

And their pope is infallible, by virtue of inspiration communicated to him, when he pleaseth to set himself right in his chair.— Whence we may take them for bodies of enthusiasts and fanatics: the difference only is, that other enthusiasts pretend singly, they conjunctly and by conspiracy. Others pretend it in their own direction and defence, these impose their dreams on the whole church.

If they say that God hath promised his Spirit to his church, it is true; but he hath no less plainly and frequently promised it to single Christians, who should seek it earnestly of him.[a]

The ancient Fathers could in the scriptures hardly discern more than two sacraments, or mysterious rites of our religion, by positive law and institution of our Saviour to be practised.[b]

But the popes have devised others, and under uncharitable curses propound them to be professed for such;† affirming them to confer grace by the bare performance of them.

Every clergyman and monk is bound by Pius IV. to profess "there are just seven of them;"‡ and the Tridentine synod "anathematizeth all those who do say there are more or fewer;"|| although the ancients did never hit on that number.

"But these our sacraments both contain grace, and also confer it upon those who worthily receive them."*

They require men to believe under a curse that each of those were instituted of Christ, and confer grace by the bare performance.

Particularly, they curse those who do not hold "matrimony for a sacrament instituted by Christ, and conferring grace."† What can be more ridiculous than to say, that marriage was instituted by Christ, or that it doth confer grace?

Yet with another anathema they prefer virginity before it:[c] and why, forsooth, is not that another sacrament? And then they must be comparing the worth of these sacraments, condemning those heavily who may conceive them equal, as being divine institutions.

"If any shall say that these seven sacraments are so equal one to another that one is in no respect of more worth than another, let him be anathema."‡

The first, as it seemeth, who reckoned the sacraments to be seven, was Peter Lombard; whom the schoolmen did follow; and Pope Eugenius IV. followed them; and afterward the Trent men formed it into an article backed with an anathema.||

Upon which rash and peremptory sentence touching all ancient divines, we may note:—

1. Is it not strange, that an article of faith should be performed upon an ambiguous word, or a term of art, used with great variety?

2. Is it not strange to define a point, whereof it is most plain that the Fathers

* Orbis terrarum apostatavit, et sola remansit Donati communio.—*Aug. de Unit.* 12.——

† Si sacramenta essent pauciora, magna impietas fuisset, et superstitio, &c.—*Bell. de Sacr.* ii. 25. If the sacraments were fewer, there would have been great impiety and superstition, &c.

‡ Profiteor quoque septem esse proprie et vere sacramenta.—*Bulla Pii IV.*

|| Si quis dixerit —— esse plura vel pauciora quam septem —— anathema sit.—*Syn. Trid.* sess. vii. Can, 1.

[a] 1 John. iv. 1; Jer. xxix. 8 —.

[a] Luke xi. 13; James i. 5; 1 John ii. 27; Heb. viii. 11; Rom. viii. 9.

[b] Acts v. 32; Aug. Doctr. Christ. Ep. ad Jen.

* Hæc vero nostra et continent gratiam, et ipsam digne suscipientibus conferunt. — *P. Eug. in Inst. Arm.* Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato, non conferri gratiam —— anathema sit. — *Ibid.* Can. 8.

† Si quis dixerit matrimonium non esse vere ac proprie unum ex septem legis evangelicæ sacramentis, a Christo Domino institutum —— neque gratiam conferre, anathema sit.—*Sess.* xxiv. Can. 1.

‡ Si quis dixerit hæc septem sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nulla ratione aliud sit alio dignius, anathema sit.—*Sess.* vii. Can 3.

|| Novæ legis septem sunt sacramenta, &c. —*P. Eug. in Instr. Arm.* Bellarmine could find none before him.—Vide *de Sacram.* ii. 25.

[c] Sess. xxiv. Can. 10.

were ignorant, wherein they never did agree or resolve anything?

3. Yea, whereof they speak variously.

4. Is it not odd and extravagant to damn or curse people for a point of so little consideration or certainty?

5. Is it not intolerable arrogance and presumption to define, nay, indeed, to make an article of faith, without any manner of ground or colour of authority either from scripture or the tradition of the ancient Fathers?*

The holy scripture forbiddeth us *to call any man master upon earth*, or absolutely to subject our faith to the dictates of any man; it teacheth us that the apostles themselves are *not lords of our faith*, so as to oblige us to believe their own inventions;[d] it forbiddeth us to swallow whole the doctrines and precepts of men without examination of them. It forbiddeth us to admit "various and strange doctrines."†

But the pope and Roman church exact from us a submission to their dictates, admitting them for true, without any further inquiry or discussion, barely upon his authority. "They who are provided of any benefices whatever, having cure of souls, let them promise and swear obedience to the Roman church."‡

They require of us without doubt to believe, to profess, to assert innumerable propositions, divers of them new and strange, nowise deducible from scripture or apostolical tradition, the very terms of them being certainly unknown to the primitive church, devised by human subtilly, curiosity, contentiousness—divers of them being (in all appearance, to the judgment of common sense), uncertain, obscure, and intricate; divers of them bold and fierce; divers of them frivolous and vain; divers of them palpably false: namely, all such propositions, as have been taught by their great juntos allowed by the pope, especially that of Trent.

* "Moreover, all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profess; and also all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned, and rejected and anathematized by the church, I in like manner do condemn, reject, and anathematize—. This is the true Catholic faith, out of which there can be no salvation."

This usurpation upon the consciences of Christians (none like whereto was ever known in the world) they prosecute with most uncharitable censures, cursing and damning all who do not in heart and profession submit to them, obliging all their consorts to join therein, against all charity and prudence.

The scripture enjoineth us to bear with those who are weak in faith, and err in doubtful or disputable matters.[e]

But the popes with cruel uncharitableness, not only do censure all that cannot assent to their devices, which they obtrude as articles of faith; but sorely persecute them with all sorts of punishments, even with death itself; a practice inconsistent with Christian meekness, with equity, with reason, and of which the Fathers have expressed the greatest detestation.

"They have unwoven and altered all theology from head to foot, and of divine have made it sophistical."†

The pope, with his pack of mercenary clients at Trent, did indeed establish a scholastical or sophistical, rather than a Christian theology; framing points, devised by the idle wits of latter times, in-

* Multa dicuntur a veteribus sacramenta præter ista septem.—*Bell de Sacr.* ii. 24. Many things are by the ancients called sacraments besides these seven.

† Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις, καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεσθε.—Heb. xiii. 9.

‡ Provisi de beneficiis quibuscunque curam animarum habentibus —— in Romanæ ecclesiæ obedientiam spondeant ac jurent.—*Conc. Trid.* Sess. xxiv. cap. 12, *de Ref.* —— nec non veram obedientiam summo pontifici spondeant et profiteantur.—*Sess.* xxv. cap. 2, *de Ref.*

[d] Matt. xxiii. 8; 2 Cor. i. 24; 1 Thess. v. 21; Col. ii. 8; Matt. xv. 9.

* Cætera item omni a sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipue a sacrosancta Tridentina synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascunque ab ecclesia damnatas et rejectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, respuo, et anathematizo.—*P. Pii IV. profess.* Hanc veram catholicam fidem, extra quam nulla salus esse potest.—*Ibid.*

† Totam theologiam a capite usque ad calcem retexuerunt, et ex divina sophisticam fecerunt.—*Erasm. præf. ad Hieron.*

[e] Rom. xiv. 1; xv. 1, 7.

to definitions and peremptory conclusions, backed with curses and censures: concerning which conclusions it is evident,

That the apostles themselves would not be able to understand many of them.*

That the ancient Fathers did never think anything about them.†

That divers of them consist in application of artificial terms and phrases devised by human subtilty.‡

That divers of them are in their own nature disputable; were before disputed by wise men; and will ever be disputed by those who freely use their judgment.

That there was no need of defining many of them.

That they blindly lay about them, condemning and cursing they know not who, Fathers, schoolmen, divines, &c. who have expressly affirmed points so damned by them.

That many truths are uncharitably backed with curses, which disparageth them (seeing a man may err pardonably—πολλὰ γὰρ πταίομεν ἅπαντες), *in many things we offend all.*[f]

For instance, what need was there of defining, what need of cursing those, who think concupiscence *to be truly and properly sin*,[g] upon St. Paul's authority calling it so?

That "Adam presently upon his transgression did lose the sanctity and justice in which he was constituted?"||

What need of cursing those, who say that men are justified "by the sole remission of sins," according to St. Paul's notion and use of the word *justification?*[h]

What need of cursing those, who say the "grace of God, by which we are justified, is only the favour of God;"§ whereas it is plain enough that *God's grace* there in St. Paul doth signify nothing else, applied to that case?

Or that faith is "nothing else but a reliance in God's mercy, remitting sins for Christ;"[i] seeing it is plain that St. Paul doth by faith chiefly mean the belief of that principal point of the gospel?

Or that good works "do not cause an increase of justification:"* seeing St. Paul doth exclude justification by works; and it is a free work of God—uncapable of degrees?

Or that after remission of sin in justification "a guilt of paying temporal pain doth abide?"†

Or that a man cannot "by his works merit increase of grace, and glory, and eternal life;"[j] seeing a man is not to be blamed, who doth dislike the use of so saucy a word; the which divers good men have disclaimed?

What need of cursing those who do not take the sacraments to be "precisely seven?" or who conceive that some one of their seven may not be "truly and properly" a sacrament; seeing the word *sacrament* is ambiguous, and by the Fathers applied to divers other things, and defined generally by St. Austin, *signum rei sacræ;*‡ and that before Peter Lombard ever did mention that number.

What need of damning those, who do conceive the sacraments equal in dignity?[k]

What need of defining, that sacraments do confer grace *ex opere operato?*[l] which is an obscure scholastical phrase.

What need of cursing those, who say that a "character is not impressed in the soul" of those who take "baptism, confirmation, or orders;"|| seeing what this character is (or "this spiritual and indelible mark;"§) they do not themselves well understand or agree?

What need of cursing those, who do not think that the validity of sacraments (and consequently the assurance of our

* Formaliter justos.—*Sess.* vi. Can. 10.

† Ex opere operato.—*Sess.* vii. Can. 8.

‡ Character.—*Sess.* vii. Can. 9.

|| Cum mandatum Dei in paradiso fuisset transgressus, statim sanctitatem et justitiam in qua constitutus fuerat amisisse.—*Sess.* v. Can. 1.

§ Sess. vi. Can. 11.—Aut etiam gratiam qua justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei.

[f] James iii. 2.

[g] Sess. v. Can. 5; Rom. vii.

[h] Sess. vi. Can. 11—.

* Sess. vi. Can. 24.—Non autem ipsius augendæ causam ——.

† Ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exolvendæ ——. *Sess.* vi. Can. 30. *Sess.* xiv. *de Pœnit.* Can. 15.

‡ De sacramentis. Si quis dixerit —— esse plura vel pauciora quam septem.—*Sess.* vii. Can. 1.

|| Non imprimi characterem in anima.—*Sess.* vii. Can. 9.

§ Hoc est signum quoddam spirituale, et indelebile.—*Ibid.*

[i] Sess. vi. Can. 12.

[j] Sess. vi. Can. 32.

[k] Sess. vii. Can. 3.

[l] Sess. vii. Can. 8.

being Christians) dependeth on the intention of the minister?[m]

What need of cursing those, who think that a pastor of the church may change the ceremonies of administering the sacrament;[n] seeing St. Cyprian often teacheth, that every pastor hath full authority in such cases within his own precinct?

What need of defining the Second Book of Maccabees to be canonical,[o] against the common opinion of the Fathers (most expressly of St. Austin himself), of the most learned in all ages, of Pope Gelasius himself (*in Decret.*), which the author himself (calling his work an epitome, and asking pardon for his errors) disclaimeth, and which common sense therefore disclaimeth?[*]

Their new creed of Pius IV. containeth these novelties and heterodoxies:—1. *Seven sacraments.* 2. *Trent doctrine of justification and original sin.* 3. *Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass.* 4. *Transubstantiation.* 5. *Communicating under one kind.* 6. *Purgatory.* 7. *Invocation of saints.* 8. *Veneration of relics.* 9. *Worship of images.* 10. *The Roman church to be the mother and mistress of all churches.* 11. *Swearing obedience to the pope.* 12. *Receiving the decrees of all synods*, and of Trent.

[m] Sess. vii. Can. 11. [n] Sess. vii. Can. 13.
[o] Sess. iv.

[*] Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus
Ut quisque lingua nequior,
Solvunt ligantque quæstionum vincula
Per syllogismos plectiles ——.
Prudent. in Apotheos.

SYNOPSIS

OF THE

TREATISE

ON THE

POPE'S SUPREMACY.

The ensuing analysis of Barrow's disquisition on the Pope's Supremacy was compiled by Dr. Hughes; and as it includes in a condensed form the cardinal principles and arguments of the entire Treatise, it was deemed advisable to append it to the original work. The Student of this important Controversy, will find, by the use of it, his acquaintance with the topics in controversy essentially facilitated.

INTRODUCTION.

I. Boast of the Roman party in the points of unity, certainty of doctrine, decision of controversies, &c. Yet in matters of great importance it is hard to descry how they agree, or of what they are certain. Many of their laws and rites shown to have been drawn from diverse authorities. Disagreement among the Roman doctors concerning the nature and extent of papal authority; so that in the Council of Trent the agitation of that question was not permitted: reasons of this.

II. There are among them some, who ascribe to the Pope an universal, absolute empire, over all persons and in all matters, conferred on him by Divine immutable sanction. Authors quoted, who acknowledge this power.

III. The opinion of Bellarmine, given as the general opinion of Catholics, does not differ in effect from this, though veiled and disguised by words.

IV. Such an universal power hath been claimed by divers Popes, successively, for many ages. Instances quoted at great length.

V. This doctrine may reasonably be supposed the sentiment of all Popes continually for more than five hundred years to the present day. Reasons for this alleged.

VI. All Romanists, consistently with their principles, seem obliged to hold it: this shown.

VII. Yet so loose and slippery are the principles of the party, that many in communion with the Roman Catholic Church will not allow this doctrine of the Pope's universal and absolute power: this point enlarged on.

VIII. Neither are the adherents of the Roman Church more agreed concerning the extent of the Pope's authority, even in spiritual affairs: this shown.

IX. No wonder that their doctrine in this matter is various and uncertain, since interest is concerned in it, and principles are defective towards the resolution of it.

X. Even Popes themselves have shifted their pretences, and varied in style, according to circumstances, &c.: this shown.

XI. Hence a statement of this ques-

tion is not difficult, and the mark to which this discourse should be levelled is plain.

XII. But on account of the preceding observations, all discussion of the Pope's temporal dominion is omitted; his ecclesiastical authority alone being canvassed.

XIII. And here the doctrine contested against is that in which the cordial partisans of the Papacy, &c. do seem to consent.

XIV. This doctrine of absolute power explained, in the words of the Florentine Synod's definition, &c.

XV. It is known that many within the Roman communion contract the Papal sovereignty within narrower limits: the doctrine of many such stated.

XVI. Nevertheless, the former opinion seems to be the genuine doctrine of the Roman Church, if it has any: this enlarged on.

XVII. No distinct regard therefore will be paid to the opinion of these semi-Romanists, except in part. Discourse levelled at the Pope, as he pretends to be, absolute in authority.

XVIII. Of such vast pretences we have reason to require sufficient grounds: this shown.

XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly baulk, and therefore they call in St. Peter; which plea of theirs involves the following main suppositions;

I. That St. Peter had by our Lord's appointment a primacy over the Apostles.

II. That St. Peter's primacy, with its rights and prerogatives, was not personal, but derivable and transmitted to his successors.

III. That St. Peter was bishop of Rome.

IV. That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome after his translation, and was so at his decease.

V. That the bishops of Rome (according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence) should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction over the Christian Church.

VI. That in fact the Roman bishops continually from St. Peter's time have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power.

VII. That this power is indefectible and unalterable.

TREATISE.

Matthew, Chap. X. Verse 2.

Importance of this controversy. The suppositions on which it rests on the side of the Romanists stated.

SUPPOSITION I.

In order to the resolution of this point, we may consider that there are several kinds of primacy: these enumerated, and the title which Peter might have to each.

1. *A primacy of worth*, or personal excellency. Various personal endowments, natural and moral, enumerated, in which it may be granted that St. Peter possessed this superiority over the other disciples; though one afterwards arose who can hardly be called inferior to him.

2. *A primacy of repute;* which St. Paul means in Gal. ii. 2, 6, 9; 2 Cor. xi. 5, &c. Nor can this advantage, consequent on the preceding, be refused him.

3. *A primacy of order, or bare dignity.* This probably may have been conceded to him for use and convenience. Various reasons for this probability stated.

4. *A primacy, importing superiority in power, command, or jurisdiction.* This asserted by the Romanists: but we have great reason to deny it, from the following considerations: that such a power ought to be *conspicuously* and *clearly* instituted, &c.: there is no express mention of it; no time for its institution can be assigned: it would probably have been indicted by some *title* or *name:* there was indeed no office above that of an Apostle known to the disciples, or the primitive church: our Lord himself several times declared against such superiority: in serveying particulars we shall not find any peculiar jurisdiction, &c. conferred on St. Peter, which was not on the other Apostles—no intimation of it in the Catholic Epis-

tles of St. Peter—none in the apostolical history—none in any incidental controversies relating to doctrine or practice, where we should expect an appeal made to him: the proceedings of the Apostles in converting people, in founding churches, and in administering special affairs, exclude it; nature of the apostolical office, state of things, and manner of St. Peter's life; whence he will appear incapable, or unfit to manage such a jurisdiction: it was requisite that every Apostle should have a complete, absolute, independent authority in the affairs of his office; in particular, the discourse and behaviour of St. Paul to St. Peter shows that he acknowledged no dependence on him. If St. Peter had been appointed sovereign of the Church, it seems requisite that he should have outlived all the other Apostles. On the same grounds with St. Peter, other Apostles might have challenged a superiority over their brethren, &c. The Fathers both in express terms, and by inference, assert the co-equality of the Apostles: none of them mention the superiority of St. Peter. The last argument here used against this *primacy* is the insufficiency of those arguments and testimonies which are produced to prove it.

I. The words of our Saviour are alleged, *Thou art Peter*, &c.: where, it is said, St. Peter is declared to be the foundation, that is, the sole supreme governor of the church. Answers to this given; by which it is shown, 1. that those words are metaphorical, &c.; which sense, 2. is confirmed by the Fathers and ancient divines: 3. that the Apostles did not understand them literally: 4. that a literal interpretation does not suit our Lord's answers to the contests and inquiries of his disciples: 5. that even literally the words *a rock* do not imply government: 6. it is not said that the Apostles or apostolical office should be built on him: 7. if St. Peter himself be taken for *the rock*, then the best import of the words is, that our Lord designed him for a prime instrument in the support and propagation of the gospel: 8. St. Peter, before these words were spoken by our Lord, may seem to have had a primacy, intimated by the Evangelists, &c.; and therefore it cannot be founded on this place.

II. The next words, spoken in the sequel by our Lord, are alleged; *to thee will I give the keys*, &c.; that is, supreme power over the Church.

To this divers answers are given: 1. these words are figurative: 2. they admit and have admitted various interpretations: 3. the Apostles did not so understand them: 4. they cannot be taken as excluding others: 5. the Fathers affirm that all the Apostles received the same keys: 6. whatever the phrase imports, it is shown plainly to have belonged to them all: 7. many of the Fathers suppose the words apply to St. Peter, not as a single person, but as a representative of the Church: 8. these answers confirmed by the words which immediately follow: 9. if we grant any thing peculiar to St. Peter, it can only be that he should be a prime instrument in propagating the gospel, &c.: 10. it is absurd that he should exercise this power of the keys in respect of the *Apostles*: 11. the words explained by a reference to Luke v. 10. and Matt. iv. 19.

III. Those words of our Saviour are also produced, *feed my sheep*; that is, be universal governor of my Church.

To this allegation it is answered, 1. these words might have properly been said to any Christian pastor; no peculiar privilege to St. Peter therefore can be deduced from them: 2. from indefinite words, a definite conclusion cannot be drawn: 3. by them no new power is assuredly instituted by our Lord; for the Apostles had a similar command before: 4. they seem only admonitory or exhortative: 5. the same office which they express belonged evidently to all the apostles: 6. St. Peter's charge could not be more extensive than that of the others: this shown: 7. the words are applicable to all Christian bishops and governors of the Church: opinions of the Fathers: 8. the sheep therefore were not the apostles, but the common believers or people of God, called by St. Peter *the flock of God*; 9. take *feeding* for what you please, the Apostles were not fit objects of it: 10. if St. Peter was obliged *solely* to feed

all Christ's sheep, he must have had an impossible task.

IV. The Romanists, in confirmation of this doctrine, produce a shoal of testimonies to divers prerogatives, as they are called, of St. Peter. These enumerated; for example, his change of name; his walking on the sea; his miraculous draught of fish, &c. &c. These answered by similar ones indicating the *primacy* of St. John.

V. They argue from the constant placing of St. Peter's name before the other Apostles in catalogues and narrations concerning him and them.

Answers: 1. this order is not so strict as to admit no exceptions: 2. still position of names does not imply degree, or superiority of power: 3. other sufficient causes have been assigned why St. Peter had this place.

VI. Farther and most plausibly, they allege the titles and eulogies given to St. Peter by the Fathers: such enumerated.

Answers: 1. we might say that we are not accountable for all their flourishes, &c.: 2. such are not found in the *more ancient* Fathers: 3. they are ambiguous, and applicable to any kind of supremacy: 4. and so they are sometimes explained by the writers themselves: 5. moreover, those that give these titles to St. Peter expressly declare other Apostles equal to him in power and dignity: 6. if Leo I. or any other ancient Pope, seems to mean farther, we may except against his opinion as singular, and partial towards his see: 7. the ancients, when their subject allures them, adorn other Apostles with like titles: instances quoted.

SUPPOSITION II.

That St. Peter's primacy, with its rights and prerogatives, was not personal only, but derivable to his successors.

Admitting St. Peter's *primacy*, the rest does not follow.

A rule of the Canon Law; *that a personal privilege follows the person, and is extinguished with the person:* and such is that of St. Peter: for,

1. His primacy was grounded on personal acts, personal graces, gifts, endowments, &c.

2. All pretence of primacy granted to St. Peter is grounded on words directed to his person, characterised by most personal adjuncts, &c.

3. Particularly the grand promise of founding the church on him cannot reach beyond his person.

4. The apostolical office, as such, was personal and temporary, and therefore not successive, &c.

5. Accordingly, since the other Apostles, as such, had no successors, so any primacy of St. Peter did cease with him.

6. If some privileges of St. Peter were derived to Popes, why were not all?

7. Answer to the objection that the Fathers commonly call bishops successors of the Apostles.

8. It may be said that not one single bishop, but all bishops together do succeed St. Peter, or any other Apostle.

9. This the notion which St. Cyprian so much insists on. Also the Synod of Carthage, and St. Chrysostom; who says that *the sheep of Christ were committed to him by St. Peter, and to those after him.*

10. Such, and no other power, St. Peter might devolve on any bishop ordained by him in any church; and such did the other Apostles communicate.

11. Consequently, in those churches, whereof the Apostles were never accounted bishops, yet the bishops are called successors of the Apostles, &c.

12. The pretence, that the other Apostles had an extraordinary charge, which had no succession, but that St. Peter had a peculiar one, as pastor of the whole church which survives, is shown to be a mere figment or shift.

13. If such power had existed, we should have had some authentic record of the same.

14. It would also surely have been mentioned in the Fathers.

SUPPOSITION III.

That St. Peter was Bishop of Rome.

This may with great reason be denied: and it may be said,

1. That St. Peter's being bishop of Rome would confound the offices which God made distinct.

2. The offices of Apostle and bishop shown to be not in their nature consistent.

3. It would not have been decorous in St. Peter, the prime Apostle, to have assumed the charge of a particular bishop.

4. It was not likely that St. Peter, sensible of a superior charge belonging to him, would have undertaken an inferior one.

5. His general charge of converting and inspecting the Jews dispersed over the world, would not well agree with the other.

6. The consideration of his life will show him incapable of this office.

7. It was needless that he should be bishop, as he might, whenever he was at Rome, by virtue of his Apostleship, exercise episcopal authority.

8. Had he been such, he would have set a bad example of non-residence, &c.

9. He would also have offended against many other good ecclesiastical rules.

10. It was against rule that a bishop of one church should be bishop of another. Now St. Peter is admitted by Romanists to have been bishop of Antioch for seven years together.

11. It was anciently deemed a very irregular thing, and denounced by synods and Popes, that there should be two bishops of one place. But the same authority which makes St. Peter bishop of Rome reckons St. Paul bishop of the same: this shown.

SUPPOSITION IV.

That St. Peter did continue bishop of Rome after his translation, and did continue so to his decease.

Against which assertions the following considerations are offered.

1. Ecclesiastical writers affirm that St. Peter (either alone, or together with St. Paul) did constitute other bishops; wherefore he never was bishop, or did not continue bishop there: instances given.

2. Even on the supposition that he was bishop, he could not well lay down his office and subrogate another, according to the ancient rules of discipline: this shown.

3. Supposing him to have been bishop once, yet by the constitution of Linus, or Clemens in his place, he ceased to be so, and divested himself of his office.

4. In fine, when St. Peter ordained others, either he did retain the episcopacy, and then there were concurrently divers bishops of Rome at the same time, or he did finally relinquish the office himself.

5. To avoid all which difficulties, it is reasonable to understand those ancient authors, who call St. Peter bishop of Rome, as meaning that he was bishop or superintendent of that Church in a large sense: this explained.

6. This notion confirmed by divers observations.

7. It is also remarkable that in the recensions of the Roman bishops, sometimes the Apostles are reckoned in, sometimes excluded: instances given.

8. Divers churches were called *Apostolical Thrones*, or *Chairs*, not because the Apostles did sit as bishops there, but for other reasons mentioned: instances given.

9. The author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, reciting the first bishops of several churches, does not reckon any of the Apostles.

10. Again, any Apostle, wherever he resided, was qualified by his office to preside there and exercise a full authority: it was needless therefore for him to take the character of a bishop.

11. It may possibly be alleged that St. James, our Lord's near kinsman, although he was an Apostle, was made bishop of Jerusalem, &c. Answers to this objection.

SUPPOSITION V.

That by consequence, the bishops of Rome, according to God's institution, and by original right derived thence, should have an universal supremacy and jurisdiction over the Christian Church.

This assertion shown to be very un-

certain, or rather most false, by various considerations.

1. If any of the former suppositions be uncertain or false, this, standing on such ground, must partake of the same defects.

2. Even admitting all those suppositions, the inference from them is not assuredly valid. Even if St. Peter had an universal supremacy, this at his decease might be transferred to the ecclesiastical college of bishops, and of the church whilst his episcopal and inferior authority over the province of Rome was transmitted to his followers in that chair.

3. And that such was the case is the general opinion of the ancient Fathers, councils, &c.

4. The bishops of any other churches founded by the Apostles, in the Fathers' style are successors of the Apostles, just as the bishop of Rome is by them accounted successor of St. Peter; yet they never claimed jurisdiction beyond their provinces.

5. This instanced in the case of St. James, bishop of Jerusalem, and his successors.

6. St. Peter, before he came to Rome, probably founded other churches, *as Antioch was anciently his see.* Why then might not the elder bishop of Antioch pretend to succeed St. Peter in his universal supremacy?

7. It is said that the ground of this preference in the case of Rome, was St. Peter's will; but where is that will to be found?

8. Bellarmine asserts that *God did command St. Peter to fix his see at Rome;* but the proofs of this are weak and ridiculous.

9. Antioch indeed has a fair plea; for it ever held the repute of an Apostolical church; and on that score some deference was paid to it: but would this have been done if St. Peter had transferred his see and all its prerogatives to another place?

10. Other persons also might have been found, who, according to equal judgment, had a far better title to succeed Peter in his universal supremacy than the Pope; St. John, for example, or any other Apostle.

11. The bishop of Jerusalem in particular, might have put in his claim as being successor to our Lord himself, &c.

12. Equity itself would rather have required that a successor, by election of the whole church, should have been appointed, &c.

13. If God had designed this derivation of universal sovereignty, it is probable that he would have prescribed some certain, standing rule of election, &c.

14. From the premises, to conclude the Pope's title to St. Peter's authority, it is requisite to show that the power demised by him is according to God's institution and intent, immutable and indefectible.

15. That God did intend his Church to subsist perpetually united in any one political frame of government, is assumed by the Romanists, but not proved.

16. Really the sovereign power (such as is pretended) hath often failed; and for a long time there have been no Roman bishop at all; which is a sign that the Church may subsist without it: instances quoted.

Some arguments are next levelled at the main conclusion of the Romanists.

I. Their pretence is destitute of any good warrant, either from divine or human testimony: this shown from various considerations:—

1 The want of God's declared will, &c. 2. Such institution unnoticed by the Evangelists. 3. No precept relating to it in Scripture. 4. They who so carefully exhort men to honour and obey the temporal authority, why do they forget the spiritual? 5. Neglect of St. Peter in particular, who was most interested. 6. Also of St. Paul. 7. How comes it even that tradition is here so defective? 8. Also ecclesiastical history? 9. Why is it inserted in no ancient summary? 10. Why in no ancient exposition of the Creed, no catechetical discourse of Cyril, Ambrose, &c., no system of Divinity by St. Austin, Lactantius, &c.? 11. Why is this point defined by no ancient synod? 12. If it had been so, it would not have been overlooked by the negligence of Popes. 13. Whereas some perons disclaimed this authority, why are not such reckoned in the large catalogues of hereticks? 14. Is it not strange that no Pagans

should loudly exclaim against it? Reasons why it would be likely to move their indignation. 15. One would wonder that Constantine, if he had smelt such a doctrine in Christanity, should have been so ready to embrace it. 16. Absence of it in the Apostolical Canons, and the Constitutions of Clement. 17. Not mentioned by the old writer, under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. 18. Nor by Ignatius. 19. We have many letters from and to Popes, in which it is not assumed, nor given. 20. Not mentioned in the epistle of Clemens Romanus. 21. Nor in the epistles of St. Cyprian to several Popes, or in those of many others here quoted. 22. Neither is it brought forward in disputes managed by the Fathers against hereticks. 23. And though many of those Fathers purposely treat on methods of converting hereticks, it is strange that none of them hit on this method of deciding points in question. 24. Tertullian in such cases recommends the authority of the Churches, but not this. 25. Both he and Irenæus produce the Roman Church as a principal authority; but what is this to its bishop's judicial power? 26. Even Popes themselves in elaborate tracts against hereticks content themselves with urging testimonies of Scripture and arguments thence deduced, but never their own definitive authority. 27. It is matter of wonder, if the Pope were such as he is represented, that this supreme power of his should not be noticed in so many bulky volumes of ecclesiastical writers. 28. It is monstrous that there should not be one canon, in the code of the Catholic Church, directly declaring his authority.

II. It is next shown that this pretence, on several accounts, is contrary to the doctrine of Holy Scripture.

1. It thwarts the Scripture, by assigning to another the prerogatives and peculiar titles appropriated therein to our Lord: instances given. 2. It accords not with Scripture, in that it transforms the Church from a spiritual society, as it was consituted by God, into a worldly frame of policy, &c. 3. It thwarts Scripture by destroying that brotherly co-ordination and equality which our Lord appointed among the bishops and chief pastors of his Church: 4. also by not only trampling down the dignity of bishops, but infringing the rights granted by our Lord to his Church, and to its governors: this shown. 5. Also by robbing all Christian people of the liberties and rights with which by the divine charter of Scripture they are endowed, and which they are obliged to keep inviolate: this explained. 6. In particular it thwarts Scripture by wronging princes, and pretending to govern their subjects without their leave, &c.

III. Farther, since the Romanists little regard any allegation of Scripture against them, it must still be observed that this their pretence crosses also tradition, and the common doctrine of the Fathers. For,

1. Common usage, (which is a good interpreter of right) shows that no such right was known in the primitive church. 2. Its state indeed did not allow of such. 3. The Fathers supposed no order in the church, by original right or divine institution higher than a bishop: this shown and enlarged on.

IV. Moreover, this pretence may be impugned by many abstract arguments, showing that such an authority could not be practicable without much iniquity and injury to the interests of religion and the welfare of mankind.

I. The Christian Church (especially in the extended limits which we expect it to obtain) is far too immense and unwieldly for the inspection and guidance of one person: this fully shown. 2. Such an authority as this pretence claims, must necessarily, (if not withheld by continual miracle) throw the Church into sad bondage: this explained. 3. It would also necessarily produce a depravation of Christian doctrine, in the promotion of its worldly designs and interests. 4. Such errors in doctrine, and miscarriages in practice, would be established immovably, to the irrevocable oppression of truth and piety: there would exist no hope of reformation. 5. This authority would also produce a general depravation of manners: 6. which it would moreover perpetuate, thereby rendering the state of things incorrigible. 7. It would also spoil him in whom it was seated, corrupting his morals, and rendering him a scandal to religion. 8. This pretence on many

obvious accounts, is apt to create great mischief in the world, to the disturbance of civil societies, and to the destruction of temporal authority, which is certainly of God's ordinance: this fully shown. 9. Consequently it is apt to engage Christian princes againts Christianity. 10. Whereas Christendom is now split into many parcels, subject to various civil authorities, it is expedient that there should be distinct, independent, ecclesiastical governments, which may comply with the respective civil authorities in promoting the good and peace of church and state. 11. This pretended authority is needless and useless, not serving the ends which it proposes: they being better compassed without it: this shown.

V. The ancients asserted to each bishop a free, absolute, independent authority, subject to none, in the administration of affairs concerning his particular church.

This shown from the writings of St. Cyprian; from those of St Austin: from a document addressed by the Roman clergy to Cyprian, by acts of the synods of Antioch and Chalcedon, &c.

VI. The ancients held all bishops, as to their office, originally according to divine institution, to be equal, as being all successors of the Apostles, &c. This dilated on. Quotations from Jerome, &c. First then, common practice, a good interpreter, shows that in the primitive church the Pope was not deemed to have a right of universal sovereignty: this explained. Secondly, the state of that church did not admit such an authority: this dilated on.

VII. The ancients, when occasion required, maintained their equality of office and authority; particularly in respect to the Roman bishop, both by practice and express assertion in plain terms. Various instances of this enumerated.

VIII. The style used by the primitive bishops in their applications to him denotes such equality: this fully shown.

IX. This pretence is shaken by the very ground of that eminence which the Roman bishop did obtain in the church. This ground shown to be, not divine institution, &c. but the dignity, size, opulence, and conveniency of the city wherein he resided, &c. Other bishops, as those of Alexandria, Antioch, Cæsarea, shown to have obtained a precedence on the same ground.

X. The truth is, all ecclesiastical presidencies and subordinations, &c. were introduced merely by human ordinance, on prudential accounts, according to the exigency of circumstances. Hence the prerogatives of other sees proceeded; and hence any dignity, privilege, or authority which the Pope with equity might claim.

This point investigated; some observations propounded concerning the ancient forms of discipline; or the origin and growth of metropolitical, primatical, and patriarchal jurisdiction.

Twelve heads of observations on the interest of the Roman bishop, in reference to these circumstances: manner in which he assumed authority, and evaded obstacles, &c. described; also the resistance made to his encroachments.

Twenty heads of observations, or corollaries, drawn from the preceding historical account of the growth of metropolitical, primatical, and patriarchal jurisdiction; showing that patriarchs are a human institution, &c.; that the patriarchate of the Pope, beyond his own diocese, subsists not on any canon of a general synod, &c.; that it is not really a patriarchal power which the Pope exercises, &c.; and that the practice of Christianity does not depend on the subsistence of such a form instituted by man.

It having been shown that this universal sovereignty over the Christian church has no foundation in Scripture or elsewhere, it becomes requisite to show by what ways and means so groundless a claim should gain credence and submission to such an extent. Reasons of this: 1. in the voluntary deference paid to eminency of any kind, which thus passes into power, &c.: 2. in the aptitude of power to grow and spread itself: 3. particularly in the case of spiritual power: 4. in the case with which power is attained and augmented on occasion of dissensions: 5. as also through the co-operation of those who are sheltered under it and enjoy its privileges: 6. in the assistance which even an idle potentate possesses from

partisans: 7. in the little scruple which persons, otherwise just and good, have to augment their power by encroachment, &c.: 8. in the commendations of men inferior in condition, which are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments or attestations of right, &c.: 9. in the facility with which good and easy men are apt to yield to encroachments: 10. in the little power of counteraction, which a few wise men possess in such cases: 11. in the strange enchantment of words, working on the fancies of men, especially those of the weaker sort: 12. in the Pope's power being much amplified by persons who ran to it as to a place of refuge: 13. in the forwardness of all princes to heap honour on the bishop of their imperial city: 14. in the advantage which the Popes had of being at hand to suggest what they pleased to the court, &c.: 15. in the wealth, repute, and power at court, which they thus obtained over the provincial bishops: 16. in the want of foresight in princes who favoured them: 17. in the favourable seasons and junctures for its growth, which power, once rooted, always finds: 18. in the ignorance of the times: 19. in the Pope's forwardness to support factious churchmen against princes: 20. in his engaging most able heads, tongues, and pens, in his favour, &c.: 21. in his cherishing so great a party with exorbitant liberties, &c.: 22. in his founding divers militias, or bands of spiritual Janizaries, to be combatants for his interests: 23. in the drawing to himself vast stores of riches, which are the sinews of power: method of doing this enumerated: 24. in his transforming, by help of his mercenary divines, most points of divinity to the accommodation of his interests: 25. in pretences, slender in themselves, which acquired validity by length of time, consent of authors, &c.: 26. in the histories of some ages, composed by friars and monks, and other such of his clients: 27. in his helping temporal and spiritual powers against each other from his own interest: 28. in his incessant clamour, when his will was opposed, that *St. Peter was injured:* 29. in the forgery of the Decretal Epistles, &c.: 30. in his forming grants wherein privileges were feigned to be derived from him: 31. in the opportune convention of subservient synods: 32. in his having hampered all the clergy with strict oaths of universal obedience to him: 33. in the compositions which he made with struggling and afflicted princes: instances given: 34. in the revocation of *pragmatical sanctions:* 35. in the use of an absolving and dispensing power; 36. in the device of indulgencies.

SUPPOSITION VI.

That in fact the Roman bishops, continually from St. Peter's time, have enjoyed and exercised this sovereign power.

This is a question of fact, which will best be decided by a particular consideration of the several branches of sovereign power; by which we shall find that the Pope has no just title to them, in reason, law, or ancient practice: wherefore they yield arguments against him.

I. If the Pope were sovereign of the Church, he would have power to convoke its supreme councils, and would have constantly exercised it. This power consequently he claims, and did so, long before he could obtain the exercise of it.

It is shown, however, that he can claim it by no ecclesiastical law, canon, or practice.

It was always deemed the right of the emperors, and was constantly exercised by them: this shown by a multitude of examples, &c.

This power shown peculiarly to belong to princes: the same illustrated from Holy Writ. Other reasons stated why such a right should belong to them. An objection answered.

II. It inseparably belongs to sovereigns, in the general assemblies of their states, to preside and moderate affairs, &c.

This privilege therefore the Pope claims; not allowing any council to be legitimate in which he does not preside personally, or by his legates.

It is shown that for this prerogative there is no express grant from God, no ancient canon, no certain custom or practice.

In all the first synods, the emperors presided, in person, or by deputies.

This shown by numerous instances; and the presumptuous attempts of some Popes noticed.

Reasons given why it is unfit that this privilege should be attached to the Popedom.

III. If the Pope were sovereign of the Church, the legislative power, wholly or in part, would belong to him; so far indeed, that no synod could without his consent prescribe any thing; at least he should have a negative on their proceedings, &c. This therefore is claimed by him. Papal declarations given, signifying that no decrees of synods are valid without the Pope's confirmation.

Yet this pretence not only has no ground in the divine law, old canons, and primitive customs, but it crosses the sentiments and practice of antiquity.

It is shown by various instances that in ancient synods various things were ordained without the Pope's consent, and against his pleasure.

It is also shown that the effectual confirmation of synods, which gave them the force of laws, depended on the imperial sanction. Instances cited.

It is opposed that the decrees of some synods, as that of Ariminum, have been declared invalid, for want of the Pope's confirmation. Answers given to this exception.

IV. It is proper to an absolute sovereignty, that its will, declared in way of precept or proclamation, concerning the sanction, abrogation, or dispensation of laws, should be observed.

This privilege therefore in a high strain the Pope challenges to himself, asserting to his decrees, &c. the force and obligation of laws, &c.

Aphorisms cited from Gratian concerning this privilege.

This power shown to be assured on usurpation and unwarrantably, without ground for it in original right or ancient practice.

Originally the Church had no other general Lawgiver, beside our *one Lord* and *one Lawgiver*.

With regard to practice, many arguments are brought to show that no such practice anciently did or could exist.

V. Sovereign power, immediately by itself, when it pleases, exercises all parts of jurisdiction, setting itself in the tribunal; or mediately executes it by others, as its officers or commissioners.

This universal jurisdiction therefore over the clergy is claimed by the Pope.

This claim shown to rest originally or anciently on no good grounds; such jurisdiction being prohibited by our Saviour; when introduced into the Church, exercised by others as well as the Pope; his superior claim to it resisted by bishops and synods; and rendered subordinate to that of the emperors.

VI. To the sovereign of any state belongs the choice, constitution, and confirmation of all inferior magistrates.

Wherefore the Pope claims and exercises these prerogatives as far as he can; and they are by great advocates on the highest terms asserted to him.

In this matter may be distinguished, 1. the designation of the person by election, &c.: 2. the confirmation of this: 3. the ordination of him to his office: 4. the authority by which he acts. Into all of which the Pope has intruded himself: this shown.

But no such privileges have any foundation in holy Scripture, in ancient doctrine, or in primitive usage.

This shown by a survey of rules and practices concerning it, from the ordination of Mathias, to the times of the synods of Nice and Chalcedon. Extracts from the works of ancient Fathers.

To all such evidences of facts the Romanists oppose some instances of Popes constituting and confirming bishops.

To the former instances it may be answered, they are so few that they strengthen our argument. With regard to the latter, presumptuous pragmatical intrusions or usurpations of power do not found a right in this or in any other case: to which purpose, and wholly to invalidate any such pleas, various observations are subjoined; showing that divers instances occur of bishops who did meddle in the ordination of others, who did not thereby pretend to universal jurisdiction; that general synods undertook to regulate this matter; that if examples determined right, such right would more properly belong to the em-

perors; that general synods by paramount authority have assumed such to themselves, &c., &c.

VII. Sovereigns have a power to censure and correct all inferior magistrates, and, if need be, to discharge them.

This prerogative therefore is claimed, as from divine sanction, by the Pope.

This power was allowed him by the Convocation of Trent, thwarting the ancient laws, and betraying the liberties of the Church thereby, &c.

But such a power did not anciently, by any rule or custom, in a peculiar manner belong to the Roman bishop.

What was generally said about jurisdiction being premised, it is here remarked, 1. that the exercising of judgment and censure on bishops, when needful, was prescribed to be done by synods, provincial or patriarchal: instances alleged. 2. In some cases a kind of deposing of bishops was assumed by bishops, as defenders of the faith, and executors of canons: instances quoted. 3. Cyprian asserts the power of censuring bishops, on needful and just occasion, to belong to all bishops, for maintenance of common faith, discipline, and peace: 4. this also is confirmed in some cases by the nature of such censures: 5. indeed in such cases every Christian had a right, or even obligation, to desert his own bishop. 6. If any Pope assumed more than was allowed in this case by the canons, or was common to other bishops of his rank, it was an usurpation: 7. when the Pope hath attempted this, his power has been disavowed. 8. Other bishops have taken on themselves, when they saw cause, to discard and depose Popes. 9. Popes, when there was great occasion, and they had a great mind to exert their utmost power, have not yet presumed by themselves, *without joint authority of synods*, to condemn bishops: 10. what has been thus done, is not to be ascribed to the authority of Popes as such. 11. If instances were arguments of right, there would be other pretenders to the deposing power: 12. the people, for instance, would have it; for they have sometimes deposed Popes. 13. There are many instances of bishops being removed or deposed by the imperial authority: instances given. 14. The instances alleged to prove the Pope's authority in this case are inconclusive and invalid: this shown in a variety of cases.

VIII. If Popes were sovereigns of the Church, they could effectually, whenever they should see it just and fit, absolve and restore any bishop excommunicated from the Church, or deposed by ecclesiastical censure.

Wherefore the Pope assumes this power, as his special prerogatives: quotations on this point.

It is shown however that such a power of old did not belong to him: 1. from no traces existing of it in any ancient canon: 2. from decrees of synods: 3. from the apostolical canons: 4. from the circumstance that hence in elder times Popes were opposed and checked when they offered to receive bishops rejected in particular synods.

But they allege some instances of such a power.

These therefore are answered, first, by some general consideration, relating chiefly to the import of *restitution;* and next by replies to the particular instances produced for the Pope.

IX. It belongs to sovereigns to receive appeals from all lower judicatures, for the final determination of causes, &c.

This power therefore the Pope stiffly asserts to himself; and this at the synod of Florence was the first and great branch of authority which he demanded of the Greeks explicitly to avow: this was one of his most ancient encroachments, which served to introduce the rest.

But this power is unreasonable and grievous to the Church: so deemed by ancient synods and Fathers: instances given.

In the primitive church the Pope had no such power. This fully shown both by negative and positive testimonies.

If the Pope had such a known and unquestionable right, there might have been produced many ancient, clear and convincing proofs of it.

Some alleged by Bellarmine. These examined and refuted; particularly those of Theodoret and Hadrianus, bishop of Thebes.

Some general observations proposed, (in regard to any other instances of this kind,) in the motives and conduct of bad

and even good men, when induced to make appeals to superiors.

X. The Sovereign is the fountain of all jurisdiction; and all inferior magistrates derive their authority from him, &c.

Accordingly the Pope challenges this advantage, &c.: instances from various documents. This pretence appears in the ordinary titles of bishops: also in the Council of Trent.

But on the contrary, according to Holy Scripture, and to the sense of the primitive church, bishops and pastors receive their commission immediately from God; being only his ministers.

This fully shown from Scripture; from the writings of the Fathers; from addresses of ancient bishops to the Pope.

This a modern invention: shown to have arisen in the fourth century, by the appointment of vicars and legates.

XI. It is the privilege of a sovereign, that he cannot be called to account, judged, deposed, &c. To this privilege also the Pope pretends, from maxims of the Canon Law; from that of Pope Adrian; and from the three old synods, which are palpably spurious.

Antiquity however was not of this mind. It is shown that the canons and ancient practice are opposed to this pretence.

XII. To the sovereign in ecclesiastical affairs it would belong to define and decide all controversies in faith, discipline, and moral practice, &c. This power therefore he claims, and allows no synods to decide questions.

But the ancients knew no such thing. They had recourse to the Scriptures, to Catholic tradition, to reason and argument.

Instances of holy Fathers passing over such authority, or openly dissenting from the opinions of Popes.

Highest controversies were appeased by synods, sometimes without the Pope's leave, and against his opinion: instances quoted.

XIII. If the Pope were such a sovereign, it were at least expedient that he should be infallible. Wherefore the true and fast friends of papal interest assert this; and the Pope, who countenances them, may be presumed to be of their mind.

That he is however not infallible, is shown by experience and history.

XIV. A sovereign is in dignity and authority superior to any number of subjects however congregated. Therefore the Pope claims a superiority over all councils, pretending that he can rescind their decrees, or dissolve them, &c.

This is indeed a question stiffly debated among Romanists, but most adhere to the Pope's side: reason of this given. But anciently he was not thought superior to councils: this shown. Even in the very height of his power this authority was at times questioned and decided against him: instances given.

XV. The sovereign of the Church is by all Christians to be acknowledged the chief person in the world, above all commands, &c.

This pretended to: this claimed in their Missal.

But this was not so in primitive times; for St. Paul requires *every soul to be subject to the higher powers*, when the emperor was avowedly the first person next to God. Divers Popes avowed themselves subject to the emperor.

XVI. The confirmation of magistrates, elected by others, is a branch of supremacy affected by the Pope: instances quoted. This pretence shown to have arisen from the ancient custom of newly-elected bishops giving notice of their election to other bishops, especially those of highest rank: reasons for this custom. Anciently the emperors confirmed bishops.

XVII. It is a privilege of sovereigns to grant privileges, exemptions, and dispensations. This also he claims against the laws of God; the rights of bishops; the decrees of synods; and the sense of good men in all times.

XVIII. It is a prerogative of sovereignty to erect and translate spiritual presidences. This he claims, without reason. Princes often exerted such a privilege; this attested by Pope Paschal II.

XIX. It is against prerogative of sovereignty to impose taxes on the clergy or people; wherefore the Pope assumes this. But antiquity knew nothing of

such impositions; when the church, the clergy, and the poor were maintained and relieved by voluntary offerings, &c. This is an encroachment on the right of princes, unto whom the clergy are subjects, *being bound to render tribute to whom tribute belongeth.*

SUPPOSITION VII.

That the Papal Supremacy is indefectible and uncharitable.

But good reasons may be assigned, why, even supposing this supremacy conferred on the Pope in virtue of his succession to St. Peter, it is not assuredly consequent that it must always or does not belong to him. For it might have been settled on him on conditions, &c., or so that it should continue but for a time. There are also other ways, whereby, according to the common rules of justice he might be disseized thereof.

1. If God had given any positive declaration that such a power was granted irrevocably, then it must have been admitted: but this he has not done; and no human power can be supposed immoveable, &c. 2. No power can have a higher source or firmer ground than that of the civil government, for *all such power is from heaven:* yet such power is liable to alterations, and may be lost, &c. 3. The reason and exigency of things might be sufficient ground for altering an universal jurisdiction. 4. It is according to reason and practice that the church, in its exterior form and political administrations, should be suited to the state of the world, and political governments, &c.: wherefore St. Peter's monarchy might be parcelled out into divers spiritual supremacies: 5. especially if such a continued jurisdiction should prove corrupt and grievous to the Church. 6. That power is defectible which according to the course of things does sometimes fail; but the Papal succession has often been interrupted. 7. If, leaving dubious suppositions, we consider that Papal pre-eminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the Roman city, and countenance of the imperial authority, then by defect of such advantages it may cease, &c. 8. From whatever source the Pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by his own defects and faults. 9. By departing from the doctrine and practice of St. Peter he would forfeit it. 10. By leading men into pernicious error or impiety. 11. According to Romanists the Pope has the same relation to other bishops and pastors, as they bear to their people: but if any pastor should mislead his flock by bad doctrine or practice, they may reject him. 12. The case may be that we may be obliged to hold no communion with the Pope; and then his authority ceases. 13. This shown to be the doctrine of Scripture with respect to pastors and teachers. 14. With this the Fathers accord: instances quoted. 15. This shown also to have been the current opinion: instances given. 16. This shown to apply to the Pope. 17. Most eminent persons have in such cases withdrawn communion from the Pope. 18. The Canon Law itself admits that the pope may be judged, if he be a heretick. 19. This fact was acknowlenged by a great Pope, allowing the condemnation of Pope Honorius.

It is lastly shown that the Pope (or Papal succession) hath perverted the Christian doctrine in contradiction to Scripture and primitive tradition; hath subverted the practice of Christian piety; hath taught falsehoods and maintained impieties. This shown, in the encouragement of extravagant doctrines and practices of high-flying doctors and fierce zealots, &c.; in the teaching us to worship angels and dead men; in the canonising of saints, and anticipating of God's judgment, &c.; in the worship of images; in absolution and the dispensation of pardon for sin; in arrogating superiority over all civil powers, &c.; in obtruding on the Church writings, as sacred and canonical, which the greatest part of learned men have refused as such; in pretending to infallibility; in ordering oral traditions of the Roman church to be venerated like the holy Scripture, &c.; in keeping the Scriptures from the people, locked up in languages not understood by them; in celebrating the Liturgy in an unknown tongue; in assuming to himself the

headship of the Christian Church, contrary to Scripture; in forbidding marriage to the priests; in dissolving the matrimonial tie; in prohibiting the cup to the laity at the holy communion; in the doctrine of transubstantiation; in the *propitiatory* sacrifice of the mass; in the doctrine of justification; in arrogating the name and privilege of the only church; in the institution of seven sacraments, instead of the two appointed by our Saviour; in exacting submission to the *various and strange doctrines* of the Roman Church; particularly in exacting consent and obedience to those of the Council of trent; in persecuting those who do not obey the doctrines and dictates of the Roman Church; in altering the whole of theology from head to foot and rendering it sophistical instead of divine.

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

Non habet charitatem Dei, qui ecclesiæ non diligit unitatem.—AUG. DE BAPT. 3.

EPHES. iv. 4.—*One body, and one spirit.*

THE *unity of the church* is a point which may seem somewhat speculative, and remote from practice; but in right judgments it is otherwise; many duties depending upon a true notion and consideration of it; so that from ignorance or mistake about it we may incur divers offences or omissions of duty; hence in holy scripture it is often proposed as a considerable point, and useful to practice.

And if ever the consideration of it were needful, it is so now, when the church is so rent with dissensions, for our satisfaction and direction about the questions and cases debated in Christendom; for on the explication of it, or the true resolution wherein it doth consist, the controversies about *church-government, heresy, schism, liberty of conscience*, and by consequence many others, do depend; yea, indeed, all others are by some parties made to depend thereon.

St. Paul, exhorting the Ephesians, his disciples, to the maintenance of charity and peace among themselves, doth for inducement to that practice represent the unity and community of those things which jointly did appertain to them as Christians: the unity of that *body* whereof they were members; of that *spirit* which did animate and act them; of that *hope* to which they were called; of that *Lord* whom they all did worship and serve; of that *faith* which they did profess; of that *baptism* whereby they were admitted into the same state of duties, of rights, of privileges; of that one *God* and universal *Father*, to whom they had all the same relations.

He beginneth with the *unity of the body;* that is, of the Christian church; concerning which unity, what it is, and wherein it doth consist, I mean now to discourse.

In order to clearing which point, we must first state what the church is, of which we discourse; for the word *church* is ambiguous, having both in holy scripture and common use divers senses somewhat different. For,

1. Sometimes any assembly or company of Christians is called a *church;* as when mention is made of *the church in* such *a house;*[a] (whence Tertullian saith, "Where there are three, even laics, there is a church."*)

2. Sometimes a particular society of Christians, living in spiritual communion, and under discipline; as when, *the church at* such *a town;*[b] *the churches of* such *a province;*[c] *the churches; all the*

* Ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici.—*Tert. de Exh. Cast.* cap. 7.

[a] Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 15; Philem. ii.

[b] Acts viii. 1; xiv. 27; v. 11; 1 Cor. i. 1; Col. iv. 16; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 1; Rev. ii. 1, &c.; Rom. xvi. 1.

[c] Acts ix. 31; Gal. i. 2; 1 Cor. xvi 1, 19; 2 Cor. viii. 1.

churches,[d] are mentioned; according to which notions St. Cyprian saith, that there is a "church," where there is "a people united to a priest, and a flock adhering to their shepherd:"* and so Ignatius saith, "that without the orders of the clergy a church is not called."†

3. A larger collection of divers particular societies combined together in order, under direction and influence of a common government, or of persons acting in the public behalf, is termed a *church;* as the church of Antioch, of Corinth, of Jerusalem, &c., each of which at first probably might consist of divers congregations, having dependencies of less towns annexed to them; all being united under the care of the bishop and presbytery of those places; but however, soon after the apostles' times, it is certain that such collections were, and were named *churches.*

4. The society of those who at present or in course of time profess the faith and gospel of Christ, and undertake the evangelical covenant, in distinction to all other religions; particularly to that of the Jews; which is called the *synagogue.*[e]

5. The whole body of God's people that is, ever hath been, or ever shall be, from the beginning of the world to the consummation thereof, who having (formally or virtually believed in Christ, and sincerely obeyed God's laws, shall finally, by the meritorious performances and sufferings of Christ, be saved, is called the *church.*[f]

Of these acceptions the two latter do only come under present consideration; it being plain that St. Paul doth not speak of any one particular or present society; but of all at all times who have relation to the same *Lord*, *faith*, *hope*, *sacraments*, &c.

Wherefore, to determine the case between these two, we must observe, that to the latter of these (that is, to the catholic society of true believers and faithful servants of Christ, diffused through all ages, dispersed through all countries, whereof part doth sojourn on earth, part doth reside in heaven, part is not yet extant; but all whereof is described in the register of divine pre-ordination, and shall be re-collected at the resurrection of the just;[g] that, I say, to this church) especially all the glorious titles and excellent privileges attributed to the church in holy scripture do agree.

This is *the body of Christ*, whereof he is *the head*, and Saviour.[h]

This is the spouse, and wife of Christ; whereof he is the bridegroom and husband.[i]

This is *the house of God;* whereof our Lord is the master; which is *built upon a rock, so that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*[j]

This is *the city of God; the new, the holy, the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all.*[k]

This is the *Sion, which the Lord hath chosen, which he hath desired for his habitation*, where he hath resolved to *place his rest and residence for ever.*[l]

This is *the mountain of the Lord, seated above all mountains, unto which all nations shall flow.*[m]

This is *the elect generation, royal priest-hood, holy nation, peculiar people.*[n]

This is *the general assembly, and church of the first-born, who are enrolled in heaven.*[o]

This is *the church which God hath purchased with his own blood;* and *for which Christ hath delivered himself, that he might sanctify it, and cleanse it, with washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, nor any such thing; but that it might be holy and unblemished.*[p]

To this church, as those high elogies most properly do appertain, so that unity

* Ecclesia, plebs sacerdoti adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens.—*Cypr.* Ep. 69.

† Χαρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.—Ignat. ad Tral.

[d] Rom. xvi. 4; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xi. 16; Acts xvi. 5; Rev. ii. 7, 11; Κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, Acts xiv. 23.

[e] Matt. xvi. 18; Eph. iii. 10; Gal. i. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Acts xii. 1; ii. 47; xx. 28.

[f] 1 Cor. x. 32; xii. 28; xv. 9; xiv. 12.

[g] Eph. i. 10.

[h] Col. i. 18, 20.

[i] Eph. v. 25, 32; Rev. xix. 7.

[j] Matt. xxii. 2; xxv. 1; Matt. xxi. 13; 1 Tim iii. 15; Heb. iii. 5; 1 Pet. ii. 5; Eph. ii. 21; Matt. xvi. 18.

[k] Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10; Gal. iv. 26; Heb. xii. 22.

[l] Psal. cxxxii. 13.

[m] Isa. ii. 22; Mic. iv. 1.

[n] 1 Pet. ii. 9.

[o] Heb. xii. 23.

[p] Acts xx. 28; Eph. v. 25, 26, 27.

which is often attributed to the church doth peculiarly belong thereto.

This is that *one body, into which we are all baptized by one spirit;* which is *knit together, and compacted of parts affording mutual aid, and supply to its nourishment and increase;*[q] the members whereof do hold a mutual sympathy and complacence; which is joined to one Head, deriving sense and motion from it; which is enlivened and moved by *one Spirit.*[r]

This is that *one spiritual house*, reared *upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord.*[s]

This is that *one family of God,*[t] whereof Christ is the οἰκοδεσπότης, whence good Christians are οἰκεῖοι Θεοῦ.

This is that one city, or corporation, endued with an ample charter and noble privileges, in regard to which St. Paul saith we are συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων (fellow-citizens of the saints), and that our πολίτευμα (our civil state and capacity) *is in heaven*, or that we are citizens thereof.[u]

That one holy nation, and peculiar people (the spiritual Israel),[v] subject to the same government and law (that which is called the kingdom of heaven;) enjoying the same franchises and privileges; following the same customs and fashions; using the same conversation and language; whereof Jesus Christ is the Lord and King.

This is the *one flock, under one Shepherd.*[w]

This is the society of those for whom Christ did pray, that they might *be all one.*[x]

It is true, that divers of these characters are expressed to relate to the church after Christ; but they may be allowed to extend to all the faithful servants of God before, who in effect were Christians, being saved upon the same account; and therefore did belong to the same body.*

To this church in a more special and eminent manner all those titles, and particularly that of *unity*, are ascribed; but the same also in some order and measure do belong and are attributed to the universal church sojourning upon earth.

For because this visible church doth enfold the other (as one mass doth contain the good ore and base alloy;† as one floor the corn and the chaff; as one field the wheat and the tares; as one net the choice fish and the refuse; as one fold the sheep and the goats;[y] as one tree the living and the dry branches:[z]) because this society is designed to be in reality what the other is in appearance, the same with the other: because therefore presumptively every member of this doth pass for a member of the other (the time of distinction and separation not being yet come:[a]) because this in its profession of truth, in its sacrifices of devotion, in its practice of service and duty to God, doth communicate with that: therefore commonly the titles and attributes of the one are imparted to the other.

All (saith St. Paul) *are not Israel who are of Israel; nor is he a Jew that is one outwardly;*[b] yet in regard to the conjunction of the rest with *the faithful Israelites*, because of external consent in the same profession, and conspiring in the same services, all the congregation of Israel is styled *a holy nation* and *peculiar people.*‡

[q] 1 Cor. xii. 13; Rom. xii. 5; Eph. iv. 16; Col. ii. 19; 1 Cor. xii. 26.
[r] 1 Cor. xii. 13.
[s] 1 Pet. ii. 5; Eph. ii. 20.
[t] Heb. iii. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Matt. x. 25.
[u] Heb. xii. 22; Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2, 10; Eph. ii. 19; Phil. iii. 20.
[v] 1 Pet. ii. 9; Ezek. xxxvii. 22.
[w] John x. 16; Ezek. xxxvii. 24; xxiv. 23.
[x] John xvii. 20.

* Ex quo vocantur sancti, est, ecclesia in terra.—*Aug. in Psal.* 128. Since men are called saints, there is a church upon earth. Sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes hi perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt ecclesiæ constituti.—*Greg. Mag.* Epist. 24. Saints before the law, saints under the law, saints under the gospel, all these make up the body of Christ, and are reckoned among the members of the church.

† One great house hath vessels of honour and dishonour.—2 Tim. ii. 20; (Rom. ix. 21.)

‡ Sicut lilium inmedio spinarum, ita proxima mea in medio filiarum ——. Unde filias appellat, nisi propter communionem sacramentorum? *Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 13. As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters ——. Why doth he call them daughters, but for the communion and agreement in sacraments?

[y] Matt. iii. 12; xiii. 38, 47; xxv. 32.
[z] John xv. 2.
[a] Matt. xiii. 30.
[b] Rom. ix. 6; ii. 28; John i. 18.

So likewise do the apostles speak to all members of the church as to elect and holy persons, unto whom all the privileges of Christianity do belong; although really hypocrites and bad men "do not belong to the church," nor are "concerned in its unity,"* as St. Austin doth often teach.

The places therefore of scripture which do represent the church one, as unquestionably they belong (in their principal notion and intent) to the true universal church (called the church mystical and invisible;) so may they by analogy and participation be understood to concern the visible church catholic here on earth; which professeth faith in Christ, and obedience to his laws.†

And of this church (under the due reference to the other) the question is, Wherein the unity of it doth consist, or upon what grounds it is called one; being that it compriseth in itself so many persons, societies, and nations?

For resolution of which question, we may consider, that a community of men may be termed one upon several accounts and grounds; as,

For specifical unity of nature, or as *unum genus;* so are all men one by participation of common rationality; τὸ ἀνθρώπινον *humanum genus.*

For cognation of blood; as, *gens una;* so are all Jews, however living dispersedly over the world, reckoned one nation or people; so all kinsmen do constitute one family: and thus also all men, as made of one blood, are one people.

For commerce of language; so Italians and Germans are esteemed one people, although living under different laws and governments.

For consent in opinion, or conformity in manners and practices; as, men of the same sect in religion or philosophy, of the same profession, faculty, trade: so Jews, Mahometans, Arians; so orators, grammarians, logicians; so divines, lawyers, physicians, merchants, artisans, rustics, &c.

For affection of mind, or compacts of good will; or for links of peace and amicable correspondence; in order to mutual interest and aid; as, friends and confederates.

For being ranged in order under one law and rule; as, those who live under one monarchy, or in one commonwealth; as the people in England, Spain, France; in Venice, Genoa, Holland, &c.

Upon such grounds of unity, or union, a society of men is denominated one; and, upon divers such accounts, it is plain that the catholic church may be said to be one. For,

I. It is evident that the church is one by consent in faith and opinion concerning all principal matters of doctrine, especially in those which have considerable influence upon the practice of piety toward God, righteousness toward men, and sobriety of conversation;[c] *to teach us which the grace of God did appear.*[d]

As he that should in any principal doctrine differ from Plato (denying the "immortality of the soul," the "providence of God," the "natural difference of good and evil,"* would not be a Platonist; so he that dissenteth from any doctrine of importance, manifestly taught by Christ, doth renounce Christianity.

All Christians are *delivered into one form of doctrine;* to which they must stiffly and steadfastly adhere, *keeping the* depositum *committed to them:*[e] they must *strive together for the faith of the*

* Non ad eam pertinent avari, raptores, fœneratores. Videntur esse in ecclesia, non sunt.—*Aug. de Bapt. Contr. Don.* iv. 1; vi. 3. Ecclesiam veram intelligere non audeo nisi in sanctis et justis.—*Ibid.* v. 27. I dare not understand the true church to be but among holy and righteous men. Pax autum hujus unitatis in solis bonis est—sicut autem isti qui intus cum gemitu tolerantur quamvis ad eandem Columbæ unitatem et illam gloriosam ecclesiam, non habentem maculam aut rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi non pertineant.—*Idem. de Bapt.* iii. 18. Nec regenerati spiritualiter in corpus et membra Christi coædificentur nisi boni, &c.—*Aug. de Unit.* 18. Multi tales sunt in sacramentorum communione cum ecclesia, et tamen jam non sunt in ecclesia.—*Idem. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 20. There are many such who communicate in sacraments with the church, and yet they are not in the church. Omnes mali spiritualiter a bonis sejuncti sunt.—*De Bapt.* vi. 4. All evil men are spiritually severed from the good.

† Ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν.—Clem. Alex. Str. p. 514. I call the church the congregation of the elect.

* Regula fidei sola immobilis et irreformabilis ——. *Tert. de virg. vel* 1.

[c] My sheep hear my voice.—John x. 16, 27.

[d] Tit. ii. 12.

[e] Rom. vi. 17; Col. ii. 7; Heb. iii. 6; xiii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 58; Eph. iv. 14.

gospel,[f] and *earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints:*[g] they must *hold fast the form of sound words—in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus;* that *great salvation, which at first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto them by his hearers, God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will.*[h]

They are bound *to mind,* or think, *one and the same thing; to stand fast in one spirit with one mind; to walk by the same rule; to be joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment; with one mind and mouth to glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.*[i]

They are obliged to disclaim consortship with the gainsayers of this doctrine; *to stand off from those who do* ἑτεροδοξεῖν *or* who *do not consent to the wholesome words—of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness;* to *mark those who make divisions and scandals beside the doctrine which Christians had learned, and to decline from them;* to *reject heretics;* to *beware of false prophets, of seducers; of those who speak perverse things to draw disciples after them;* to *pronounce anathema upon whoever shall preach any other doctrine.*[j]

Thus are all Christians *one in Christ Jesus:*[k] thus are they (as Tertullian speaketh) "confederated in the society of a sacrament,"* or of one profession.

"This preaching and this faith the church having received, though dispersed over the world, doth carefully hold, as inhabiting one house; and alike believeth these things, as if it had one soul, and the same heart, and consonantly doth preach, and teach, and deliver these things, as if it had but one mouth."†

"As for kings, though their kingdoms be divided, yet he equally expects from every one of them one dispensation, and one and the same sacrifice of a true confession and praise. So that, though there may seem to be a diversity of temporal ordinances, yet an unity and agreement in the right faith may be held and maintained among them."*

In regard to this union in faith peculiarly the body of Christians, adhering to it, was called the catholic church, from which all those were esteemed *ipso facto* to be cut off and separated who in any point deserted that faith; *such a one* (saith St. Paul), ἐξέστραπται, *is turned aside,* or hath left the Christian way of life.[l] He in reality is no Christian, nor is to be avowed or treated as such, but is to be disclaimed, rejected, and shunned.

"He" (saith St. Cyprian) "cannot seem a Christian, who doth not persist in the unity of Christ's gospel and faith."†

"If" (saith Tertullian) "a man be a heretic, he cannot be a Christian."‡

Whence Hegesippus saith of the old heretics, that they "did divide the unity of the church by pernicious speeches against God and his Christ."||

"The virtue" (saith the pastor Hermes, cited by Clemens Alex.) "which doth keep the church together, is faith."§

So the Fathers of the sixth council tell the emperor, that "they were members one of another, and did constitute the one

* De societate sacramenti confœderantur.—*Tertull. in Marc.* iv. 5.

† Τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα παρειληφυῖα, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία καί περ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη ἐπιμελῶς φυλάσσει ὡς ἕνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα· καὶ ὁμοίως πιστεύει τούτοις ὡς μίαν ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχουσα καρδίαν· καὶ συμφώνως ταῦτα κηρύσσει καὶ διδάσκει, καὶ παραδίδωσι, ὡς ἓν στόμα κεκτημένη.—Iren. i. 3. (apud Epiph. Hær. 31.)

* Reges —— quorum etsi divisa sunt regna, æqualiter tamen de singulis dispensationem exigit, unamque de eis veræ de se confessionis hostiam laudis exspectat—ut esti disposionem temporalium videatur esse diversitas, circa ejus fidei rectitudinem unitatis consonantia teneatur.—*P. Leo II.* Epist. 5; (*ad Ervigium R. Hisp.*)

† Nec Christianus videri potest, qui non permanet in evangelii ejus et fidei veritate.—*Cypr. de Unit Eccl.*

‡ Si hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt.—*Tert. de Præscr.* cap. 37.

|| Οἵτινες ἐμέρισαν τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας φθορειμαίοις λόγοις κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.—Eus. Hist. iv. 22.

§ Ἡ συνέχουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρετὴ, ἡ πίστις ἐστί.—Herm. apud Clem. Strom. ii. p. 281.

[f] Phil. i. 27.
[g] Jude 3.
[h] 2 Tim. i. 13; Heb. ii. 3, 4.
[i] Τὸ ἓν καὶ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν,—Phil. ii. 2; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Phil. i. 27; iii. 16; 1 Cor. i. 10; Rom. xv. 6.
[j] Ἀφίστασθαι,—1 Tim. vi. 5, 3; 2 Thess. iii. 6; Rom. xvi. 17; Tit. iii. 10; Matt. vii. 15; xxiv. 11; Acts xx. 29, 30; 2 Pet. ii. 1; Eph. iv. 14; Gal. i. 8.
[k] Gal. iii. 28, (26.)
[l] Ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος.—Tit. iii. 11; Rom. xvii. 17; 2 John 10.

body of Christ, by consent in opinion with him and one another; and by faith."*

"We ought in all things to hold the unity of the catholic church; and not to yield in anything to the enemies of faith and truth."†

"In each part of the world this faith is one, because this is the Christian faith."‡

"He denies Christ, who confesses not all things that are Christ's."||

Hence in common practice, whoever did appear to differ from the common faith, was rejected as an apostate from Christianity, and unworthy the communion of other Christians.

There are points of less moment, more obscurely delivered——in which Christians without breach of unity may dissent, about which they may dispute, in which they may err—without breach of unity, or prejudice to charity.§

The faith of Christians did at first consist in few points, those which were professed in baptism, whereof we have divers summaries in the ancients—by analogy whereto all other propositions were expounded, and according to agreement whereto sound doctrines were distinguished from false:[m] so that he was accounted orthodox who did not violate them.

"So he that holds that immovable rule of truth which he received at his baptism, will know the words and sayings and parables which are taken out of the scriptures,"¶ &c.

II. It is evident, that all Christians are united by the bands of mutual charity and good-will.

They are all bound to wish one another well, to have a complacence in the good, and a compassion of the evils incident to each other, to discharge all offices of kindness, succour, consolation to each other!

This is the command of Christ to all; (*This is my commandment*, saith he, *That ye love one another;*) this is the common badge by which his disciples are discerned and distinguished, *Hereby*, saith he, *shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another;* they must have *the same love;* they must *love as brethren, be compassionate, pitiful, courteous each to other;* they must *bear one another's burdens;* and, *especially, as they have opportunity, do good to the household of faith. If one member suffer, all the members must suffer with it; and if one member be honoured, all the members must rejoice. The multitude of them who believe must be* (like that in the Acts) *of one heart and of one soul.* They must *walk in love*, and *do all things in love.*[n]

Whoever therefore doth highly offend against charity, maligning or mischieving his brethren, doth thereby separate himself from Christ's body, and cease to be a Christian.

"They that are enemies to brotherly charity, whether they are openly out of the church, or seem to be within, they are Pseudo-Christians and Anti-Christs.—When they seem to be within the church, they are separated from that invisible conjunction of charity; whence St. John, They went out from us, but were not of us. He saith not, that by their going out they were made aliens, but because they were aliens, therefore he declareth that they went out."*

* Μελῶν ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἓν σῶμα συνιστώντων Χριστοῦ διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως.—Conc. VI. Act. xviii. p. 271.

† Per omnia debemus ecclesiæ catholicæ unitatem tenere, nec in aliquo fidei et veritatis hostibus cedere.—*Cypr.* Ep. 71 (*ad Quint. de Steph. P.*)

‡ Utriusque partis terrarum fides ista una est, quia et fides ista Christiana est.—*Aug. Contr. Jul.* i. 2 (p. 203, 2.)

|| Negat Christum, qui non omnia quæ Christi sunt confitetur.—*Ambr. in Luc.* lib. vi. cap. 9, p. 90 (*vide* p. 85.)

§ Alia sunt in quibus inter se aliquando etiam doctissimi atque optimi regulæ catholicæ defensores, salva fidei compage non consonant, &c.—*Aug. contr. Jul.* i. 2, p. 205. Totum hoc genus liberas habet observationes.—*Aug. ad Jan.* Ep. 118, 86 (*ad Casal.*)

¶ Sic autem qui regulam veritatis immobilem apud se habet quam per baptismum accepit, hæc quidem quæ sunt ex scripturis nomina et dictiones et parabolas cognoscet, &c. *Iren.* i. 1, *vide* Gr. (p. 4.)

[m] Iren. i. 2.

* Hujus autem fraternæ charitatis inimici sive aperte foris sint, sive intus esse videantur, Pseudo Christiani sunt et Antichristi.—*Aug. de Bapt.* iii. 19. Cum intus videntur, ab illa invisibili charitatis compage separati sunt;

[n] John xv. 12; 1 John iii. 11; 1 Thess. iv. 9; John xiii. 35; Phil. ii. 2; 1 Pet iii. 8; Gal. vi. 2, 10; 1 Cor. xii. 26; Acts. iv. 32; Eph. v. 2; 1 Cor. xvi. 14.

Wherefore the most notorious violations of charity being the causing of dissensions and factions in the church, the causeless separation from any church, the unjust condemnation of churches—— whoever was guilty of any such unchristian behaviour was rejected by the Fathers, and held to be no Christian. Such were the Novatians, the Donatists, the Meletians, the Luciferians,—and other schismatics.

"For what can be more acceptable and pleasant, than to see those who are severed and scattered into so many places, yet knit and joined together in the bond and union of charity, as harmonious members of the body of Christ."*

"In old time—when the church of God flourished, being rooted in the same faith, united in love: there being, as it were, one conspiracy or league of different members in one body."†

"For the communion of the Spirit is wont to knit and unite men's minds; which conjunction we believe to be between us and your charitable affection."‡

"They therefore who by the bond of charity are incorporated into the building settled upon the rock."||

"But the members of Christ are joined together by the charity of union, and by the same cleave close to their head, which is Christ."§

III. All Christians are united by spiritual cognation and alliance; as being all *regenerated by the same incorruptible seed*, being alike *born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God*; whence, as *the sons of God*, and *brethren of Christ*,[o] they become brethren one to another; so that it is a peculiar title or appellation of Christians, *the brethren* signifying all Christian people; and *a brother* being the same with a Christian professor.[p]

IV. The whole Christian church is one by its incorporation into the mystical body of Christ; or as fellow-subjects of that spiritual, heavenly kingdom, whereof Christ is the sovereign head and governor; whence they are governed by the same laws, are obliged by the same institutions and sanctions;* they partake of the same privileges, and are entitled to the same promises, and encouraged by the same rewards; (*being called in one hope of their calling.*[q])

So they make up one spiritual corporation or republic, whereof Christ is the sovereign Lord.†

"Though the place disjoin them, yet the Lord joins them together, being their common Lord."‡&c.

Hence an habit of disobedience doth sever a man from this body; for, *Not every one that saith Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven*,[r] or continue therein. Every such person who *denieth God in works*[s] is a rebel, an outlaw, renouncing his allegiance, forfeiting his title to God's protection and favour.

He is not *a sheep* of Christ, because he doth not *hear his voice*.[t]||

He is separated from the body, by not *holding the head*.[u]

"It is a lie, to call one's self a Christian, and not to do the works of Christ."§

"He that does not the work of a

unde Johannes (1 John ii. 19.) Ex nobis exierunt, sed non erant ex nobis.—— Non ait quod exeundo alieni facti sunt, sed quod alieni erant, propter hoc eos exisse declaravit.—*Ibid.*

* Τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο χαριέστερον, ἢ τοὺς τοσούτῳ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τόπων διειργμένους τῇ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἑνώσει καθορᾶν εἰς μίαν μελῶν ἁρμονίαν ἐν σώματι Χριστοῦ δεδέσθαι.—Bas. Ep. ii. 220.

† Ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων καιρῶν —— ἡνίκα ἤνθουν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐρριζώμεναι τῇ πίστει, ἡνωμέναι τῇ ἀγάπῃ· ὥσπερ ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι μιᾶς συμπνοίας διαφόρων μελῶν ὑπαρχούσης.—Bas. Ep. 338.

‡ Ἡ κατὰ Πνεῦμα συνάφεια ἐμποιεῖν πέφυκε τὴν οἰκείωσιν, ἣν ἡμῖν εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἀγάπην ὑμῶν πεπιστεύκαμεν.—Bas. Epist. 182.

|| Qui ergo compage charitatis incorporati sunt ædificio super petram constituto, &c.—*Aug. de Unit.* cap. 18

§ Membra vero Christi per unitatis charitatem sibi copulantur, et per eandem capiti suo cohærent, quod est Christus.—*Aug. de Unit.* cap. 2. Omnes sancti sibi charitate cohærent ——. *Aug. de Bapt.* vi. 3.

* They are under a covenant of allegiance.

† Ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων.—Rom. x. 12.

‡ Εἰ δὲ ὁ τόπος χωρίζει, ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος αὐτοὺς συνάπτει κοινὸς ὤν, &c.—Chrys. in 1 Cor. Orat. 1; *vide*.

|| Qui eum non sequitur, quomodo se ovem ejus dicere audebit?—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 10.

§ Mendacium est, Christianum se dicere, et opera Christi non facere.—*Ambr.*

[o] 1 Pet. i. 33; James i. 18; John i. 13; Gal. iii. 26; John i. 12.

[p] Heb. ii. 10, 11; 1 Cor. vii. 15; v. 11; Rom. xiv. 10, &c.

[q] Eph. iv. 4.

[r] Matt. vii. 21.

[s] Tit. i. 16.

[t] John x. 27.

[u] Col. ii. 9.

Christian name, seems not to be a Christian."*

"When instead of the works themselves he begins to oppose even the most apparent truth, whereby he is reproved, then he is cut off (from the body, or the church.")†

Hence St. Austin often denieth wicked persons to be in the church, or to appertain unto its unity.[v]

"For when there is one and the same Lord, that dwelleth in us, he everywhere joins and couples those that are his with the bond of unity."‡

V. All Christians are linked together in peaceable concord and confederacy; so that they are bound to live in good correspondence; to communicate in works of piety and devotion; to defend and promote the common interest of their profession.

Upon the entrance of the gospel by our Lord's incarnation, it was by a celestial herald proclaimed, *Peace on earth, and good will among men.* It was our Lord's office *to preach peace.* It was a principal end and effect of his death *to reconcile all men, and to destroy enmity.* He specially charged his disciples *εἰρηνεύειν ἐν ἀλλήλοις, to maintain peace one with another.* It was his will at parting with them, *Peace I leave with you.*[w]

The apostles frequently do enjoin to *pursue peace with all them who call upon the Lord with a pure heart;* to follow the things *which make for peace and edification mutual;* to *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.*[x]

It was, in the prophecies concerning the evangelical state, declared, that under it, *The wolf should dwell with the lamb, and the leopard should lie down with the kid, and the sucking child should play on the hole of the asp;*[y] that is, that men of all tempers and conditions, by virtue of this institution, should be disposed to live innocently, quietly, and lovingly together; so that they should *not hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain;* for that would be a duty incumbent on the disciples of this institution, which all good Christians would observe.

The evangelical covenant, as it doth ally us to God, so it doth confederate us together: the sacraments of this covenant are also symbols of peace and amity between those who undertake it. Of baptism it is said, *that so many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ;* and thence, *Ye are all one in Christ Jesus. All in one spirit have been baptized into one body.*[z] And in the eucharist, by partaking of one individual food, they are transmuted into one body and substance: *We* (saith St. Paul) *being many, are one bread, one body; for all of us do partake of one bread.*[a]

"By which sacraments also our people appear to be united: for, as many grains collected, and ground, and mingled together, make one bread; so in Christ, who is the bread of heaven, we may know ourselves to be one body, that our company or number be conjoined and united together."*

"With us there is both one church, and one mind, and undivided concord."†

"Let us hold the peace of the catholic church in the unity of concord."‡

"The bond of concord remaining, and the individual sacrament of the catholic church continuing," &c. ||

* Qui Christiani nominis opus non agit, Christianus non esse videtur.—*Salv. de Gub. D.* 4.

† —— Cum pro ipsis operibus etiam veritati apertissimæ, qua redarguitur, resistere cœperit, tunc præciditur.—*Aug. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 20.

‡ Nam quum Dominus unus atque idem sit, qui habitat in nobis, conjungit ubique et copulat suos vinculo unitatis.—*Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

[v] *Vide* supra.

[w] Luke ii. 14; Acts x. 36; Eph. ii. 17; Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 14; Mark ix. 50; John xiv. 27.

[x] 2 Tim. ii. 22; Rom. xiv. 19; Eph. iv. 3.

* Quo et ipso sacramento populus noster adunatus ostenditur: ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta, et commolita, et commixta, panem unum faciunt; sic in Christo, qui est panis cœlestis, unum sciamus esse corpus, cui conjunctus sit noster numerus et adunatus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 63.

† Nobis et ecclesia una, et mens juncta, et individua concordia.—*Cypr.* Ep. 57.

‡ Catholicæ ecclesiæ pacem concordiæ unitate teneamus.—*Ep.* 45.

|| Manente concordiæ vinculo, et perseverante catholicæ ecclesiæ individuo sacramento, &c.—*Ep.* 52. (*ad Anton.* p. 96.)

[y] Isa. xi. 6; lxv. 25; lxvi. 12; ii. 4.—They shall learn war no more.

[a] Gal. iii. 27, 28; 1 Cor. xii. 13.

[a] 1 Cor. x. 7.

"He therefore that keeps neither the unity of the Spirit, nor the conjunction of peace, and separates himself from the bond of the church, and the college (or society) of priests, can have neither the power of a bishop, nor the honour."*

Thus in general. But particularly, all Christians should assist one another in the common defence of truth, piety, and peace, when they are assaulted, in the propagation of the faith, and enlargement of the church, which is *συναθλεῖν τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, *to contend together for the faith of the gospel; to be good soldiers of Christ; warring the good warfare;—striving for the faith once delivered to the saints.*[b]

Hence if anywhere any heresy or bad doctrine should arise, all Christians should be ready to declare against it; that it may not infect, or spread a doubt arising, as in the case of celebrating Easter: "They all, with one consent, declared by letters the decree of the church to all everywhere."†

Especially the pastors of the churches are obliged with consent to oppose it.[c]

"While we laboured here, and withstood the force of envy with the whole strength of our faith, your speech assisted us very much."‡

Thus did the bishops of several churches meet to suppress the heresy of P. Samosatenus.

This was the ground of most synods.

"So they who afterward in all places and several ways were gathered together against the innovations of heretics, gave their common opinoin in behalf of the faith, as being of one mind: what they had approved among themselves in a brotherly way, that they clearly transferred to those who were absent: and they who at the council of Sardis had earnestly contended against the remainders of Arius, sent their judgment to those of the eastern churches: and they who had then discovered the infection of Apolinarius, made their opinions known to the western."*

If any dissension or faction doth arise in any church, other churches, upon notice thereof, should yield their aid to quench and suppress it; countenancing the peaceable, checking and disavowing the factious.

Thus did St. Cyprian help to discountenance and quash the Novatian schism.[d]

Thus, when the oriental churches did labour under the Arian faction, and dissensions between the catholics, St. Basil (with other orthodox bishops consorting with him) did write to the western bishops (of Italy and France) to yield their succour.

"For this, my brother, we must earnestly endeavour, and ought to endeavour, to have a care, as much as in us lies, to hold the unity delivered to us from the Lord, and by the apostles, whose successors we are; and what lies in us," &c.†

All Christians should be ready, when opportunity doth invite, to admit one another to conjunction in offices of piety and charity; in prayer, in communion of the eucharist, in brotherly conversation, and pious conference for edification or advice.[e]

"So that he who flies and avoids communion with us, you in your prudence may know, that such a man breaks himself off from the whole church."‡

St. Chrysostom doth complain of Epiphanius:

"Then when he came to the great and holy city Constantinople, he came

* Qui ergo nec unitatem Spiritus, nec conjunctionem pacis observat, et se ab ecclesiæ vinculo, atque a sacerdotum collegio separat, episcopi nec potestatem potest habere, nec honorem, &c.—*Ibid.* p. 97.

† Πάντες τε μιᾷ γνώμῃ δι' ἐπιστολῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δόγμα τοῖς πανταχόσε διεγνοῦντο.—Euseb. v 23.

‡ Laborantes hic nos et contra invidiæ impetum totis fidei viribus resistentes, multum sermo vester adjuvit, &c.—*Cypr.* Ep. 23.

[b] Phil. i. 27; 1 Tim. i. 18; vi. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 7; Jude 3. [c] Cypr. Ep. 67.

* Οὕτως οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα πανταχῇ ποικίλως ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀθροισθέντες καινίσμασι κοινὴν ὡς σύμψυχοι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως ψῆφον. ἅπερ ἀδελφικῶς ἑαυτοῖς ἐδοκίμασαν, ταῦτα τρανῶς τοῖς ἀποῦσι διαπορθμεύσαντες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σαρδικῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἀρείου λειψάνων ἀγωνισάμενοι τοῖς ἐν ἀνατολῇ τὴν κρίσιν ἐξέπεμπον. οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀπολιναρίου λύμην φωράσαντες, τοῖς ἐν δύσει τὴν ψῆφον ἐγνώριζον.—Syn. Chalced. ad Imper. Conc. Chalc. pars. iii. p. 78.

† Hoc enim vel maxime, frater, laboramus, et laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino, et per apostolos nobis successoribus traditam, quantum possumus, obtinere curemus; et quod in nobis est, &c.—*Cypr.* Ep. xlii. p. 78.

‡ Ὥστε ὁ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκων μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμῶν τὴν ἀκριβείαν κάσης ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρηγνύς.—Bas. Ep. 75.

[d] *Vide* Ep. 42. (ad Cornel.), p. 77.

[e] Ep. 398.

not out into congregation according to custom and the ancient manner, he joined not himself with us, nor communicated with us in the word, and prayer, and the holy communion," &c.*

So Polycarp, being at Rome, did communicate with P. Anicetus.†

If dissension arise between divers churches, another may interpose to reconcile them; as did the church of Carthage, between that of Rome and Alexandria.[f]

If any bishop were exceedingly negligent in the discharge of his office (to the common damage of truth and piety) his neighbour bishops might admonish him thereto; and, if he should not reform, might deprive him of communion.[g]

All Christians should hold friendly correspondence, as occasion doth serve, and as it is useful, to signify consent in faith, to recommend persons, to foster charity, to convey succour and advice, to perform all good offices of amity and peace.

"Siricius, who is our companion and fellow-labourer, with whom the whole world by mutual commerce of canonical or communicatory letters agree together with us in one common society."‡

"The catholic church being one body, it is consequent thereto, that we write and signify one to another," &c. ||

In cases of doubt or difficulty one church should have recourse to others for advice; and any church should yield it.

"Both common charity and reason requires, most dear brethren, that we conceal nothing from your knowledge of those things which are done among us, that so there may be common advice taken by us concerning the most useful way of ordering ecclesiastical affairs."*

One church should acquaint others of any extraordinary transaction concerning the common faith or discipline; requesting their approbation and countenance.†

Thus did the eastern churches give account to all other churches of their proceedings against P. Samosatenus.[h]

"Which letters are sent all the world over, and brought to the notice of all the churches, and of all the brethren."‡

When any church, or any pastor, was oppressed or injured, he might have recourse to other churches for their assistance, in order to relief.

"Let him who is cast out have power to apply himself to the neighbouring bishops, that his cause may be carefully heard and discussed."||

Thus did Athanasius (being overborne and expelled from his see by the Arian faction) go for refuge to the church of Rome.

St. Chrysostom had recourse to the bishop of Rome, and to those of the west, as also to the bishop of Antioch.

VI. Now, because in the transacting of these things, the pastors have the chief hand, and act in behalf of the churches which they inspect, therefore is the church united also by their consent in doctrine, their agreement in peace, their maintaining intercourse, their concurrence to preserve truth and charity.

"We ought all to be vigilant and careful for the body of the whole church,

* Εἶτα τῆς μεγάλης καὶ θεοφιλοῦς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιβὰς οὐκ εἰς ἐκκλεσίαν ἐξῆλθε κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς, καὶ τὸν ἄνωθεν κρατήσαντα θεσμὸν οὐχ ἡμῖν συνεγίνετο, οὐ λόγου μετέδωκεν, ἐκ εὐχῆς, οὐ κοινωνίας, ἀλλ' ἀποβὰς τοῦ πλοίου, &c.—Chrys. ad Innoc. P. (Ep. 122.)

† Ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ, καὶ ἐντροπὴν ὁηλονότι. —Euseb. v. 24.

‡ Damaso Siricius hodie, qui noster est socius, cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordant.—*Opt.* lib. ii. p. 40.

|| Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις, &c.—Alex. Alexandriæ. Socr. i. 6, Theod.

[f] Cod. Afr. Can. 101.

[g] Cod. Afr. Can. 123.

* Et dilectio communis et ratio exposcit, fratres charissimi, nihil conscientiæ vestræ subtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem ecclesiasticæ administrationis commune consilium. *Cypr.* Ep. 29. (*ad Cler. Rom.*)

† The practice of this we see frequently in St. Cyprian's Epistles; particularly in Epist. 4, 15, 23, 29, 30, 42, 48. (*P. Corn.*)

‡ Quæ literæ per totum mundum missæ sunt, et in notitiam ecclesiis omnibus et universis fratribus perlatæ sunt.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52 (*ad Anton.* p. 92.) Scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum, &c.—*Ibid.*

|| Habeat potestatem is qui abjectus est, ut episcopos finitimos interpellet, et causa ejus audiatur ac diligentur tractetur, &c.—*Conc. Sard.* Can. 17; *vide* Cod. Afr. Can. 125.

[h] Euseb. vii. 30.

where members are dispersed through many several provinces."*

"Seeing the church, which is one and catholic, is not rent nor divided, but truly knit and united together by the bond of priests united one to another."†

"This agrees with the modesty and discipline and the very life of all, that many of the bishops meeting together might order all things in a religious way by common advice."‡

‖"That, since it having pleased God to grant us peace, we begin to have greater meetings of bishops, we may also by your advice order and reform everything."

"Which that, with the rest of our colleagues, we may stedfastly and firmly administer; and that we may keep the peace of the church, in the unanimity of concord, the divine favour will vouchsafe to accomplish."§

"A great number of bishops—we met together."¶

Bishops being chosen, did acquaint other bishops with it: "It was sufficient" (saith St. Cyprian to Cornelius) "that you should by your letters acquaint us that you were made a bishop."**

"Declare plainly to us who is substituted at Arles in the room of Marcian, that we may know to whom we should direct our brethren, and to whom we should write."*

All churches were to ratify the elections of bishops duly made by others, and to communicate with those. And likewise to comply with all reasonable acts for communion.[i]

To preserve this peace and correspondence, it was a law and custom, that no church should admit to communion those which were excommunicated by another; or who did schismatically divide.

"We are all believed to have done the same thing, whereby we are found to be all of us associated and joined together by the same agreement in censure and discipline."†

The decrees of bishops were sent to be subscribed.[j]

VII. All Christian churches are one by a specifical unity of discipline, resembling one another in ecclesiastical administrations, which are regulated by the indispensable sanctions and institutions of their sovereign.

They are all bound to use the same sacraments, according to the forms appointed by our Lord, not admitting any substantial alteration.

They must uphold that sort of order, government, and ministry in all its substantial parts, which God did *appoint* in the church, or *give thereto*, as St. Paul expresseth it;[k] it being a temerarious and dangerous thing to innovate in those matters which our Lord had a special care to order and settle.

"Nor can they continue in the church that have not retained divine and ecclesiastical discipline, neither in good conversation, nor peaceable life."‡

* Omnes nos decet pro corpore totius ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare.—*Cypr.* Ep. 30 (*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr. P.*) Quod sevis Dei, et maxime sacerdotibus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 42 (*ad Cornel.*) Idcirco copiosum corpus est sacerdotum, &c.—*Cypr.* Ep. 67 (p. 161.)

† Quondo ecclesia, quæ catholica una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata.—*Cypr.* Ep. 69.

‡ Hoc verecundiæ et disciplinæ et vitæ ipsi omnium convenit—ut episcopi plures in unum convenientes—disponere omnia consilii communis religione possimus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 14 (*Clero suo.*)

‖ Ut cum pace a Domino nobis data plures præpositi convenire in unum cœperimus, communicato etiam vobiscum consilio disponere singula et reformare possimus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 15 (*Clero. Rom.*)

§ Quod ut simul cum cæteris collegis nostris stabiliter ac firmiter administremus, atque ut catholicæ ecclesiæ pacem concordiæ unanimitate teneamus, perficiet divina dignatio.—*Cypr.* Ep. 45 (*ad Cornel.*)

¶ Copiosus episcoporum numerus—in unum convenimus.——*Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.*)

** Satis erat, ut tute episcopum factum literis nunciares.—*Cypr. ad Cornel.* (Epist. 42.)

* Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, et cui scribere debeamus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 67; *P. ad Steph.*

† Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes censuræ, et disciplinæ consensione sociati.—*Cler. Rom. ad Cypr.* Epist. 31.

‡ Nec remanere in ecclesia possunt qui deificam et ecclesiasticam disciplinam nec actus

[i] Cypr. Ep. 41, 42, 52 (pag. 93;) Theod. v. 9; Euseb. de P. Samos.

[j] *Vide* Conc. Sard. P. Leonis II. Ep. 2. (ad Hisp. Episc.) N. B. p. 285, (tom. v.) P. Bened. ii. Ep. 16. (p. 404.)

[k] 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Rom. xii 7; Acts xx. 28.

In lesser matters of ceremony or discipline (instituted by human prudence) churches may differ, and it is expedient they should do so, in regard to the various circumstances of things, and qualities of persons to which discipline should be accommodated; but no power ought to *abrogate*, destroy, or infringe, or violate the main form of discipline, constituted by divine appointment.[1]

Hence, when some confessors had abetted Novatianus against Cornelius (thereby against a fundamental rule of the church, necessary for preserving of peace and order therein, that but one bishop should be in one church), St. Cyprian doth thus complain of their proceeding—.*

(To act anything) "against the sacrament of divine ordination and catholic unity, once delivered, makes an adulterate and contrary head out of the church."†

——"Forsaking the Lord's priests contrary to the evangelical discipline; a new tradition of a sacrilegious institution starts up."‡

"There is one God, and one Christ, and one church, and one See founded upon Peter by the word of the Lord; besides one altar and one priesthood, another altar cannot be erected, nor a new priesthood ordained."||

Hence were the Meletians rejected by the church, for introducing ordinations ——.

Hence was Aërius accounted a heretic, for meaning to innovate in so grand a point of discipline, as the subordination of bishops and presbyters.

VIII. It is expedient that all churches should conform to each other in great matters of prudential discipline, although not instituted or prescribed by God: for this is a means of preserving peace, and is a beauty or harmony. For difference of practice doth alienate affections, especially in common people.

So the synod of Nice:

"That all things may be alike ordered in every diocese, it hath seemed good to the holy synod, that men should put up their prayers to God standing,"* (viz. between Easter and Whitsuntide, and upon the Lord's day.)

The church is like the world; for as the world doth consist of men, all naturally subject to one King, Almighty God; all obliged to observe his laws, declared by natural light; all *made of one blood*, and so brethren; all endowed with common reason; all bound to exercise good offices of justice and humanity toward each other; to maintain peace and amity together; to further each other in the prosecution or attainment of those good things which conduce to the welfare and security of this present life: even so doth the church consist of persons spiritually allied, professing the same faith, subject to the same law and government of Christ's heavenly kingdom; bound to exercise charity, and to maintain peace toward each other, and to promote each other's good in order to the future happiness in heaven.

All those kinds of unity do plainly agree to the universal church of Christ; but the question is, Whether the church is also necessarily, by the design and appointment of God, to be in way of external policy under one singular government or jurisdiction of any kind; so as a kingdom or commonwealth are united under the command of one monarch or one senate?

That the church is capable of such an union, is not the controversy; that it is possible it should be so united (supposing it may happen that all Christians may be reduced to one nation, or one civil regi-

sui conversatione, nec morum pace tenuerunt. —*P. Cornel. apud Cyprian.* Ep. 48; *vide* Ep. 73. (*ad Jub.*)

* Gravat enim me, atque contristat, &c.—*Ep.* 44. (*ad Confess. Rom.*)

† Contra sacramentum semel traditum divinæ dispositionis et catholicæ unitatis adulterum et contrarium caput extra ecclesiam facit.—*Cyprian.* Epist. 42. (*ad Cornel.*)

‡ —— Relictis Domini sacerdotibus contra evangelicam disciplinam nova traditio sacrilegæ institutionis exsurgat.—*Cypr.* Ep. 40. (*Plebi suæ.*)

|| Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et ecclesia una, et cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata; aliud altare constitui, aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum altare, et unum sacerdotium, non potest.—*Ibid.*

[1] Ep. Firmil. (pag. 198;) Aug. Ep. 118 et 86, supra.

* Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως τάττεσθαι, ἑστῶτας ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόναι τῷ Θεῷ.—Can. 20. Πρὸς τούτοις κἀκεῖνο πάρεστι συνορᾶν, ὡς ἐν τηλικούτῳ πράγματι, καὶ τοιαύτῃ θρησκείας ἑορτῇ διαφωνίαν ἄρχειν ἐστὶν ἀθέμιτον.—Const. M. in Epist. ad Eccles. Euseb. Vita Constantini, iii. 18.

ment; or that several nations spontaneously may confederate and combine themselves into one ecclesiastical commonwealth, administered by the same spiritual rules and judges according to the same laws) I do not question; that when in a manner all Christendom did consist of subjects to the Roman empire, the church then did arrive near such an unity, I do not at present contest; but that such an union of all Christians is necessary, or that it was ever instituted by Christ, I cannot grant; and, for my refusal of that opinion, I shall assign divers reasons.

1. This being a point of great consideration, and trenching upon practice, which every one were concerned to know; and there being frequent occasions to declare it; yet the holy scripture doth nowhere express or intimate such a kind of unity; which is a sufficient proof that it hath no firm ground. We may say of it, as St. Austin saith of the church itself, "I will not that the holy church be demonstrated from human reasonings, but the divine oracles."*

St. Paul particularly, in divers Epistles,[m] designedly treating about the unity of the church (together with other points of doctrine neighbouring thereon), and amply describing it, doth not yet imply any such unity then extant, or designed to be.

He doth mention and urge the unity of spirit, of faith, of charity, of peace, of relation to our Lord, of communion in devotions and offices of piety; but concerning any union under one singular visible government or polity he is silent: he saith, *One Lord, one faith. one baptism; one God and Father of all;* not one monarch, or one senate, or one sanhedrim—which is a pregnant sign that none such was then instituted; otherwise he could not have slipped over a point so very material and pertinent to his discourse.

2. By the apostolical history it may appear, that the apostles, in the propagation of Christianity, and founding of Christian societies, had no meaning, did take no care, to establish any such polity.

They did resort to several places (whither divine instinct or reasonable occasion did carry them), where, by their preaching having convinced and converted a "competent number"* of persons to the embracing Christian doctrine, they did appoint pastors to instruct and edify them, to administer God's worship and service among them, to contain them in good order and peace, exhorting them to maintain good correspondence of charity and peace with all good Christians other-where: this is all we can see done by them.

3. The Fathers, in their set treatises, and in their incidental discourses about the unity of the church (which was *de facto*, and should be *de jure* in the church) do make it to consist only in those unions of faith, charity, peace, which we have described, not in this political union.

The Roman church gave this reason why they could not admit Marcion into their communion,—they would not do it without his father's consent, between whom and "them there was one faith and one agreement of mind."†

Tertullian, in his Apologetic, describing the unity of the church in his time, saith, "We are one body by our agreement in religion, our unity of discipline, and our being in the same covenant of hope.‡

And more exactly and largely in his Prescriptions against heretics, the breakers of unity: "Therefore such and so many churches are but the same with the first apostolical one, from which all are derived: thus they become all first, all apostolical; whilst they maintain the same unity; whilst there are a communion of peace, names of brotherhood, and contributions of hospitality among them; the rights of which are kept up by no other means, but the one tradition of the same mystery."||

* Nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis sanctam ecclesiam demonstrari.—*Aug. de Unit.* cap. 3.

[m] Eph. iv.; 1 Cor. xii.; Rom. xii.; Gal. iii. 28.

* Ὄχλον ἱκανόν.—Acts xi. 26. Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Acts xiv. 23.

† —— μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις καὶ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια. —Epiph. Hær. 42.

‡ Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis et disciplinæ unitate, et spei fœdere.—*Apol.* 39.

|| Itaque tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes; sic omnes primæ, et omnes apostolicæ; dum unam omnes probant unitatem; communicatio pacis, et ap-

"They and we have one faith, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same baptism; in a word, we are but one church."*

And Constantine the Great, in his Epistle to the churches:

(Our Saviour) "would have his catholic church to be one: the members of which, though they be divided into many and different places, are yet cherished by one spirit, that is, by the will of God."†

And Gregory the Great:

"Our head, which is Christ, would therefore have us be his members, that by the joints of charity and faith he might make us one body in himself."‡

Clemens Alexandrinus defineth the church:

"A people gathered together out of Jews and Gentiles into one faith, by the giving of the testaments fitted into unity of faith."||

"This one church therefore partakes of the nature of unity, which heresies violently endeavour to divide into many; and therefore we affirm the ancient and catholic church, whether we respect its constitution or our conception of it, its beginning or its excellency, to be but one; which into the belief of that one creed which is agreeable to its own peculiar testaments, or rather to that one and the same testament, in times however different, by the will of one and the same God, through one and the same Lord, doth unite and combine together all those who are before ordained, whom God hath predestinated, as knowing that they would be just persons, before the foundation of the world."*

Many passages in the Fathers, applicable to this point, we have alleged in the foregoing discourses.†

4. The constitution of such an unity doth involve the vesting some person or some number of persons with a sovereign authority (subordinate to our Lord) to be managed in a certain manner; either absolutely, according to pleasure; or limitedly, according to certain rules prescribed to it.

But that there was ever any such authority constituted, or any rules prescribed to it by our Lord, or his apostles, doth not appear; and there are divers reasonable presumptions against it.

It is reasonable, that whoever claimeth such authority, should for assuring his title shew patents of his commission, manifestly expressing it; how otherwise can he justly demand obedience, or any with satisfaction yield thereto?

It was just that the institution of so great authority should be forfeited with an undoubted charter, that its right might be apparent, and the duty of subjection might be certain.

If any such authority had been granted by God, in all likelihood it would have been clearly mentioned in scripture; it being a matter of high importance among the establishments of Christianity conducing to great effects, and grounding much duty. Especially considering that

There is in scripture frequent occasion of mentioning it; in way of history, touching the use of it (the acts of sovereign power affording chief matter to the history of any society;) in way of direction to those governors how to man-

pellatio fraternitatis et contesseratio hospitalitatis; quæ jura non alia ratio regit. quam ejusdem sacramenta una traditio.—*Tertul. Præscript.* cap. 20.

* Una nobis et illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta; semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus.—*Tert. de Virg. vel.* 2.

† Καὶ μίαν εἶναι τὴν καθολικὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν βεβούληται· ἧς εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα εἰς πολλοὺς καὶ διαφόρους τόπους τὰ μέρη διῄρηται, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἑνὶ Πνεύματι, τουτέστι τῷ Θείῳ βουλήματι θάλπεται.—Const. M. in Ep. ad Eccles. Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 18.

‡ Caput nostrum, quod Christus est, ad hoc sua esse membra nos voluit, ut per compagem charitatis et fidei unum nos in se corpus efficeret.—*Greg. M.* Ep. vii. 111.

|| Ὁ ἐκ νόμου καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν εἰς τὴν μίαν πίστιν συναγόμενος λαός.—Strom. vi. init. Τῇ κατὰ τὰς διαθήκας δόσει σκευαζόμενον εἰς ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως.—Ibid. vii. (p. 516.)

* Τῇ γοῦν τοῦ ἑνὸς φύσει συγκληροῦται ἐκκλησία ἡ μία, ἣν εἰς πολλὰς κατατέμνειν βιάζονται αἱρέσεις· κατά τε οὖν ὑπόστασιν, κατά τε ἐπίνοιαν, κατά τε ἀρχήν, (principium,) κατά τε ἐξοχήν, μόνην εἶναί φαμεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν καὶ καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς ἑνότητα πίστεως μιᾶς τῆς κατὰ τὰς οἰκείας διαθήκας, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην τὴν μίαν διαφόροις τοῖς χρόνοις, ἑνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ βουλήματι δι' ἑνὸς τοῦ Κυρίου συνάγουσαν τοὺς ἤδη κατατεταγμένους, οὓς προώρισεν, δικαίους ἐσομένους πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ἐγνωκώς.—Strom. vii. (p. 549.)

† Catholicam facit simplex et verus intellectus, intelligere singulare, ac verissimum sacramentum, et unitas animorum.—*Opt. l.* (p. 14.) Ecclesia non parietibus consistit sed in dogmatum veritate, &c.—*Hier.* Ps. 133.

age it; in way of exhortation to inferiors how to behave themselves in regard to it; in way of commending the advantages which attend it: it is therefore strange that its mention is so balked.

The apostles do often speak concerning ecclesiastical affairs of all natures, concerning the decent administration of things, concerning preservation of order and peace, concerning the furtherance of edification, concerning the prevention and removal of heresies, schisms, factions, disorders: upon any of which occasions it is marvellous that they should not touch that constitution which was the proper means appointed for maintenance of truth, order, peace, decency, edification, and all such purposes, for remedy of all contrary mischiefs.

There are mentioned divers schisms and dissensions, the which the apostles did strive by instruction and persuasion to remove; in which cases, supposing such an authority in being, it is a wonder that they do not mind the parties dissenting of having recourse thereto for decision of their causes, that they do not exhort them to a submission thereto, that they do not reprove them for declining such a remedy.

It is also strange, that no mention is made of any appeal made by any of the dissenting parties to the judgment of such authority.

Indeed, if such an authority had then been avowed by the Christian churches, it is hardly conceivable that any schisms could subsist, there being so powerful a remedy against them; then notably visible and most effectual, because of its fresh institution, before it was darkened or weakened by age.

Whereas the apostolical writings do inculcate our subjection to one Lord in heaven, it is much they should never consider his vicegerent or vicegerents, upon earth; notifying and pressing the duties of obedience and reverence toward them.

There are indeed exhortations to honour the elders, and to obey the guides of particular churches; but the honour and obedience due to those paramount authorities, or universal governors, is passed over in dead silence, as if no such thing had been thought of.

They do expressly avow the secular preeminence, and press submission to the emperor as supreme: why do they not likewise mention this no less considerable ecclesiastical supremancy, or enjoin obedience thereto? why *honour the king*, and *be subjected to principalites* so often,[n] but honour the spiritual prince or senate doth never occur?

If there had been any such authority, there would probably have been some intimation concerning the persons in whom it was settled, concerning the place of their residence, concerning the manner of its being conveyed (by election, succession, or otherwise.)

Probably the persons would have some proper name, title, or character, to distinguish them from inferior governors; that to the place some mark of preeminence would have been affixed.

It is not unlikely, that somewhere some rules or directions would have been prescribed for the management of so high a trust, for preventing miscarriages and abuses to which it is notoriously liable.

It would have been declared absolute, or the limits of it would have been determined, to prevent its enslaving God's heritage.

But of these things in the apostolical writings, or in any near those times, there doth not appear any footstep or pregnant intimation.

There hath never to this day been any place but one (namely Rome), which hath pretended to be the seat of such an authority; the plea whereof we largely have examined.

At present we shall only observe, that before the Roman church was founded, there were churches otherwhere;[o] there was a great church at Jerusalem[*] (which indeed was the "mother of all churches,"† and was by the Fathers so styled, however Rome now arrogates to herself that title.) There were issuing from that mother a fair offspring of churches (those of Judæa, of Galilæa, of Samaria, of Syria and Cilicia, of divers other places), before there was any church at Rome, or

* Ἐπληθύνετο ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα.—Acts vi. 7.

† Μήτηρ ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἡ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.—Conc. Const in Synod. Ep. Theod. v. 9.

[n] Rom. xiii. 1; Tit. iii. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17; 1 Tim. i. 2.

[o] Acts ii. 41, 47; iv. 4; vi. 1; viii. 1.

that St. Peter did come thither; which was at least divers years after our Lord's ascension. St. Paul was converted—— after five years he went to Jerusalem, then St. Peter was there; after founteen years thence he went to Jerusalem again, and then St. Peter was there; after that, he met with St. Peter at Antioch.[p] Where then was this authority seated? How then did the political unity of the church subsist? Was the seat of the sovereign authority first resident at Jerusalem, when St. Peter preached there? Did it walk thence to Antiochia, fixing itself there for seven years? Was it thence translated to Rome, and settled there ever since? Did this roving and inconstancy become it?

5. The primitive state of the church did not well comport with such an unity.

For Christian churches were founded in distant places, as the apostles did find opportunity, or received direction to found them; which therefore could not, without extreme inconvenience, have resort or reference to one authority, anywhere fixed.

Each church therefore separately did order its own affairs, without recourse to others, except for charitable advice or relief in cases of extraordinary difficulty or urgent need.

Each church was endowed with a perfect liberty, and a full authority, without dependence or subordination to others, to govern its own members, to manage its own affairs, to decide controversies and causes incident among themselves, without allowing appeals, or rendering accounts to others.

This appeareth by the apostolical writings of St. Paul and St. John to single churches; wherein they are supposed able to exercise spiritual power for establishing decency, removing disorders, correcting offences, deciding causes, &c.[q]

6. This αὐτονομία, liberty of churches, doth appear to have long continued in practice inviolate; although tempered and modelled in accommodation to the circumstances of place and time.

It is true, that if any church did notoriously forsake the truth, or commit disorder in any kind, other churches did sometime take upon them (as the case did move) to warn, advise, reprove it, and to declare against its proceedings, as prejudicial, not only to the welfare of that church, but to the common interests of truth and peace: but this was not in way of commanding authority, but of fraternal solicitude; or of that liberty which equity and prudence do allow to equals in regard to common good: so did the Roman church interpose in reclaiming the church of Corinth from its disorders and seditions;[r] so did St. Cyprian and St. Denys of Alexandria meddle in the affairs of the Roman church, exhorting Novatian and his adherents to return to the peace of their church.

It is also true, that the bishops of several adjacent churches did use to meet upon emergencies (concerning the maintenance of truth, order, and peace; concerning settlement and approbation of pastors, &c.) to consult and conclude upon expedients for attaining such ends; this probably they did at first in a free way, without rule, according to occasion, as prudence suggested; but afterwards, by confederation and consent, those conventions were formed into method, and regulated by certain orders established by consent, whence did arise an ecclesiastical unity of government within certain precincts, much like that of the United States in the Netherlands; the which course was very prudential, and useful for preserving the truth of religion and unity of faith against heretical devices springing up in that free age; for maintaining concord and good correspondence among Christians, together with an harmony in manners and discipline; for that otherwise Christendom would have been shattered and crumbled into numberless parties, discordant in opinion and practice; and consequently alienated in affection, which inevitably among most men doth follow difference of opinion and manners; so that in short time it would not have appeared what Christianity was, and consequently the religion, being overgrown with differences and discords, must have perished.

Thus, in the case about admitting the

[p] Acts ix. 31; xv. 41; xi. 19; viii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19; Rom. xvi. 4; Vales. in Euseb. ii. 16; Gal. i. 18, 19; ii. 1, 9, 11.

[q] Rev. ii., iii.; 1 Cor. xiv. 40; 1 Thess. v. 14; 1 Cor. v. 12; vi. 1.

[r] Iren. iii. cap. 2.

Lapsi to communion, St. Cyprian relates,* "when the persecution" [of Decius] "ceased, so that leave was now given us to meet in one place together, a considerable number of bishops whom their own faith and God's protection had preserved sound and entire" [from the late apostasy and persecution], "being assembled, we deliberated of the composition of the matter with wholesome moderation," &c.

"Which thing also Agrippinus of blessed memory with his other fellow-bishops who then governed the church of Christ in the African province, and in Numidia, did establish; and by the well-weighed examination of the common advice of them all together confirmed it."†

Thus it was the custom in the churches of Asia, as Firmilian telleth us in those words:—

"Upon which occasion it necessarily happens, that every year we the elders and rulers do come together to regulate those things which are committed to our care; that if there should be any things of greater moment, by common advice they be determined."—‡

Yet while things went thus, in order to common truth and peace, every church in more private matters touching its own particular state, did retain its liberty and authority, without being subject or accountable to any but the common Lord; in such cases, even synods of bishops did not think it proper or just for them to interpose, to the prejudice of that liberty and power which derived from a higher source.||

These things are very apparent, as by the course of ecclesiastical history, so particularly in that most precious monument of antiquity, St. Cyprian's Epistles; by which it is most evident, that in those times every bishop or pastor was conceived to have a double relation or capacity; one toward his own flock, another toward the whole flock:

One toward his own flock;* by virtue of which, he taking advice of his presbyters, together with "the conscience of his people assisting,"* did order all things tending to particular edification, order, peace, reformation, censure, &c., without fear of being troubled by appeals, or being liable to give any account, but to his own Lord, whose vicegerent he was.†

Another toward the whole church, in behalf of his people; upon account whereof he did (according to occasion or order) apply himself to confer with other bishops for preservation of the common truth and peace, when they could not otherwise be well upheld, than by the joint conspiring of the pastors of divers churches.

* Persecutione sopita, cum data esset facultas in unum conveniendi, copiosus episcoporum numerus, quos integros et incolumes fide sua ac Domini tutela protexit, in unum convenimus, et scripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, temperamentum salubri moderatione libravimus, &c.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52. (*ad Anton.*)

† Quod quidem et Agrippinus bonæ memoriæ vir cum cæteris coepiscopis suis qui illo tempore in provincia Africa et Numidia ecclesiam Domini gubernabant, statuit et librato consilii communis examine firmavit.—*Cypr. Epist.* 71. (*ad Quint.*)

‡ Qua ex causa necessario apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et præpositi in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea quæ curæ nostræ commissa sunt; ut si qua graviora sunt communi consilio dirigantur ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 75.

|| Superest ut de hac ipsa re singuli quid sentiamus, proferamus, neminem judicantes aut a jure communionis aliquem si diversum senserit amoventes, &c.—Vide *Conc Carthag. apud Cypr.* p. 399; *vide* Syn. Ant. Can 9.

* Sub populi assistentis conscientia.—*Cypr.* Ep. 78.

† —— Actum suum disponit, et dirigit unusquisque episcopus, rationem propositi sui Domino redditurus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 52. Every bishop ordereth and directeth his own acts, being to render an account of his purpose to the Lord. Cum statutum sit omnibus nobis ac æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi est crimen admissum; et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque præpositus rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55, *ad* ——. Since it is ordained by us all, and it is likewise just and equal that every man's cause should be there judged where the crime is committed, and to each pastor, a portion of the flock is assigned, which is to rule and govern, being to give an account of his act to the Lord. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, nec legem damus, cum habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino rediturus.—*Cypr.* Ep. 72, *ad Steph. P.* *Vide* Ep. lxxiii. p. 186; Ep. lxxvi. p. 212. In which matter neither do we offer violence to any man, or prescribe any law, since every bishop hath in the government of his church the free power of his will, being to render an account of his own act unto the Lord.

* *Vide* Epist. xxviii. 39; xiv. 18.

So that the case of bishops was like to that of princes; each of whom hath a free superintendence in his own territory, but for to uphold justice and peace in the world, or between adjacent nations, the intercourse of several princes is needful.

The peace of the church was preserved by communion of all parts together, not by the subjection of the rest to one part.

7. This political unity doth not well accord with the nature and genius of the evangelical dispensation.

Our Saviour affirmed, that *his kingdom is not of this world;* and St. Paul telleth us, that it consisteth in a spiritual influence upon the souls of men; producing in them virtue, spiritual joy, and peace.[t]

It disavoweth and discountenanceth *the elements of the world,*[u] by which worldly designs are carried on, and worldly frames sustained.

It requireth not to be managed by politic artifices or *fleshly wisdom,*[v] but by simplicity, sincerity, plain dealing: as every subject of it must lay aside all *guile and dissimulation*, so especially the officers of it must do so, in conformity to the apostles, who *had their conversation in the world* (and prosecuted their design) *in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God;* not *walking in craftiness*, or *handling the word of God deceitfully*, &c.[w]

It needeth not to be supported or enlarged by wealth and pomp, or by compulsive force and violence; for *God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; and base, despicable things*, &c., *that no flesh should glory in his presence.*[x]

And, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God*, &c.[y]

It discountenanceth the imposition of new laws and precepts, beside those which God hath enjoined, or which are necessary for order and edification; derogating from the liberty of Christians and from the simplicity of our religion.[z]

The government of the Christian state is represented purely spiritual; administered by meek persuasion, not by imperious awe; as an humble ministry, not as a stately domination; for the apostles themselves did not *lord it over men's faith*, but *did co-operate to their joy;* they did *not preach themselves, but Christ Jesus to be the Lord; and themselves their servants for Jesus.*[a]

It is expressly forbidden to them, *to domineer over God's people.*[b]

They are to be qualified with gentleness and patience; they are forbidden *to strive*, and enjoined all to be *gentle toward all, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.*[c]

They are *to convince, to rebuke, to exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.*[d]*

They are furnished with no arms beside the *divine panoply;* they bear no *sword*, but that *of the Spirit; which is the word of God,*[e]——they may teach, reprove,——they cannot compel——.†

They are not to be entangled in the cares of this life.[f]‡

But supposing the church was designed to be one in this manner of political regiment, it must be quite another thing, nearly resembling a worldly state, yea, in effect soon resolving itself into such an one; supposing, as is now pretended, that its management is committed to an ecclesiastical monarch, it must become a worldly kingdom; for such a polity could not be upheld without applying the same means and engines, without practising

[t] John xviii. 36; Rom. xiv. 17.
[u] Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.
[v] 1 Pet. ii. 1.
[w] 2 Cor. i. 12; iv. 2; ii. 17; 1 Thess. ii. 3, 5.
[x] 1 Cor. i. 27, 28; James ii. 5.
[y] 2 Cor. x. 4.

* Episcopus præest volentibus, non nolentibus.—*Hier.* Ep. 3. (*ad Nepot.*)

† Ἀναλάβετε τὴν πανοπλίαν Θεοῦ.—Eph. vi. 13.

‡ Μάλιστα γὰρ ἁπάντων Χριστιανοῖς οὐκ ἐφεῖται πρὸς βίαν ἐπανορθοῦν τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων παίσματα ——. Chrys. de Sacerd. 2. Ἐνταῦθα οὐ βιαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πείθοντα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἀμείνω τὸν τοιοῦτον.—Ibid.

[z] Matt. xv. 9; Colos. ii. 8, 20, 21; Gal. iv. 10.
[a] 2 Cor. i. 24; iv. 5.
[b] 1 Pet. v. 3; Matt. xx. 25, 26.
[c] 2 Cor. vi. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 3; Tit. ii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25; Chrys. Isid.
[d] 2 Tim. iv. 2.
[e] Eph. vi. 17.
[f] 2 Tim. ii. 4.

the same methods and arts, whereby secular governments are maintained.*

Its majesty must be supported by conspicuous pomp and phantastry.

Its dignity and power must be supported by wealth; which it must corrade and accumulate by large incomes, by exaction of tributes and taxes.

It must exert authority in enacting of laws for keeping its state in order, and securing its interests, backed with rewards and pains; especially considering, its title being so dark, and grounded on no clear warrant, many always will contest it.

It must apply constraint and force, for procuring obedience, and correcting transgression.

It must have guards to preserve its safety and authority.

It must be engaged in wars, to defend itself, and make good its interests.

It must use subtlety and artifice for promoting its interests, and countermine the policies of adversaries.

It must erect judicatories, and must decide causes with formality of legal process; whence tedious suits, crafty pleadings, quirks of law and pettifoggeries, fees and charges, extortion and barretry, &c. will necessarily creep in.†

All which things do much disagree from the original constitution and design of the Christian church, which is averse from pomp, doth reject domination, doth not require craft, wealth, or force, to maintain it; but did at first, and may subsist without any such means.‡

I do not say, that an ecclesiastical society may not lawfully, for its support, use power, policy, wealth, in some measure to uphold or defend itself; but that a constitution needing such things is not divine; or that so far as it doth use them, it is no more than human.

Thus in effect we see that it hath succeeded, from the pretence of this unity; the which hath indeed transformed the church into a mere worldly state; wherein the monarch beareth the garb of an emperor, in external splendour surpassing all worldly princes; crowned with a triple crown.*

He assumeth the most haughty titles of, *Our most holy Lord, the Vicar-general of Christ*, &c., and he suffereth men to call him the *Monarch of Kings*, &c.

He hath respects paid him, like to which no potentate doth assume (having his feet kissed, riding upon the backs of men, letting princes hold his stirrup and lead his horse.†)

He hath a court, and is attended with a train of courtiers surpassing in state and claiming precedence to the peers of any kingdom.‖

He is encompassed with armed guards: *Switzers*.

He hath a vast revenue, supplied by tributes and imposts, sore and grievous; the exaction of which hath made divers nations of Christendom to groan most lamentably.

He hath raised numberless wars and commotions for the promotion and advancement of his interests.

He administereth things with all depth of policy, to advance his designs.

He hath enacted volumns of laws and decrees, to which obedience is exacted with rigour and forcible constraint.‡

He draweth grist from all parts to his courts of judgment, wherein all formalities of suspense, all the tricks of squeezing money, &c. are practised, to the great trouble and charge of parties concerned.

Briefly, it is plain, that he doth exercise the proudest, mightiest, subtlest domination that ever was over Christians.‡

8. The union of the whole church in one body, under one government or sovereign authority, would be inconven-

* Ἕτερόν τι παρὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ ἄρχοντες.—Arist. Pol. IV. 15.

† Is modus qui frequentatur execrabilis plane, et qui non dico ecclesiam sed nec forum deceret, &c.—*Bern. de Consid.* i. 9. Attendens itaque S. synodus, quod spiritualiasine carnalibus sustineri nequeant.—*Syn. Bass.* sess. xlii. p. 108.

‡ Omnis pulchritudo filiæ regis intrinsecus. —*Aug.* Ep. 68.

* One crown doth serve an emperor, but he must have a tripple: to kiss the hands of a king is a sufficient respect, but you cannot salute him without kissing *his blessed feet*.

† That which Seneca did take for a piece of enormous pride in Caligula.—*De Benef.* ii. 12.

‡ Sub mortali. He imposes rigorous oaths of fealty and obedience.

‖ Exaltatio, et inflatio, et arrogans ac superba jactatio, non de Christi magisterio, qui humilitatem docet, sed de Antichristi spirita nascitur.—*Cypr.* Ep. 55 (*ad P. Cornel.*)

‖ Cardin. vid. Uss. p. 103.

ient and hurtful; prejudicial to the main designs of Christianity; destructive to the welfare and peace of mankind in many respects.

This we have shewed particularly concerning the pretence of the papacy; and those discourses being applicable to any like universal authority (perhaps with more advantage, monarchy being less subject to abuse than other ways of government), I shall forbear to say more.

9. Such an union is of no need, would be of small use, or would do little good, in balance to the great mischiefs and inconveniences which it would produce.

This point also we have declared, in regard to the papacy; and we might say the same concerning any other like authority substituted thereto.

10. Such a connection of churches is not anywise needful or expedient to the design of Christianity; which is to reduce mankind to the knowledge, love, and reverence of God; to a just and loving conversation together; to the practice of sobriety, temperance, purity, meekness, and all other virtues;[h] all which things may be compassed without forming men into such a policy.

It is expedient there should be particular societies, in which men may concur in worshipping God, and promoting that design by instructing and provoking one another to good practice, in a regular, decent, and orderly way.

It is convenient that the subjects of each temporal sovereignty should live, as in a civil, so in a spiritual uniformity, in order to the preservation of good-will and peace among them (for that neighbours differing in opinion and fashions of practice will be apt to contend each for his way, and thence to disaffect one another), for the beauty and pleasant harmony of agreement in divine things, for the more commodious succour and defence of truth and piety by unanimous concurrence.

But that all the world should be so joined is needless; and will be apt to produce more mischief than benefit.

11. The church, in the scripture sense, hath ever continued one; and will ever continue so; notwithstanding that it hath not had this political unity.

[h] Tit. ii. 12.

12. It is in fact apparent, that churches have not been thus united, which yet have continued catholic and Christian.

It were great, no less folly than uncharitableness, to say, that the Greek church hath been none.

There is no church that hath in effect less reason than that of Rome to prescribe to others.

13. The reasons alleged in proof of such an unity are insufficient and inconcluding; the which (with great diligence, although not with like perspicuity) advanced by a late divine of great repute, and collected out of his writings with some care, are those which briefly proposed do follow; together with answers declaring their invalidity.

Arg. I. The name *church* is attributed to the whole body of Christians; which implieth unity.[i]

Answ. This indeed doth imply an unity of the church, but determineth not the kind or ground thereof: there being several kinds of unity; one of those which we have touched, or several, or all of them may suffice to ground that comprehensive appellation.

Arg. II. Our creeds do import the belief of such an unity;[j] for in the apostolical we profess to believe *the holy catholic church;* in the Constantinopolitan, *the holy catholic* and *apostolic church.*

Answ. 1. The most ancient summaries of Christian faith, extant in the first Fathers (Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, &c.) do not contain this point.[k]

The word *catholic* was not originally in the Apostolical (or Roman) Creed, but was added after Ruffin and St. Austin's time.

This article was inserted into the creeds upon the rise of heresies and schisms, to discountenance and disengage from them.

Answ. 2. We do avow a catholic church in many respects one; wherefore not the unity of the church, but the kind and manner of unity being in question, the Creed doth not oppose what we say, nor can with reason be alleged for the special kind of unity which is pretended.

Answ. 3. That the unity mentioned in the Constantinopolitan Creed is such as

[i] Epil. p. 38; Lat. p. 114.
[j] Epil. Lat. 144.
[k] Iren. Tert. Cypr. Conc. Nic.

our adversaries contend for, of external policy, is precariously assumed, and relieth only upon their interpretation obtruded on us.

Answ. 4. The genuine meaning of that article may reasonably be deemed this: That we profess our adhering to the body of Christians, which diffused over the world doth retain the faith taught, the discipline settled, the practices appointed by our Lord and his apostles; that we maintain general charity toward all good Christians; that we are ready to entertain communion in holy offices with all such; that we are willing to observe the laws and orders established by authority or consent of the churches, for maintenance of truth, order, and peace; that we renounce all heretical doctrines, all disorderly practices, all conspiracy with any factious combinations of people.*

Answ. 5. That this is the meaning of the article may sufficiently appear from the reason and occasion of introducing it; which was to secure the truth of Christian doctrine, the authority of ecclesiastical discipline, and the common peace of the church; according to the discourses and arguments of the Fathers (Irenæus, Tertullian, St. Austin, Vincentius Lirinensis), the which do plainly countenance our interpretation.

Answ. 6. It is not reasonable to interpret the article so as will not consist with the state of the church in the apostolical and most primitive ages, when evidently there was no such a political conjunction of Christians.

Arg. III. The apostles delivered one rule of faith to all churches, the embracing and professing whereof, celebrated in baptism, was a necessary condition to the admission into the church, and to continuance therein; therefore Christians are combined together in one political body.[l]

Answ. 1. The consequence is very weak; for from the antecedent it can only be inferred, that (according to the sentiment of the ancients) all Christians should consent in one faith; which unity we avow; and who denieth?

Answ. 2. By like reason all mankind must be united in one political body; because all men are bound to agree in what the light of nature discovereth to be true and good; or because the principles of natural religion, justice, and humanity are common to all.

Arg. IV. God hath granted to the church certain powers and rights, as *jura majestatis*;[m] namely, the power of the keys (to admit into, to exclude from the kingdom of heaven;) a power to enact laws (for maintenance of its order and peace, for its edification and welfare;) a power to correct and excommunicate offenders; a power to hold assemblies for God's service; a power to ordain governors and pastors.[n]

Answ. 1. These powers are granted to the church, because granted to each particular church, or distinct society of Christians; not to the whole, as such, or as distinct from the parts.

Answ. 2. It is evident, that by virtue of such grants particular churches do exercise those powers; and it is impossible to infer more from them than a justification of their practice.

Answ. 3. St. Cyprian often from that common grant doth infer the right of exercising discipline in each particular church; which inference would not be good, but upon our supposition; nor indeed otherwise would any particular church have ground for its authority.

Answ. 4. God hath granted the like rights to all princes and states; but doth it thence follow, that all kingdoms and states must be united in one single regiment? The consequence is just the same as in our case.

Arg. V. All churches were tied to observe the same laws or rules of practice, the same orders of discipline and customs; therefore all do make one corporation.[o]

Answ. 1. That all churches are bound to observe the same divine institutions, doth argue only an unity of relation to the same heavenly King, or a specifical unity and similitude of policy, the which we do avow.

Answ. 2. We do also acknowledge it convenient and decent, that all churches,

* Παρεισαγωγαί.

[l] Ep. p. 40; Lat. p. 144, 151.

[m] Epil. p. 37, 49; Lat. p. 153, 118; Leges ferre. Lat. p. 171.

[n] Lat. p. 54.

[o] Epil. p. 42, 49; Lat. P. 151, 219; 1 Cor. xi. 16.

in principal observances introduced by human prudence, should agree so near as may be; an uniformity in such things representing and preserving unity of faith, of charity, of peace.

Whence the governors of the primitive church did endeavour such an uniformity; as the Fathers of Nice profess in the canon forbidding of genuflexion on Lord's day, and in the days of Pentecost.*

Answ. 3. Yet doth not such an agreement, or attempt at it, infer a political unity; no more than when all men, by virtue of a primitive general tradition, were tied to offer sacrifices and oblations to God, that consideration might argue all men to have been under the same government; or no more than the usual agreement of neighbour nations in divers fashions doth conclude such an unity.

Answ. 4. In divers customs and observances several churches did vary, with allowance; which doth rather infer a difference of polity, than agreement in other observances doth argue an unity thereof.†

Answ. 5. St. Cyprian doth affirm, that in such matters every bishop had a power to use his own discretion, without being obliged to comply with others.[p]

Arg. VI. The Jewish church was one corporation; and in correspondence thereto the Christian church should be such.[q]

Answ. 1. As the Christian church doth in some things correspond to that of the Jews, so it differeth in others, being designed to excel it: wherefore this argumentation cannot be valid; and may as well be employed for our opinion as against it.

Answ. 2. In like manner it may be argued, that all Christians should annually meet in one place; that all Christians should have one archpriest on earth; that we should all be subject to one temporal jurisdiction; that we should all speak one language, &c.

Answ. 3. There is a great difference in the case; for the Israelites were one small nation, which conveniently might be embodied; but the Christian church should consist of all nations, which rendereth correspondence in this particular unpractisable, at least without great inconvenience.

Answ. 4. Before the law, Christian religion, and consequently a Christian church, did in substance subsist; but what unity of government was there then?[r]

Answ. 5. The temporal union of the Jews might only figure the spiritual unity of Christians in faith, charity, and peace.

Arg. VII. All ecclesiastical power was derived from the same fountains, by succession from the apostles; therefore the church was one political body.[s]

Answ. 1. Thence we may rather infer, that churches are not so united, because the founders of them were several persons endowed with co-ordinate and equal power.[t]

Answ. 2. The apostles did in several churches constitute bishops, independent from each other; and the like may be now, either by succession from those, or by the constitutions of human prudence, according to emergencies of occasions, and circumstances of things.

Answ. 3. Divers churches were αὐτόνομοι and all were so according to St. Cyprian.

Answ. 4. All temporal power is derived from Adam, and the patriarchs, ancient fathers of families: doth it thence follow, that all the world must be under one secular government?

Arg. VIII. All churches did exercise

* Ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν πάσῃ παροικίᾳ ὁμοίως φυλάττεσθαι.—Conc. Nic. Can. 20; *vide* de Paschate.

† *Vide* Aug. Epist. lxxxvi. (ad Casul.) Ep. cxviii. ad Jan. Cypr. Ep. lxxv. p. 198; Iren. apud Euseb. v. 24; Socr. v. 22; vii. 19. Cætera jam disciplinæ et conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis, hac lege manente, &c.—*Tert. de Virg. vel. Thorn. Lat.* p. 219; *P. Greg. I.* In una fide nihil officit sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa.—*P. Greg. I.* Epist. i. 41; *P. Leo IX.* Epist. i. cap. 29. Nil obsunt saluti credentium diversæ pro loco et tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ potest uni Deo commendat omnes. *P. Nic. I.* Ep. 6. De consuetudinibus quidem, quem nobis opponere visi estis, scribentes per diversas ecclesias diversas esse consuetudines, si illis canonica non resistit auctoritas, pro qua eis obviare debeamus, nil judicamus vel eis resistimus, &c.

[p] Cypr. Ep. 73.

[q] Ep. p. 39; Lat. p. 159.

[r] Eus. Hist. i. 4; Baron. App. 2.

[s] Ep. p. 51-55; Lat. p. 157.

[t] Iren. iii. 3; Tert. Præscr. 31, 32.

a power of excommunication, or of excluding heretics, schismatics, disorderly and scandalous people.[u]

Answ. 1. Each church was vested with this power: this doth therefore only infer a resemblance of several churches in discipline; which we avow.

Answ. 2. This argueth that all churches took themselves to be obliged to preserve the same faith, to exercise charity and peace, to maintain the like holiness of conversation: what then? do we deny this?

Answ. 3. All kingdoms and states do punish offenders against reason and justice, do banish seditious and disorderly persons, do uphold the principles and practice of common honesty and morality: doth it thence follow that all nations must come under one civil government?*

Arg. IX. All churches did maintain intercourse and commerce with each other by formed, communicatory, pacificatory, commendatory, synodical epistles.[v]†

Answ. 1. This doth signify, that the churches did by admonition, advice, &c. help one another in maintenance of the common faith; did endeavour to preserve charity, friendship, and peace: this is all which thence may be concluded.

Answ. 2. Secular princes are wont to send ambassadors and envoys with letters and instructions for settlement of correspondence and preserving peace; they sometimes do recommend their subjects to other princes; they expect offices of humanity toward their subjects travelling or trading any where in the world: common reason doth require such things; but may common union of polity from hence be inferred?

Arg. X. The effectual preservation of unity in the primitive church is alleged as a strong argument of its being united in one government.[w]

Answ. 1. That unity of faith and charity and discipline, which we admit, was indeed preserved, not by influence of any one sovereign authority whereof there is no mention), but by the concurrent vigilance of bishops, declaring and disputing against any novelty in doctrine or practice which did start up; by their adherence to the doctrine asserted in scripture, and confirmed by tradition; by their aiding and abetting one another as confederates against errors and disorders creeping in.

Answ. 2. The many differences which arose concerning the observation of Easter, the rebaptization of heretics, the reconciliation of revolters and scandalous criminals; concerning the decision of causes and controversies, &c. do more clearly shew that there was no standing common jurisdiction in the church: for had there been such an one, recourse would have been had thereto; and such differences by its authority would easily have been quashed.

Arg. XI. Another argument is grounded on the relief which one church did yield to another, which supposeth all churches under one government, imposing such tribute.[x]

Answ. 1. This is a strange fetch; as if all who were under obligation to relieve one another in need, were to be under one government. Then all mankind must be so.

Answ. 2. It appeareth by St. Paul, that these succours were of free charity,

* Excommunication of other chuches is only a declaration against the deviation from Christian truth, or piety, or charity. Communio suspensa restituitur demonstrati causas, quibus id acciderat, jam esse detersas, et profitenti conditiones pacis impletas.—*P. Inn. I.* Ep. 16 (*De Attico Constant. Ep.*)

† Literæ formatæ.—*Optat.* 2. *Conc. Milev.* Can. 20. Communicatoriæ.—*Aug.* Ep. 162, 163. Καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικά.—Euseb. vii. 30; Cypr. Ep. 55, 67. Γράμματα συστατικά.—Apost. Can. 12. Εἰρηνικαί.—Conc. Chald. Can. 11. Συνοδικαί.—Soz. vii. 11; Conc. VI. Act. II. (p. 158, 198, 223;) Greg. M. (Ep. ——) P. Zach. Baron. ann. 743, § 29. Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, et cui scribere debeamus ——. *Cypr.* Ep. 42, 67; *ad P. Steph.* (p. 161,) Ep. 55. (N. B. p. 113.) Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐντολῆς τε οὔσης ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς τηρεῖν σύνδεσμον τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις γιγόμενα, &c.—Alexandri Epist. Socr. i. 6. The catholic church being one body, there being moreover a command in the holy scriptures, to preserve the bond of peace and concord; hence it follows, that what things (happen to, or) are done by any of us, we ought to write, and signify to each other.

[u] Ep. p. 59, 125; Lat. p. 185, 195.

[v] Ep. p. 69; Lat. p. 222.

[w] Ep. p. 64; Lat. p. 221.

[x] Ep. p. 119; Lat. p. 209.

favour, and liberality; and not by constraint.*

Arg. XII. The use of councils is also alleged as an argument of this unity.[1]

Answ. 1. General councils (in case truth is disowned, that peace is disturbed, that discipline is loosed or perverted), are *wholesome* expedients to clear truth and heal breaches: but the holding them is no more an argument of political unity in the church, than the treaty of Munster was a sign of all Europe being under one civil government.[2]

Answ. 2. They are extraordinary, arbitrary prudential means of restoring truth, peace, order, discipline; but from them nothing can be gathered concerning the continual ordinary state of the church.

Answ. 3. For during a long time the church wanted them; and afterwards had them but rarely; "for the first three hundred years," saith Bellarmine, "there was no general assembly; afterwards scarce one in a hundred years."†

And since the breach between the oriental and western churches, for many centenaries, there hath been none.

Yet was the church from the beginning one, till Constantine, and long afterwards.

Answ. 4. The first general councils (indeed all that have been with any probable show capable of that denomination) were congregated by emperors, to cure the dissensions of bishops: what therefore can be argued from them, but that the emperors did find it good to settle peace and truth, and took this for a good mean thereto?

Alb. Pighius said, that general councils were an invention of Constantine; and who can confute him?[3]

Answ. 5. They do show rather the unity of the empire than of the church; or of the church as national under one empire, than as Catholic; for it was the state which did call and moderate them to its purposes.

Answ. 6. It is manifest that the congregation of them dependeth on the permission and pleasure of secular powers; and in all equity should do so (as otherwhere is showed.)*

Answ. 7. It is not expedient that there should be any of them, now that Christendom standeth divided under divers temporal sovereignties; for their resolutions may intrench on the interests of some princes; and hardly can they be accommodated to the civil laws and customs of every state.

Whence we see that France will not admit the decrees of their Tridentine synod.

Answ. 8. There was no such inconvenience in them while Christendom was in a manner confirmed within one empire; for then nothing could be decreed or executed without the emperor's leave, or to his prejudice.

Answ. 9. Yea (as things now stand), it is impossible there should be a free council;[5] most of the bishops being sworn vassals and clients to the pope; and by their own interests concerned to maintain his exorbitant grandeur and domination.

Answ. 10. In the opinion of St. Athanasius,† there was no reasonable cause of synods except in case of new heresies springing up, which may be confuted by the joint consent of bishops.

Answ. 11. As for particular synods, they do only signify that it was useful for neighbour bishops to conspire in promoting truth, order, and peace, as we have otherwhere showed.‡

Councils have often been convened for bad designs, and been made engines

* 2 Cor. viii. 3, Αὐθαίρετοι. Verse 8, Οὐ κατ' ἐπιταχήν. 2 Cor. ix. 7, Ἕκαστος καθὼς προαιρεῖται. Rom. xv. 26, Εὐδόκησαν. Acts xi. 29; xxiv. 17, Ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσων.

† Primis trecentis annis nulla fuit congregatio generalis; postea vero vix centesimo anno.—*De Rom. P.* i. 8.

[1] Ep. p. 51; Lat. P. 400. [2] Aug.

[3] Bell. de Conc. i. 13.

* The validity of synodical decrees (as spiritual) doth proceed from the obligation to each singular bishop; as if princes in confederacy do make any sanction, the subjects of each are bound to observe them, not from any relation to the body confederating, but because of their obligation to their own prince consenting.

† Αἱ δὲ νῦν κινούμεναι παρ' αὐτῶν σύνοδοι ποίαν ἔχουσιν εὔλογον αἰτίαν, &c.—Athan. de Syn. p. 873.

‡ Subrependi enim occasiones non pretermittit ambitio, et quoties ob intercurrentes causas generalis congregatio facta fuerit sacerdotum, difficile est ut cupiditas improborum non aliquid supra mensuram suam non moliatur appetere.—*Leo M.* Ep. 62. (*ad Maximum. Ant. Ep.* ——)

[5] Hist. Trid. p. 67.—A free council. P. Leo I. Ep.

to oppress truth and enslave Christendom.

That of Antioch against Athanasius: of Ariminum for Arianism. The second Ephesine, to restore Eutyches and reject Flavianus. The second of Nice, to impose the worship of babies. The synod of Ariminum, to countenance Arian. So the fourth synod of Lateran (*sub Inn. III.*), to settle the prodigious doctrine of transubstantiation, and the wicked doctrine of papal authority over princes. The first synod of Lyons, to practise that hellish doctrine of deposing kings. The synod of Constance, to establish the maim of the eucharist; against the Calistines of Bohemia. The Lateran (under Leo X.) was called (as the archbishop of Patras affirmed) "for the exaltation of the apostolical see."* The synod of Trent, to settle a raff of errors and superstitions.

Obj. II. It may further be objected, that this doctrine doth favour the conceits of the independents, concerning ecclesiastical discipline.

I answer, No. For,

1. We do assert that every church is bound to observe the institutions of Christ, and that sort of government which the apostles did ordain, consisting of bishops, priests, and people.

2. We avow it expedient (in conformity to the primitive churches, and in order to the maintenance of truth, order, peace) for several particular churches or parishes to be combined in political corporations; as shall be found convenient by those who have just authority to frame such corporations: for that otherwise Christianity, being shattered into numberless shreds, could hardly subsist; and that great confusions must arise.

3. We affirm, that such bodies having been established, and being maintained by just authority, every man is bound to endeavour the upholding of them by obedience, by peaceable and compliant demeanour.

4. † We acknowledge it a great crime, by factious behaviour in them, or by needless separation from them, to disturb them, to divide them, to dissolve or subvert them.[c]

5. We conceive it fit that every people under one prince (or at least of one nation, using the same language, civil law, and fashions) should be united in the bands of ecclesiastical polity; for that such a unity apparently is conducible to the peace and welfare both of church and state; to the furtherance of God's worship and service; to the edification of people in charity and piety; by the encouragement of secular powers, by the concurrent advice and aid of ecclesiastical pastors; by many advantages hence arising.*

6. We suppose all churches obliged to observe friendly communion; and, when occasion doth invite, to aid each other by assistance and advice, in synods of bishops, or otherwise.

7. We do affirm, that all churches are obliged to comply with lawful decrees and orders, appointed in synods with consent of their bishops, and allowed by the civil authorities under which they live: as if the bishops of Spain and France assembling should agree upon constitutions of discipline which the kings of both those countries should approve; and which should not thwart God's laws; both those churches, and every man in them, were bound to comply in observance of them.

From the premises, divers corollaries may be deduced:

1. Hence it appeareth, that all those clamours of the pretended catholics against other churches, for not submitting to the Roman chair, are groundless; they depending on the supposition that all churches must necessarily be united under one government.

2. The injustice of the adherents to that see; in claiming an empire (or jurisdiction) over all, which never was de-

* Pro apostolicæ sedis exaltatione.—*Lat. Syn.* sess. x. p. 129.

† We allow the Apost. Can. 31.—Εἴ τις καταφρονήσας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου χωρὶς συναγάγῃ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξῃ, μηδὲν κατεγνωκὼς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καθαιρείσθω ὡς φίλαρχος, &c. If any person, despising his own bishop, shall set up a separate meeting, and build another altar, having nothing to condemn in his bishop, either for his piety or uprightness, let him be deposed as one that ambitiously affects to be a governor, &c.

* Δίκαιον οὖν ἐστι πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων κόσμῳ διδασκάλους τοῦ νόμου αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ νόμου φρονεῖν, καὶ μὴ διαφόροις διδασκαλίαις τὴν πίστιν μιαίνειν.—Syn. Rom. apud Theod. ii. 22.

[c] Jude xix.—Οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες.

signed by our Lord; heavily censuring and fiercely persecuting those who will not acknowledge it.

3. All churches, which have a fair settlement in severel countries, are coordinate: neither can one challenge a jurisdiction over the other.

4. The nature of schism is hence declared; viz. that it consisteth in disturbing the order and peace of any single church; in withdrawing from it obedience and compliance with it; in obstructing good correspondence, charity, peace, between several churches; in condemning or censuring other churches without just cause, or beyond due measure.

In refusing to maintain communion with other churches, without reasonable cause; whence Firmilian did challenge pope Stephanus with schism.*

5. Hence the right way of reconciling dissensions among Christians is not affecting to set up a political union of several churches, or subordination of all to one power; not for one church to enterprise upon the liberty of others, or to bring others under it (as is the practice of the Roman church and its abettors), but for each church to let the others alone, quietly enjoying its freedom in ecclesiastical administrations; only declaring against apparently hurtful errors and factions; showing good-will, yielding succour, advice, comfort, upon needful occasion; according to that excellent advice of the Constantinopolitan Fathers to the pope and western bishops—(after having acquainted them with their proceedings) towards the conclusion they thus exhort them:

"We having in a legal and canonical way determined these controversies, do beseech your reverence to congratulate with us, your charity spiritually interceding, the fear of the Lord also compressing all human affection, so as to make us to prefer the edification of the churches to all private respect and favour toward each other; for by this means the word of faith being consonant among us, and Christian charity bearing sway over us, we shall cease from speaking after that manner which the apostle condemns, *I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, but I am of Cephas;* for if we all do appear to be of Christ, who is not divided amongst us, we shall then through God's grace preserve the body of the church from schism, and present ourselves before the throne of Christ with boldness."*

6. All that withdraw their communion or obeisance from particular churches fairly established (unto which they do belong, or where they reside), do incur the guilt of schism: for such persons being *de jure* subject to those particular churches, and excommunicating themselves, do consequentially sever themselves from the catholic church; they commit great wrong toward that particular church, and toward the whole church of Christ.†

7. Neither doth their pretence of joining themselves to the Roman church excuse them from schism: for the Roman church hath no reason or right to admit or to avow them; it hath no power to exempt or excuse them from their duty; it thereby abetteth their crime, and involveth itself therein; it wrongeth other churches.[d] As no man is freed from his allegiance by pretending to put himself under the protection of another prince; neither can another prince justly receive such disloyal revolters into his patronage.

It is a rule grounded upon apparent equity, and frequently declared by ecclesiastical canons, that no church shall admit into its protection or communion any persons who are excommunicated by another church, or who do withdraw themselves from it[e] (for self-excommuni-

* Excidisti enim teipsum; noli te fallere; siquidem ille est vere schismaticus, qui se a communione ecclesiasticæ unitatis apostatam fecerit.—*Firmil. apud Cypr.* Ep. 75.

* Οἷς εὐθέσμος καὶ κανονικῶς παρ' ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτευούσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου πάσαν μὲν καταστέλλοντος (compressing) ἀνθρωπίνην προσπάθειαν, τὴν δὲ ἐκκλησιῶν οἰκοδομὴν προτιμοτέραν ποιοῦντος τῆς πρὸς τὸν καθ' ἕνα συμπαθείας ἢ χάριτος· οὕτω γὰρ τοῦτε τῆς πίστεως συμφωμηθέντος λόγου, καὶ τῆς χριστιανικῆς κυρωθείσης ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπης παυσόμεθα λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατεγνωσμένον, Ἐγὼ μέν εἰμι Παῦλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ· πάντες δὲ Χριστοῦ φανέντες, ὃς ἐν ἡμῖν οὐ μεμέρισται ἄσχιστον τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τηρήσομεν, καὶ τῷ βήματι τοῦ Κυρίου μετὰ παῤῥησίας παραστησόμεθα.—Theod. v. 9.

† Aug contra Jul. Ep. 2.—Te certe occidentalis terra generavit, occidentalis regeneravit ecclesia: quid ei quæris inferre quod in ea non invenisti, quando in ejus membra venisti? imo quid, &c.

[d] Syn. Sard. Can. 13, Gr.

[e] Thornd. Lat. p. 220.

cation, or spiritual felony *de se*, doth involve the church's excommunication, deserving it, and preventing it.*)

Which canon, as the African Fathers do allege and expound it, doth prohibit the *pope himself* from receiving persons rejected by any other church.†

So when Marcion, having been excommunicated by his own father, coming to Rome, did sue to be received by that church into communion, they refused, telling him, that "they could not do it without the consent of his reverend father, between whom and them there being one faith and one agreement of mind, they could not do it in opposition to their worthy fellow-labourer, who was also his father."‡

St. Cyprian refused to admit Maximus (sent from the Novatian party) to communion.[e]

So did Pope Cornelius reject Felicissimus, condemned by St. Cyprian, without further inquiry.[f]

It was charged upon Dioscorus as a heinous misdemeanour, that "he had, against the holy canons, by his proper authority, received into communion persons excommunicated by others."*

The African synod (at the suggestion of St. Austin) decreed, that "if it happened that any for their evil deeds were deservedly expelled out of the church, and taken again into communion by any bishop or priest whosoever, that he also who received him should incur the same penalty of excommunication."†

The same is by latter papal synods decreed.‡

The words of Synesius are remarkable: he, having excommunicated some cruel oppressors, doth thus recommend the case to all Christians.||

Upon which grounds I do not scruple to affirm the recusants in England to be no less schismatics than any other separatists.[k] They are indeed somewhat worse; for most others do only forbear communion, these do rudely condemn the church, to which they owe obedience; yea, strive to destroy it: they are most desperate rebels against it.

8. It is the duty and interest of all

* Εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωρισμένος, ἤγουν ἀδίκτος ἀπελθὼν, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος, καὶ ὁ δεχθείς.—Apost. Can. 12. Κρατείτω ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀποβληθέντας, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι.—Conc. Nic. Can. 5. If any clerk, or laic, who hath been excommunicated, and not yet re-admitted (by his own church), shall depart thence, and be received in another city without letters commendatory, both he who doth receive him, and he that is received, let them be excommunicated. Let the sentence be ratified which is according to that canon which commands others not to admit those whom others have ejected.

† Μηδὲ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποκοινωνήτους εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ λοιποῦ θέλητε δέξασθαι, ἐπειδὰν τοῦτο καὶ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ ὁρισθὲν εὐχερῶς εὕροι ἡ σὴ σεβασμιότης.—Syn. Afr. Epist. ad P. Celest. I. Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀκοινώνητος γέγονεν, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρων δεχθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραδεχθείη τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ——. Conc. Ant. Can. 6; Idem in Concil. Sard. Can. 13, 14. (Græc.)

‡ Ἔλεγε, τί μὴ ἐθελήσατέ με ὑποδέξασθαι; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρός σου τοῦτο πρᾶξαι· μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ἡ ὁμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι σοῦ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ δὲ σῷ.—Epiph. Hær. 42.

[f] Αὐτοκατάκριτος.—Tit. iii. 11.

* Eph. lv. p. 113.

[e] Ep. lv. init. (abs te rejectum. Vid.) *vide* Rig. p. 79.

* —— quosdam a diversis conciliis rite damnatos, in communionem, propria auctoritate, suscepit, sanctis regulis præcipientibus excommunicatos ab aliis, in communionem alios non debere suscipere.—*Epist. Syn. Chalced. ad Imper.* Act. iv. pag. 286. —— καθαιρεθέντα κανονικῶς παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἀθεντήσας ἀκανονίστως εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐδέξατο.—Evagr. ii. 4.

† Augustinus episcopus, legatus provinciæ Numidiæ dixit: Hoc statuere dignamini, ut si qui forte merito facinorum suorum ab ecclesia pulsi sunt, et sive ab aliquo episcopo vel presbytero fuerint in communionem suscepti, etiam ipse pari cum eis crimine teneatur obnoxius ——. *Cod. Afr.* Can. 9.

‡ Sanctorum quippe canonum sanxit auctoritas, et ea passim ecclesiæ consuetudo servat, ut a quolibet juste excommunicatum episcopo, alius absolvere non præsumat.—*P. Urb. II. Epist.* 20. (*apud Bin.*) A suis episcopis excommunicatos, ab aliis episcopis, abbatibus et clericis in communionem recipi proculdubio prohibemus.—*Conc. Lat. I.* (*sub P. Calixto II.*) cap. 9. ——Qui vero excommunicato antequam ab eo qui eum excommunicaverit absolvatur, scienter communicare præsumpserit, pari sententiæ teneatur obnoxius.—*Conc. Lat. II.* (*sub Innoc. II.*) Can. 3.

|| Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡ Πτολεμαΐδος ἐκκλησία τάδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἑαυτῆς ἀδελφὰς διατάττεται ——. Εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολίτιν ἀποσκυβαλίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δέξεται τοὺς ἀποκηρύκτους αὐτῆς (proscribed by it) ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ τῇ πίνηται πείθεσθαι, ἴστω σχίσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν μίαν ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βούλεται, &c.—Epist. 58, pag. 203, edit. Petav.

[k] P. Leo Ep. lxxxiv. cap. 9.

churches to disclaim the pretences of the Roman court; maintaining their liberties and rights against its usurpations: for compliance therewith, as it doth greatly prejudice truth and piety; (leaving them to be corrupted by the ambitious, covetous, and voluptuous designs of those men;) so it doth remove the genuine unity of the church, and peace of Christians; unless to be tied by compulsory chains (as slaves) be deemed unity or peace.

9. Yet those churches, which, by the voluntary consent or command of princes, do adhere in confederation to the Roman church, we are not, merely upon that score, to condemn or reject from communion of charity or peace; (for in that they do but use their liberty.)

10. But if such churches do maintain impious errors; if they do prescribe naughty practices; if they do reject communion and peace upon reasonable terms; if they vent unjust and uncharitable censures; if they are turbulent and violent, striving by all means to subdue and enslave other churches to their will or their dictates—If they damn and persecute all who refuse to be their subjects: in such cases we may reject such churches as heretical or schismatical, or wickedly uncharitable and unjust in their proceedings.*

* Cuicunque hæresi communicans merito judicatur a nostra societate removendus.—*Gelas.* Ep. 1, *ad Euphem.* An communicare, non est consentire cum talibus?—*P. Sym. I.* Ep. 7.

OPUSCULA.

OPUSCULA THEOLOGICA, ORATIONES,

ET

POEMATIA.

DE SPIRITU SANCTO.

Spiritus Sanctus est Persona distincta, Patri Filioque coessentialis, et ab Utroque procedens.

UNUM existere Deum (rerum omnium Authorem, Custodem, Dominum) universus ordo cursusque rerum, naturæ clara vox, gentium unanimis consensus, perpetuaque traditio, miraculorum ingens copia, oraculorum denique sacrorum irrefragabilis attestatio luculentissime comprobant, et evincunt.[a]

Quid sit Deus (cujusmodi nempe perfectionibus attributisque gaudeat) ex operibus divinis observationem nostram sensibiliter incurrentibus, nobis etiam modo nostro (hoc est, indistincte et imperfecte) quadantenus innotescat, *nam invisibilia Dei a creatura mundi per ea quæ facta sunt intellectu conspiciuntur, cum sempiterna ejus potestas, tum divinitas.*[b]

Verum quomodo Deus sit, aut qualis sit ejus existentia nulla (revelatione seclusa) nobis suppetit aut investigandi ratio, vel dijudicandi facultas: eam nec ediscere studio, nec intellectu comprehendere valemus; quum is *lucem habitans inaccessam*[c] nostris a sensibus (naturalis scientiæ fontibus, naturalis judicii fundamentis unicis) plusquam toto cœlo distet, infinito sejungatur intervallo. Unde prudenter sapiens Hebræus, *Difficile* (inquit) *æstimamus quæ in terra sunt, et, quæ in prospectu sunt, invenimus cum labore: quæ autem in cœlis sunt, quis investigabit? sensum tuum quis sciet, nisi tu dederis sapientiam, et miseris Spiritum tuum de altissimis?*[d]

Sed et existentiæ divinæ modum a nobis concipi vel exprimi plurimum obstat, quod is ab existendi modo valde dissidet earum rerum omnium, quæ nobis obversantur, aut experientiæ nostræ subjacent; a quibus nostras elicimus ideas; quibus notiones nostras conformamus; quibus exprimendis vocabula nostra procudimus, et accommodamus; unde fit ei nostros conceptus, axiomata nostra, nostraque verba parum congruere; quin et necessarium evadit nos de illo cogitantes hæsitare sæpius, aut intricari; de illo sermocinantes plerumque balbutire et ἀκυρολογεῖν, de illo disquirentes et disceptantes nil aliud ferme quam Andabatas agere.*

Hujus impotentiæ (vel inscitiæ nostræ) manifestum in eo specimen apparet, quod cuicunque naturæ spirituali (vel incorporeæ) multæ competunt proprietates a nobis impervestigabiles, incomprehensibiles et ineffabiles.† Nam quomodo res partium expers locum occupet, spatioque co-

[a] Marc. xii. 29; 1 Cor. viii. 4; Deut. iv. 39; vi. 4; x. 12.
[b] Rom. i. 20. [c] 1 Tim. vi. 16.

* Τὸν μὲν οὖν ποιητὴν καὶ πατέρα τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς εὑρεῖν τε ἔργον, καὶ εὑρόντα εἰς πάντας ἀδύνατον λέγειν.—Plat. Tim. —— Id enim quod Deus est, secundum id quod est, nec humano sermone edici, nec humanis auribus percipi, nec humanis sensibus colligi potest.—*Novat. de Trin.* cap. 7.

† Phantasmatibus suis illuduntur, quia solent videre corporaliter vel animalia tria, vel quæcunque tria corpora suis locis separata, &c.

[d] Sap. ix. 16.

extendatur; qua ratione corpora penetret, et ipsis coexistat (illis loco conjuncta, substantia vero discreta;) quo pacto nullis manibus aut machinis utens apprehendat et propellat corpora; quomodo denuo nil patiens aut accipiens objecta persentiscat (quale nil experimur in rebus observationi nostræ expositis, sed quæ spiritibus inesse aliunde discimus), equidem nec assequi distincte, nec limpide valemus effari. Addo, fieri posse, quod spiritualibus substantiis aliæ complures proprietates conveniant, adhuc fando nobis inauditæ, ab intellectûs nostri capacitate longiùs amotæ.

Præsertim vero circa divinæ naturæ et operationis (nedum incorporeæ, sed etiam infinitæ) modos cogitatione versantibus innumeri se tales objiciunt labyrinthi. Nam, verbi gratia, quomodo Deus purissime simplex et indivisibilis omni spatio præsens sit, hic et illic totus, ubique immensus; quomodo decurrentium temporum successionibus cunctis semper adsit, easque simul et semel prospectui suo subjectas habeat;* quomodo nullas ab objectis species admittens aut retinens omnia comprehendit tam futura, quam præsentia vel præterita, etiam ea quæ contingenter futura sunt, et a causis procedent arbitrariis, atque prorsus indeterminatis: quomodo per merum voluntatis actum, et unicum verbum enunciando, stupendam hanc rerum molem e nihilo produxerit: quomodo sine mentis ulla distractione vel molestia subtilissimas istas innumerabilium cogitationum, dictorum, factorum varietates inspicit ac ordinat—ita curans universos tanquam singulos, ita singulos tanquam solos:* quomodo nullam mutationem aut mutationis umbram subiens decreta statuit et rescindit; diligit ac odit; gaudet et dolet: quomodo cum omnia facillime possit, evenire multa sinat ipsi displicentia, quædam infecta dimittat, quibus valde delectatur: quomodo, versus omnes creaturas suas admodum bonus et benignus, aliquas ita condiderit, ut in extremam miseriam facile prolabi possent, prolapsæque fuerint; circa hæc, inquam, similiaque Dei attributa, decreta, opera, facta (nobis abunde per revelationem explorata; quoad τὸ ὅτι nempe, non quoad τὸ πῶς), si ex nostro sensu concipere, vel ad nostrum modum eloqui velimus, continenter innumeris perplexitatibus et ἐναντιοφανείαις nos implicari sentiemus; ut subiturum sit exclamare cum Apostolo, Ὦ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ· ὡς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ;† quod de providentiæ divinæ methodo prolatum ad existentiæ divinæ modum ratione quodammodo potiori referatur.* Ex his autem colligitur et consectatur:

Primo, Quod non est penes nos circa modum existentiæ, divinæ, aliunde quam e cœlesti revelatione, veram ullam notitiam acquirere, ullum præterquam e sacris testimoniis certum judicium formare:† quod adeo in his φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ ὃ γέγραπται, nil aliud est quam desipere.

Secundo, Quod circa illam quicquid (utcunque conceptu arduum, vel absonum dictu) sacris in literis expressum habetur,‡ id nobis haud ita mirum aut incredibile videri debeat, ne statim assensu firmo am plectamur; quod tale videtur, ipsius rei sublimitati, vel imbecillitati captûs nostri, vel notionum et vocabulorum nostrorum inopiæ imputantes: hoc est, opinor, quod Apostolus docet, ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος (id est, homo sola ratione naturali utens, animæ constans non desuper illuminatæ) οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ· μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστι· καὶ οὐ δύναται γνῶναι, ὅτι πνευματικῶς (id est, e Spiritûs Sancti revelatione) ἀνακρίνεται.§

Tertio, Quod omnis proinde quæ de hujusmodi rebus exoritur, disceptationis cardo præcipuus in hoc uno vertitur, an Deus hoc vel illud dixerit, vel an hoc potius vel illud (excluso rationis comprobantis aut improbantis omni suffragio, vel præjudicio; quoad rerum materiam intelligo, non quoad sensum verborum:) an Deus, inquam, dixerit, seu directe verbis ipsissimis, vel consequenter aut verbis æquipollentibus; nam ad illustrandum sacræ scripturæ sensum, ad quæstiones expediendas, ad errores submovendos, alia subinde vocabula, ex usu communi deprompta, adhiberi non licet modo, sed

* Τίς ἡ τοιαύτη ὑμῶν φιλονεικία τῶν ἐφευρέσεων, ὥστε ἀνθρωπίνῃ φρονήσει ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην νόησιν ὁρίζεσθαι.—Ath. t. I. 625.

* Aug.

* Εἰ γὰρ αἱ οἰκονομίαι ἀκατάγνωστοι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον αὐτός.—Chrys.

† Τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ σὺ λέγε καὶ οὐ κινδυνεύεις.—Maximus apud Athan. Dialog. I. in Maced. 1 Cor. iv. 6; xiii. 9, 12.

‡ Τὰ σιωπώμενα μὴ περιεργάζεσθαι.—Bas.

† Rom. xi. 33.

§ 1 Cor. ii. 14.

expedit, fermeque necessarium est;* ut "fari aliquo modo possimus, quod effari non possumus," uti scite Augustinus.

Hinc, *quarto*, temere Socinus, et qui cum eo faciunt, de rebus his agentes, cum ipsorum imaginationi minus adblandiens aliquid occurrit, utcunque manifestis in sacro textu verbis enunciatum, continuo sanam rationem et sensum communem appellant: quasi vero potius non insana sit ratio, quæ res adeo captum nostrum (*τὸν νοῦν τῆς σαρκὸς*,[h] quem appellat S. Paulus) transcendentes humanæ rationis trutinæ subdit; et a communi sensu maxime non abhorreat, de summo rerum invisibilium apice nostro ex sensu dijudicare;† quasi non extremas rerum possibilitates a mentis nostræ acie discerni, veritatesque cunctas adæquate nostris vocibus exprimi posse, non extremæ vecordiæ simul et arrogantiæ sit existimare; quasi denuo non sobrietatis et sapientiæ multo potius esset, ipsi de se testimonium perhibenti Deo (juxta sensus vocum, quas ejus sapientia selegit, usitatis acceptionibus maxime congruas et affines), simpliciter et prompte fidem adhibere. Sane nostris conceptibus paradoxa, nostris auribus absona videri, de quibus nunc agitur, mysteria, confiteri non verentur S. Patres: quæ tamen verissima credunt, divinis testimoniis subnixi: *Μὴ θαυμάζῃς*, inquit Nyssenus, *εἰ τὸ αὐτὸ συνημμένον καὶ διακεκριμένον εἶναι φαμὲν, καὶ τινα ἐπινοοῦμεν ὥσπερ ἐν αἰνίγματι καινὴν καὶ παράδοξον διάκρισιν τὸ συνημμένην, καὶ διακεκριμένην συνάφειαν*[i]. "Cum quæritur quid tres" (inquit S. Augustinus) "magna inopia humanum laborat eloquium; dictum est tamen tres Personæ, non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur."[j]

Hæc, etsi dilutius, ad sanctorum Patrum exemplum (qui suæ adversus heterodoxorum cavillationes communiendæ doctrinæ Dei *τὸ ἀκατάληπτον*, nostræque rationis infirmitatem, præstruere solent) delibare visum est: nunc ad thesin nostram imprimis explicandam paullo, tum comprobandam accingimur. Ejus autem de subjecto primum nonnulla præmittemus.

Ex iis quæ visûs aciem effugiunt, at quæ manifestis effectibus sese produnt, nihil est ferme quod vento substantia penetrantius, impetu citatius, efficacia validius comperitur; ex hinc fit, ut in communi linguarum plerarumque omnium usu, venti seu spiritûs nomen ejusmodi designandis rebus inserviat, quæ cum præ substantiæ puritate vel tenuitate prorsus invisibiles sint, magna pernicitate agi, magna vi pollere censentur: ita constat physicos cujusque corporis quod abstrusissimum, tenuissimum, agilissimum et efficacissimum est, ejus spiritum nominare. Hinc etiam factum, ut ad a sensu materiaque discretas, intellectu autem et virtute præpotente dotatas substantias denotandas translatum sit hoc vocabuli; etiam apud Ethnicos, quibus imprimis anima nostra (quam et ab *ἄνεμος* deducunt grammatici) spiritus dicitur: Vita corpore et spiritu continetur: et, "Eodem tempore suscipimur in lucem, et hoc cœlesti spiritu augemur,"[k] inquit Cicero: præsertim apud Stoicos anima sicaudivit: "Stoicos," inquit Tertullianus, "allego, qui spiritum dicunt animam pene nobiscum."[l] Quin et ab illis Deo Opt. Max. nomen hoc tribuitur:

——— Cœlum ac terram camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum terræ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus agit ———. *Æn.* vi.

Ita cecinit poetarum princeps, Spiritus nomine, interpretantibus Lactantio et Macrobio, Deum intelligens;[m] imo suam ipse mentem exponit alibi canens,

——— Deum ire per omnes
Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.
Georg. iv.

Similiter apud Ciceronem Balbus; "Hæc," inquit "ita fieri omnibus inter se concinentibus mundi partibus profecto non possent, nisi ea uno divino et continuato Spiritu continerentur:"[n] clarissimeque Seneca, "Prope est," inquit, "a te Deus, tecum est, intus est; ita dico, Lucili, sacer intra nos Spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et

* *Καινοτομεῖν περὶ τὰ ὀνόματα σαφηνείας ἕνεκα.*—Naz. Orat. 39.

† Dignare et tu ista nescire.—*Hier. ad Ctes.* Ita saltem S. Chrysostomus existimavit, *μανίαν γὰρ ἔγωγε εἶναι ἰσχάτην φημὶ φιλονικεῖν εἰδέναι τί τὴν οὐσίαν ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός. Οὐδὲν χεῖρον τοῦ τοῖς λογισμοῖς πνευματικὰ ἐπιτρέπειν.*

[h] Col. ii. 18.
Orat. 9, contra Eunom.

[i] Aug. de Trin. v. 9.

[k] Orat. pro Muræn. Orat. de Arusp. resp.

[l] Tertull. de An. cap. 6; *vide* Lips. Stoic. Phil.

[m] Lact. i. 5.

[n] Cic. de Nat. Deor.

custos—Bonus vir sine Deo nemo est."* Hinc itidem, denuo, captui nostro consulentes sacræ literæ eodem appellamento substantias ejusmodi cunctas (corporeæ molis et concretionis exsortes), animam humanam, omne genus angelicum, ipsumque summum, incomprehensibile Numen adumbrant. Et Deo quidem assignatur hoc nomen ad simplicissimam ejus naturam et potentissimam energiam significanda; reliquis autem ejusmodi substantiis etiam ad originis suæ modum exprimendum attribui videtur, quoniam eas Deus spiratione quadam produxit: qualem etiam ob causam (ex parte saltem) in sacra scriptura id nominis unicuidam rei signanter, et modo quodam peculiari tribuitur; illi nempe præcellentissimæ rei, circa quam præsens instituitur disquisitio; quæ Spiritus Sanctus Spiritus Dei (Dei Patris utique, qui propter ordinis ἐξοχὴν sæpe Deus appellatur, significatu personali), Spiritus Christi, Spiritus Dei bonus; sed et ἀπολύτως (haud raro), per excellentiam, *Spiritus Sanctus* Spiritus vocatur; quæ res etiam *Dei potentia* seu *virtus* nominatur.[p] Quo de nomine breviter observetur. Cum rei cuilibet intellectuali tres præcipuæ facultates, voluntas, intellectus, efficacitas, hisque congruæ tres perfectiones, bonitas, sapientia, potestas, inesse concipiantur; harum una quædam, juxta mysticam in divinis οἰκονομίαν, (ut inde modus et ordo subsistendi cuique proprius insinuentur), singulæ sacræ Triadis Personæ (ita προληπτικῶς loquor) modo quodam appropriatur; Patri nempe, quæ facienda sunt ex arbitrio decernere;† Filio, sapientissima ratione disponere; Spiritui Sancto, virtute præpotente exequi et efficere: unde prout Filius *Dei Sapientia*, ita Spiritus sanctus *Dei Potentia* (substantialis utique) nominatur: huic certe rei, qualiscunque sit (qualis enim, postea comprobandum est), satis liquet proprie et primario Spiritûs Sancti nomen adscribi. Verum exinde per figuratam, uti fit, deflectionem seu metonymiam, operationis, quam ille Spiritus exerit, modus, ejus influxus et efficacia, nec non ejus effectus qualescunque nomen hoc interdum adsumunt. Ita cum ab hoc Spiritu, modo perquam conspicuo, eximia vis ubertim inderetur apostolis opera mirabilia perpetrandi, potestas ista (vel ejusce communicatio manifesta, ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος, quam S. Paulus vocat) dicta est Spiritus Sanctus;[q] veluti cum scriptum habetur in Evangelio Johannis, οὔπω ἦν πνεῦμα ἅγιον,[r] hoc est, nondum ejusmodi potestatem acceperant apostoli, vel nondum ista Sancti Spiritus efficacia comparuerat: item ubi discipuli quidam in Actis sibi nondum innotuisse dicunt, an esset Spiritus Sanctus; id est, an talis divinæ vis peculiaris communicatio.[s] Cum vero Spiritus prophetiæ, Spiritus revelationis, Spiritus sapientiæ, similesque memorantur (quales Spiritus augeri, auferri, extingui nonnunquam innuitur),[t] palam est ejusce phrasibus Spiritus Sancti effectus, dona, charismata, fructus, ἐνεργήματα denotari; qualia proinde numero plurali πνεύματα vocantur; ut cum a S. Paulo præcipitur, ζηλωταὶ ἐστε πνευμάτων· et cum ab eo nonnullis διακρίσεις πνευμάτων donari affirmatur; ut et cum prophetarum πνεύματα prophetis subjici vel subordinari dicuntur:[u] his autem et ejusmodi (quicunque sunt) sensibus metonymicis exclusis, nos de Spiritu Sancto juxta sensum proprium et primarium jam agere præmonemus.

Pro reliquorum terminorum explicatione pauca jam subdemus. Cum Spiritum Sanctum *personam* dicimus, intelligimus rem sinularem subsistentem, intellectualem (completam scilicet, vel αὐτοτελῆ), vel, ut Boethius definit, rationalis naturæ individuam substantiam; Græci ὑπόστασιν (quæ vox latior etiam res intelligentiæ expertes comprehendit), hoc est, substantiam, concrete sumptam, sive rem subsistentem, (τὸ ἐνυπόστατον), huc adhibuerunt; quod vocabuli etiam in sacra scriptura extat, ubi Filius Dei Patris respectu dicitur χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ[v] quo minus causæ fuit, cur *hypostasis* verbum

* Θεὸς ἐστὶ πνεῦμα νοερὸν καὶ πυρῶδες, οὐκ ἔχον μορφὴν, μεταβάλλον δὲ εἰς ἃ βούλεται, καὶ συνεξομοιούμενον πᾶσιν.—Posid. apud Stob.——Θεὸς ἐστὶ πνεῦμα, διῆκον δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου.—Zeno.

† Pater omnia pro arbitrio ordinare dicitur, et proinde τὸ θέλημα dictus est.—*Vide Ignatium in Epist.*

[o] Sen. Epist. 41.

[p] Luc. i. 35; xxiv. 49.

[q] 1 Cor. xii. 7.

[r] Joh. vii. 39.

[s] Act. xix. 2; Rom. viii. 5; Eph. i. 17; 2 Reg. ii. 9.

[t] 1 Thess. v. 19; 1 Cor. xii. 6; Gal. v. 22

[u] 1 Cor. xiv. 12; xii. 10; xiv. 32.

[v] Heb. i 3.

ita refugerent, aut timidius admitterent Hieronymus, et alii Latini;[v] subverentes quippe, ne illo utentes tres essentias agnoscere viderentur; cum usitatiori significatu, ut Augustinus notat, nil aliud denotaret substantia quam essentiam. "Unde non audemus," ait ille, "dicere unam essentiam, tres substantias, sed unam essentiam (vel substantiam), tres personas." Sed hoc nil aliud erat, ut subnotabat Nazianzenus,* quam περὶ λεξειδιων ζυγομαχεῖν, de voculis discrepare, cum sive personam, sive hypostasin, sive τὸ ἐνυπόστατον dicimus, idem sentiamus. Nos hoc idcirco ponimus, ut Socini et ὁμοδόξων excludamus sententiam, quæ Spiritum Sanctum nil aliud esse vult quam accidens, aut accidentale quoddam, divinam nempe potentiam, vim, aut efficaciam.

Distinctam adjungimus, ut Praxeæ Hermogenis, Noeti, Sabellii, similiumque dogma reprobetur;† quod Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, confundens, ipsorumque proprietates destruens, unam ex omnibus Personam trinominem effingit, ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει τρεῖς ὀνομασίας asserens, et τὴν τριάδα συνναλοιφὴν efficiens, ut tradit Epiphanius. Distinctionis autem vocabulum præ reli quis huic mysterio commodius applicari consent scholastici; quum diversitas et differentia nonnullum essentiæ discrimen subinnuere videantur. "In divinis," inquit Thomas, "vitare debemus nomen diversitatis et differentiæ; possumus autem uti nomine distinctionis, propter oppositionem relativam:" quam tamen cautelam haud morosius observant Patres; nam apud illos subinde προσώπων ἑτερότες et διαφορὰ quin et nonnunquam διαίρεσις, occurrunt; quanquam διάκρισιν lubentius adhibere videantur. Nos simpliciter asserimus Personas τοῖς ἰδιώμασι διακρίνεσθαι, ut Nyssenus ait, ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον, ut Nazianzenus, persistere;‡ a se vere, plusquam mero conceptu vel nomine, distingui,* propter distinctas personales proprietates, seu relationes.

Porro, cum *coessentialem* (hoc est, ὁμοούσιον, quod vocabulum adeo percrebuit olim, et contentione tanta passim exagitatum est, quod σύνδεσμον, πίστεως, et ὀρθοδοξίας propugnaclum, recte sentientium, qui proinde ὁμουσιαςταί, coessentialistæ dicti sunt, tesseram appellitant Patres) dicimus Patri Filioque Spiritum Sanctum, intelligimus essentiam Dei (quæ simplex est et una), cum suis omnibus perfectionibus et attributis (æternitate, majestate bonitate, sapientia, potentia) infinitis, Spiritui Sancto inesse, vereque attribui: vel idem brevius efferendo, Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum; contra quam olim semi-Ariani, qui dicti sunt, et princeps inter eos Macedonius, statuebant. Hasce vero thesis nostræ partes S. Augustinus ita bene paucis complexus est: "Pater," inquit,[x] "et Filius, et Spirtus Sanctus, et propter individuam substantiam unus Deus est, et propter uniuscujusque proprietatem tres Personæ sunt, et propter singulorum perfectionem partes unius Dei non sunt."

Ultimo, Cum Spiritum Sanctum a Patre Filioque, procedere dicimus, modus et ordo designantur originis huic divinæ Personæ convenientis: Spiritui nempe Sancto, peculiari modo (ineffabili quidem illo, sed qui per hoc *processionis* vocabulum utcunque designatur), tam a Filio, quam a Patre, divinam quam habet essentiam communicari; contra quam nuperiores Græci dogmatizant.

His expositis, thesis nostræ singulas partes breviter (etenim ne fusius aut pensiculatius agam, rerum vetat multitudo) comprobatas dabo.

I. Imprimis, Contra Sabellium dico, Spiritum Sanctum a Patre Filioque vere, plusquam nomine, distingui.

Distinguitur a Patre, nam,

1. Patris Spiritus dicitur; neque proculdubio illa relatio commentitia est, aut reali fundamento destitutur: ejus itaque termini sunt vere distincti.[y]

2. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre ἐκπορεύεται (hoc est, *egreditur* vel *procedit*;) alius itaque sit oportet; nec enim ab eo quicquam vere procedere concipiatur, a quo

* Naz. 39, et 32, Orat.—περὶ τὸν ἦχον μικρολογεῖν, circa sonum argutari.

† Ὡς μήτε τὴν Σαβελλίου νόσον χώραν λαβεῖν συγχεομένων τῶν ὑποστάσεων, εἴτουν τῶν ἰδιοτήτων ἀναιρουμένων.—Patres. Concil. Const. Epist. ad Conc. Rom. Thod. v. 9.

‡ Naz. Orat. 23.—Δίδασκε τοσοῦτον εἰδέναι μόνον, μονάδα ἐν τριάδι προσκυνουμένην, παράδοξον ἔχουσαν καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἕνωσιν.

* Apud Augustinum personæ sæpe diversæ dicuntur.

[v] Hier. Epist. ad Damasum. Aug. de Trin. v. 8, 9.

[x] Contra Maxim. lib. iii.

[y] 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, &c.

non nisi conceptu vel nomine tenus differt.[a]

3. Consimiliter a Patre mitti, conferri, donari dicitur; quæ certe veram aliqualem distinctionem arguunt.[a]

4. Spiritui Sancto tribuuntur nonnulla, quæ Patri minus congruunt; veluti speciatim quod σωματικῷ εἴδει *specie corporea* apparuerit;[b] quod descenderit, et resederit super Christum, adspectante Baptista: *Vidi*, inquit Johannes, *Spiritum descendentem quasi columbam, et mansit super eum:* Atqui *Deum* (Patrem utique) *nemo vidit unquam*, ait idem Evangelista: *nec eum*, S. Paulus addit, *videre quisquam potest.*[c]

5. Denique Spiritus Sanctus est noster apud Deum advocatus, clamans in cordibus nostris, et Patrem interpellans (ὑπερεντυγχάνων) pro nobis:[d] id officii, id actus manifeste veram distinctionem supponit.

Pares ob causas etiam a Filio distinguitur Spiritus Sanctus: nam,

1. Filii Spiritus dicitur; neque de nihilo hæc relatio.[e]

2. A Filio mittitur: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω, inquit Christus de Spiritu Sancto.[f]

3. Super Christum descendit et mansit, ipsum replevit, ipsum egit, seu duxit; ipsum unxit; sed et ejus operatione Filius carnem suscepit: ergo diversus est a Filio.[g]

4. Aperte distinguit ipse Christus inter *obloqui Filio*, et *in Spiritum Sanctum blasphemare.*[h]

5. Spiritus Sanctus a Filio accepturus dicitur, quod annunciarit discipulis, ac inde Filium glorificare.[i]

6. Multa Filius fecit, et passus est, quæ Spiritui Sancto convenire vel attribui nequeunt; quod incarnatus est, et humanam naturam suscepit; quod passus est, resurrexit, ascendit in cœlos.

7. Exerte demum Spiritus Sanctus dicitur alius a Filio: Ἐγὼ ἐρωτήσω τὸν Πατέρα καὶ ἄλλον παράκλητον δώσει ὑμῖν,[j] ait Dominus.

Ita separatim Spiritus Sancti ab utroque distinctio monstratur. Porro conjuncte variis in locis hæc distinctio significatur; nam tribus illis, constanti quadam œconomia, certus ordo assignatur, propria munia quædam et energiæ peculiares adscribuntur; id quod absque reali fundamento factum existimare par non est. *Per Christum* (inquit S. Paulus) *habemus accessum in uno Spiritu ad Patrem:*[k] quorsum per has ambages hac districta methodo proceditur, si Pater, Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus solo nomine distinguuntur? quorsum et idem apostolus ita benedicit? *Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio Spiritus Sancti sit cum omnibus vobis:*[l] quorsum is discerte Patri energematum, Filio ministeriorum, Spiritui Sancto charismatum, peculiarem adsignat dispensationem? Quorsum etiam S. Petrus sanctorum electionem Patri prædestinanti, Filio propitianti, Spiritui sanctificanti adscribit?[m] Sane divinorum oraculorum gravitati, simplicitati sinceritati non convenit, ita perpetuo tenore tres illos, ut tres, nedum nominibus, at reipsa, essendi modo, operatione diversos proponere, si nulla præter notionalem illam subsit distinctio? quid hoc aliud esset, quam nobis errandi non tam occasionem præbere, quam necessitatem imponere? nisi veritatis unicos magistros consulto argutos, perplexos et obscuros arbitrari velimus. Porro, tres in cœlo testimonium perhibere Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum affirmat S. Johannes in Epistola Prima[n] (saltem, si textus αὐθεντία constet;) quod et indubie, licet non junctim, ut in Epistola sua, asseverat in Evangelio; nam Joh. viii. 18. *Ego sum* inquit Christus) *qui testimonium perhibeo de meipso, et testimonium de me perhibet, qui me misit, Pater:* rursusque Joh; xv. 26. *Cum autem venerit Paracletus, ille testimonium perhibebit de me.* Ecce tres in cœlo testes: atque tria nomina (qualia putes Marcus, Tullius, Cicero), vel tribus nominibus insignita res omni modo eadem, tres testes haud confecerint, Denique baptismi forma distinctionem hanc evincit; nam baptismum subeuntes, Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum agnoscere

[a] Joh. xv. 26.
[a] Joh. xiv. 26, 16; 1 Cor. ii. 12; Gal iv. 6.
[b] Luc. iii. 22.
[c] Joh. i. 32, 33, 18; 1 Joh. iv. 12; 1 Tim. vi. 16.
[d] ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν—Rom. viii. 15, 26; Gal. iv. 6; Joh. xvi. 14.
[e] Gal. iv. 6.
[f] Luc. xxiv. 49.
[g] Luc. iv. 1; Joh. iii. 34.
[h] Matt. xii. 31.
[i] Joh. xvi. 14.
[j] Joh. xiv. 16.
[k] Eph. ii. 18.
[l] 2 Cor. xiii. 13; 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5, 6.
[m] 1 Pet. i. 2.
[n] Joh. v. 7.

profitemur; iis singulis cultum præstamus, et obsequium policemur; quod agentes nos paria facere vult Sabellius, ac si subditi Caio, Julio, Cæsarique fidem obstringere juberentur; quale quid a Deo solenniter institui, nemo non videt quam absurdum sit statuere. Satis hæc, opinor, Sabellianum dogma convellunt, nostræque thesis unam partem confirmant.

II. Dicimus, secundo, Spiritum Sanctum esse Personam, non accidentale quid, ut sentiunt asseclæ Socini.

1. Suadetur hoc imprimis ex iis, quæ de Patris ac Spiritus Sancti distinctione prælibata sunt. Etenim ejusmodi tenuis, aut ferme nulla, distinctio, qualis inter eos quodpiam et ejus efficaciam versatur (præsertim in hoc casu, si Dei simplicissimam naturam et simplicissimum agendi modum attendamus), minus rem attingit, nec omnino sufficit illi fundandæ distinctioni, quam inter Patrem et Spiritum Sanctum (uti monstratum est) constituit scriptura. Enimvero in hac parte Socinus (quanquam is subinde catholicis Sabellianismum impingere solet) a Sabellio nihil discrepat; etenim Sabellius ipse Filium et Spiritum Sanctum Patris alias ac alias energias esse; ut et sic eos a patre, velut a sole lucem ac calorem, distingui professus est; quod non obstitit ne Patres eumquasi nullam poneret veram distinctionem, redargurent: prout revera Deus a potent, tia vel efficacia sua, quoad rem ipsam, non distinguitur.

2. Porro, Colligitur hoc ex ipso Spiritus nomine, quod certe primario substantiis (tam corporeis quam incorporeis) impositum est, ipsi Deo (οὐσιωδῶς intellecto) angelis, animæ humanæ; quæ res universæ sunt substantiæ; unde verisimile fit, ei de qua agimus rei, quoniam et ipsa pariter est substantia, ab optimo vocum arbitro Deo, *Spiritus* nomen assignari; *Sancti*, distinctionis in gratiam, insigni adposito epitheto. Confirmatur hoc ex eo, quod cum ipse Deus οὐσιωδῶς sit Spiritus (ut apud S. Johannem in Evangelio habetur expressum), ejus effi cacia parum apte sibi nomen hoc idem adsciscat; prout inde quod anima nostra essentialiter est spiritus, incongruum esset ejus vim quampiam animæ spiritum appellare.[o] Idem amplius exinde confirmatur, quod qui bono Dei Spiritui opponitur spiritus malus non est efficacia Dei, sed res subsistens; id quod et bonum quoque Spiritum arguit esse rem subsistentem: idem corroboratur ex eo, quod Sanctus Spiritus ab apostolo comparatur ei spiritui, qui in homine situs ejus intima consilia rimatur et persentiscit; spiritus autem hominis est substantiale quid; unde παραλλήλως et Spiritum Sanctum esse tale quid innuitur.[p] His accedit, quod Spiritui Sancto potentia, vis, efficacia ascribuntur; εἰς τὸ περισσεύειν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι, ἐν δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου, inquit S. Paulus;[q] potentiam vero potentiæ, vim vi, efficaciam efficaciæ adscribi, non ita congruum est.

3. Porro, Sacra scriptura (quacum loquente sentire nos decet) Spiritum Sanctum passim ut Personam describit, personalibus elogiis, officiis, attributis, operationibus insignitam; talibus et illis, quæ divinæ tantum efficaciæ nec sono nec re conveniunt. 1. Imprimis de Spiritu Sancto loquens, Personæ congruum articulum ipsi consulto et quasi de industria accommodat. Joh. xvi. 13. ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας. 1 Cor. ii. 11. τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ.[r] Quorsum ita (alioquin præter analogiæ grammaticæ rationem) stylum temperare, vel inflectere, nisi ut Spiritus Sancti personalitas subindicetur? is si nil aliud quam Dei vis esset, nihil opus esset, imo potius incommodum foret, ejusmodi phrases adhibere. Rursus. 2. Attribuit illa Spiritui Sancto officia personalia: *Magistri*; ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς διδάξει πάντα. *Ductoris*; ὁδηγήσει ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· *Monitoris*; ὑπομνήσει ὑμᾶς πάντα· *Testis*; ἐκεῖνος μαρτυρήσει περὶ ἐμοῦ·[s] quinimo (quod fortius evincit) *Legati*, qui mentem divinam non tamquam a se, verum ut a Patre Filioque deputatus ac instructus annunciat; Οὐ λαλήσει ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ λαλήσει, καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν· πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ Πατὴρ ἐμά ἐστι· διὰ τοῦτο εἶπον, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται·[t] quæ sane nullo pacto divinæ potentiæ vel efficaciæ conveniunt, at personam liquidissime respiciunt: nam quod ab agente quopiam peragitur, id de ejus efficacia, tanquam ab ipso distincta, prædicari, præter loquendi rationem atque morem fit; præsertimque

[o] Joh. iv. 24.

[p] 1 Sam. xvi. 14; 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.
[q] Rom. xv. 13, 19.
[r] Joh. xvi. 13; xiv. 26; xv. 26; 1 Cor. ii. 11.
[s] Joh. xiv. 26; xvi. 13; xv. 26.
[t] Joh. xvi. 13, 15.

divinæ (nos simplicissime planissimeque docendos suscipientis) scripturæ ab indole abhorret. Dei efficaciam a Patre Filioque mitti, a Patre Filioque (non a seipso; a quo seipso dic sodes? qui ipsum ab ipso Patre non distinguis) loqui, a Patre vel Filio quæ annunciet audire, quam horride durum et obscurum est? quid non audent, qui sacris literis) ad nos instruendos comparatis) ejusmodi caliginem adspergere nonverentur? Quinetiam adsimiliter Spiritui Sancti *paracleti* (seu *advocati*) tribuitur officium, qui apud Deum causam nostram agit, pro nobis orat ac intercedit; verum Patris efficaciam (quæ vix concipi potest, neque concipi debet, a Patre distincta) Deum alloqui, Patri nobisque mediam interponi, nimis quam (ut cætera) perplexum est, et *αἰνιγματῶδες*.[u] 3. Porro, Spiritui quoque Sancto S. Scriptura ribuit facultates, et his adnexas operationes, plane personales; quales sunt Intellectus; *Spiritus omnia perscrutatur, etiam profunda Dei: Τίς οἶδεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα;* Voluntas; *διαιρεῖ ἑκάστῳ καθὼς βούλεται.* Affectus tristitiæ et iræ; *μὴ λυπεῖτε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, Spiritum ejus exacerbarunt;* Sensus; *ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ λαλήσει.* Sermo; cum ibidem tum alibi sæpe, *Non enim vos estis, qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis. Dixit Spiritus Sanctus, Separate mihi Barnabum atqua Saulum;*[v] Addo locum illum (ut mihi videtur) loculentissimum, Act. x. 19, *Petro autem cogitante de visione, dixit Spiritus ei, Ecce tres viri quærunt te; surge itaque et vade cum eis, nihil dubitans; quia ego misi illos.* Hæc, inquam, et agnata complura liquido personalia sunt; neque qualitatem aliquam aut energiam, sed hypostasin vivam ac intellectualem repræsentant: hæc omnia ceu per *προσωποποιΐαν* (hoc est, quasi dramatice), prolata interpretari, quid fuerit aliud quam oracula Dei velut in Pythios griphos transformare, deque theologia mythologiam efficere? ut emphasis causa, in re minus obscura vel ardua, ejusmodi schemata nonnunquam adhibeat S. Scriptura, nil officit, fateor; sed ut rem gravissimam sublimissimamque quasi perpetuo tortuosis istis loquendi formis involvat, equidem ejus sanctissimæ simplicissimæque majestati consentaneum haud videtur: certe prout simplicius, clarius et intelligibilius, ita majori compendio dici potuisset, Deus cognoscit, Deus vult, Deus hoc vel illo modo afficitur; Deus loquitur: quam *Dei vis* cognoscit, *Dei potentia* vult, *Dei efficacia* loquitur. Si nihil hi modi loquendi discreparent, at saltem clarior, simplicior ceu expeditior est ille; nec adeo dubiis aut erroribus ansam præbet. Non inepta saltem deberet esse *προσωποποιΐα* talis, at quæ rei propositæ quam apposite conveniret; id quod in hoc casu non contingit; nam ex illis saltem attributis personalibus nonnulla sensus istos figuratos vix admittunt; aut plane duriusculum est divinam vim cognoscere, vel audire; et divinam efficaciam ira vel mœstitia affici (hoc est *ἐνέργειαν* pati) quis commode dixerit?

4. Spiritus Sanctus simili modo, parique jure, quo Pater et Filius, est fidei, cultus, obsequii nostri objectum: addo, cum in Spiritum Sanctum blasphemia committi dicitur, eadem plane loquendi forma, qua in Filium, significatur eodem modo Spiritum Sanctum esse personam quo Filius est persona: alioquin comparatio minus apte videretur instituta: id quod cum alias plurifariam constet (ut postmodum ostendetur), tum præsertim e S. Baptismi forma ab ipso Domino instituta; ubi scilicet æque in Spiritus Sancti nomen, ac in nomen Patris et Filii baptizmur; quo significatur, atque solenni contestatione sancitur, e parte quidem divina tres illos ita junctos et quasi confœderatos nobis conspiranter propitios et faventes esse; nos ab iis in disciplinam, in gratiam, in clientelam accipi; eos nobis (fœderis initi leges atque conditiones implentibus) paratos et promissi jure velnt obstrictos esse beneficia quædam eximia elargiri; e parte vero nostra, nos solida fide tres illos pariter (hoc est penitus) agnoscere et amplecti; nos in illis parem (hoc est, summam) spem et fiduciam reponere; eos omnes et singulos suprema nos reverentia prosequi; quin et iis perpetuum (et quoad ejus a nobis fieri potest, perfectum) obsequium sancte spondemus: quod agentes (sicut Athanasius, vel sub Athanasii nomine quis alius vetustus scriptor

[u] Rom. viii. 26.

[v] 1 Cor. ii. 10; xii. 11; Joh. iii. 8; Eph. iv. 30; Psal. cvi. 43; John xvi. 33; Matt. x. 20; Act. xiii. 2.

effatur*) plusquam simpliciter adoramus Spiritum Sanctum (εἰ δὲ μὴ εἰσι τέλειοι Χριστιανοὶ οἱ κατηχούμενοι, πρὶν ἢ βαπτισθῶσι, βαπτισθέντες δὲ τελειοῦνται· τὸ βάπτισμα ἄρα μεῖζόν ἐστι τῆς προσκυνήσεως.) Exhinc quis non perspicit, in hoc religionis nostræ primo præcipuoque mysterio Spiritum Sanctum nobis ut personam exhiberi, circa illum ut talem nostri præcellentem hanc officii partem, cultum hunc eximium versari? Huc autem attendentes adversantium sententiam multis sentiemus incommodis urgeri. Nam si Spiritus Sanctus non est persona, minus apte (vel potius admodum incongrue) cum duabus aliis personis in eundem ordinem censumque cooptatur; minus recte res adeo toto genere diversæ (subsistentes, et non subsistentes) copulantur, nobisque forma prorsus eadem tanquam similia cultus abjecta proponuntur; quin et frustra ac superflue Spiritus Sancti nomen adponi videtur, si nil præter Dei Patris efficaciam designat: nam Patrem agnoscentes, ejus una patientiam et efficaciam (divinæ naturæ congruam) agnoscimus: Patrem colentes, simul ejus potentiam suspicimus; Patri nos in obsequium addicentes, ejus juxta potestati nos subdimus: veluti si quis regi se fidum et obsequentem pollicitus ac obtestatus est, eatenus abunde satisfecit officio suo, nihil ut sit opus post fidem sic obstrictam, etiam se regiæ potentiæ vel efficaciæ cuipiam devotum profiteri. Supervacaneum regem a regia potentia divelli quis non videt? Sciscitari quoque licet, annon simili ratione par esset in divinæ bonitatis, aut divinæ justitiæ, vel divinæ sapientiæ, vel alterius cujusvis attributi divini nomen, æquo ac in nomen divinæ potentiæ nos consecrari? Miras itaque tenebras et affanias augusto huic mysterio inducit expositio Sociniana; quod tamen decuit clarissime nobis et simplicissime proponi; ne in ipso Christianæ professionis aditu cespitandi porrigeretur occasio.

5. Etiam perspicue Spiritus Sancti personalitatem evincit, quod sub visibili rei subsistentis specie, εἴδει σωματικῷ, apparuisse memoratur in Evangelio. Rei scilicet accidentalis res substantialis haudquaquam idoneum est symbolum aut repræsentamen; nec ejus nomen adsumat commode. Rei minime subsistenti parum congruit ad instar columbæ descendere, Christoque incumbere: quod si Spiritus Sanctus esset tantum efficacia Dei Patris (quandoquidem facultatum et operationum effectus suppositis suis aptissime tribuuntur), exinde dici posset (idque rectius et magis proprie), Patrem ipsum apparuisse corporea specie, Patrem descendisse, Patrem Christo insedisse; Patrem S. Baptistæ conspectum esse; quod a veri specie nimisquam abludit, et a nobis antea rejectum est. Taceo (quod antehac attigimus) Spiritum Sanctum inter tres in cœlo testificantes recenseri; quod et peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum a peccatis disterminatur in Deum Patrem admissis. Ut et prætereo quod Personarum trinitas, e Patrum complurium sententia, in illa quæ Abrahamo facta est apparitione (ubi, *Apparuit ei Dominus;* et *Apparuerunt ei tres viri*, dicitur) repræsentatur; ut et quod eandem hymnus ille τρισάγιον (apud Esaiam et Apocalyppten) insinuat;* ut et quod, *Creavit Elohim Faciamus hominem,* et similia, eodem re ferantur:* nam e dictis Socinianus error abunde refutatus videtur, et altera theseos nostræ pars constabilita.

III. Asserimus, tertio (supposita jam ejus personalitate), Spiritum Sanctum esse coessentialem Patri Filioque; seu divinam illam unicam essentiam ei eum Patre et Filio communem esse; seu, quod eodem recidit, Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum (summum illum, absolute propriissimeque dictum.) Cum enim unum esse Deum et sacræ literæ passim clament, et omnes facile consentiant, si Spiritus Sanctus sit Deus, Patri Filioque (qui jam Deus esse supponitur) necessario coessentialis erit: quod vero Spiritus Sanctus est Deus (contra Macedonium, et ei ὁμοδόξους) hujusmodi demonstratur argumentis.

1. Spiritui Sancto Dei nomina maxime propria titulique summopere divini passim attribuuntur; ex interpretatione justa nimirum, et consequentia perspicua; quatenus sæpenumero (pene dixeram semper) variis ex occasionibus simul ad Deum et Spiritum Sanctum eadem verba, opera,

* Tom. ii. p. 265; Dial. i. contra Maced.

* Cur non hic accipiamus visibiliter insinuatam per creaturam visibilem Trinitatis æqualitatem, atque in tribus personis unam eandemque substantiam?—*Aug. Trin.* II. 11, 12. Jehovah Eloheim, Deut. vi. 6.

* Gen. xviii. 1; Esa. vi. 3; Apoc. iv. 8.

factaque referuntur; quicquid ut Deus dixisse, fecisse, vel utcunque gessisse tradatur, id etiam a Spiritu Sancto juxta dictatum, confectum, transactumque perhibeatur; et vicissim ut quicquid Spiritum Sanctum quomodocunque spectet, id pariter ad Deum referatur; id quod rebus Dei Spiritusque Sancti nomine designatis essentialem intercedere quandam identitatem vel unitatem arguit. De Israelitis nequiter incredulis et immorigeris in Psalmo dicitur: *Tentaverunt et exacerbaverunt Deum excelsum;* id sic exprimit Esaias: *Ad iracundiam provocaverunt, et afflixerunt Spiritum Sanctum ejus.* Ananiam insimulat S. Petrus, quod spiritui Sancto mentitus esset, ac inde quod Deo: *Ananias*, inquit, *cur tentavit Sathanas cor tuum mentiri, Spiritui Sancto?* mox autem subjicit, *Non mentitus es hominibus, sed Deo;*[y] plane, nominibus illis eandem rem designat; plusquam innuit idem esse mentiri Spiritui Sancto, atque mentiri Deo. Servator noster, ut homo, conceptus est a Spiritu Sancto, ptoptereaque Dei natus fuit: *Spiritus Sanctus* (inquit angelus ille) *superveniet in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi; ideoque quod et nascetur ex te sanctum vocabitur Filius Dei;*[z] quomodo constabit aut consequetur id, nisi Spiritus Sanctus sit Deus? Dominus etiam noster cum Dei, tum Spiritus Sancti virtute miracula perpetrasse narratur; *Si ego* (apud Matthæum ait ipse) *in Spiritu Dei ejicio dæmones;* apud Lucam vero, *Si ego digito Dei* (hoc est, Dei potentia) *ejicio dæmonia.*[a] Eadem in Actis Petrus Deum fecisse dicit. Utramque phrasin æquipollenter effert S. Paulus per δυνάμει πνεύματος ἁγίου. Scriptura Sancta, quoniam a Spiritu Sancto dictata, θεόπνευστος dicitur.[b] *Dixit in prophetis Spiritus*, ait B. Petrus, et idem alii passim; *Dixit in iisdem Deus*, ait Apostolus ad Hebræos, et itidem alii, toties, quoties S. pagina Dei Verbum appellatur.[c] Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus nostris charitatem diffundit, et operatur; ideo θεοδίδακτοι dicimur ad nos mutuo diligendum:[d] quin omnis virtus idcirco promiscue Deo Spirituique Sancto tanquam immediatis authoribus ascribitur: πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἄγεσθαι, et ὁ Θεός ἐστιν ἐνεργῶν καὶ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν, idem denotant. Unusquisque porro fidelis Christianus ideo *templum* (hoc est, locus Deo sacratus) vocitatur, quatenus ei Spiritus Sanctus speciali modo præsens est: Οὐκ οἴδατε, ὅτι ναὸς Θεοῦ ἐστε, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν; (inquit Paulus;) *Annon scitis vos esse Dei sacrarium?*[e] unde scitis? inde, quod Dei Spiritus vos incolit; quoniam utique divini Spiritus inhabitatio nil aliud est quam inhabitatio Dei. Rursus idem Apostolus, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικητήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι· *ad habitaculum Dei in Spiritu;*[f] hoc est, eatenus habitaculum Dei, quatenus Spiritus Sanctus in vobis habitat. Quomodo disertius aut penitius Spiritus Sancti divinitas enunciari poterat? Accedit, quod expresse S Paulus Spiritum Sanctum appellat Dominum; Ὁ δὲ Κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι· τὸ πνεῦμα verbis immediate subsequentibus τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου dicitur (quod et prius in eodem capite τὸ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ζῶντος, uti Chrysostomus adnotat;[g]) itaque Domini Spiritus et ipse Dominus est, ad quem Judæi, dempto velamine mentes eorum obtegente, revertentur. Demum S. Johannes Patrem, Filium, et Sp. Sanctum unum esse testatur; adeoque Spiritus Sanctus est Deus, utrique coessentialis.[h]

Exhinc corollarii loco, Macedonianorum retunditur importunitas, nihil aliud fere, quam ubinam Spiritus Sanctus in sacris literis exerte Deus appellatur, sciscitantium.[i] Ubi deus appellatur, ais? Ubinon? inquam ego: siquidem cum passim in eodem diplomate, vel in eadem historia, Cæsari et Imperatori eadem dicta, facta, gesta memorentur, recte pronunciari possit, quod ibidem Cæsar appellatur imperator; id quod nemo, reor, inficias ibit.

2. Spiritui Sancto expressissime tribuuntur omnigenæ Dei perfectiones incommunicabiles, divinæ naturæ characteres et idiomata. Ipsum imprimis *Sancti* (absolute, αὐτονομαστικῶς, characteristice positum) epitheton huc pertinet: siquidem

[y] Psal lxxviii. 56; Isa. lxiii. 10; vi. 9; Act. xxviii. 25; *vide* 1 Cor. xii. 4; Act. v. 3, 4.
[z] Luc. i. 35.
[a] Matt. xii. 28; Luc. xi. 20; Act. ii. 22.
[b] Rom. xv. 19; 2 Tim iii. 16.
[c] 1 Pet. i. 11; Heb. i. 1; 2 Pet i. 21, &c.; Luc. i. 70.
[d] 1 Thess. iv. 8, 9.
[e] Rom. viii. 14; Phil. ii. 13; 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Rom. viii. 9.
[f] Ephes. ii. 22.
[g] 2 Cor. iii. 17, et v. 3.
[h] 1 John v. 7.
[i] Dial. in Maced. apud S. Athan.

(ut in Annæ hymno habetur), *Non est sanctus ut est Dominus, neque enim est alius extra te*[j]—non est alius nempe præter Deum absolute perfecteque sanctus (hoc est, a rebus omnibus intervallo quam longissimo segregatus, procul exaltatus supra omnia, peculiariter venerabilis et angustus) unde *Sanctus ille*, Ὁ ἅγιος, Dei nomen est plane διακριτικόν imo Spiritus ipsius nomen (itidem absolute, et eminenter positum) adeoque summam puritatem et perfectissimam (ut cum barbaris loquar) actualitatem signans, idem innuere videtur: quin etiam æternitas, immensitas, omniscientia, omnipotentia (quibus utique nullæ concipi possunt excelsiores, aut Deo magis propriæ perfectiones)Spirtui Sancto tribuuntur. Æternitas; nam αἰώνιον πνεῦμα dicitur Apostolo ad Hebræos; *Quanto magis* (inquit ille) *sanguis Christi, qui per Spiritum Æternum*[k] *semetipsum obtulit immaculatum Dei?*[l] Immensitas; *Quo* (inquit Psalmographus) *ibo a Spiritu tuo? et quo a facie tua fugiam?*[m] quæstio negationem involvit, ejusque manifestam innuit rationem: a Spiritu tuo fugere non est, quoniam is ubique præsens est. Omniscientia; *Spiritus* (inquit B. Paulus) *omnia perscrutatur* (id est, omnia, perfecte, funditusqne comprehendit), *etiam profunda Dei*, καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ,[n] hoc est, omnia, nulla re exclusa; nam si τὰ βάθη, tum omnia proculdubio, quæ Deus novit, adeoque quæ sciri possunt, intelligit; illa nempe, quæ comprehendere tam creaturæ sortem longe superat, quam unius hominis captum transgreditur alterius hominis cogitationes affectusque presentiscere (nam hujusmodi comparationem instituit S. Paulus:) quod et e Servatoris dicto confirmatur; Οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ Πατήρ καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ Πατήρ, εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός·[o] atqui Spiritus Sanctus quis Pater et quis Filius, proculdubio norat: ergo, Spiritus Sanctus Patri Filioque coessentialis est. Speciatim Spiritui Sancto tribuitur præscientia futurorum, quæ contingentur eveniunt (qualis scientia præ reliquis ardua, Deoque summopere propria est, ac inde vulgo divinatio nuncupatur), quæ peculiariter Spiritui Sancto velut ejus immediato principi appropriatur; unde Spiritus prophetiæ (vel propheticus), Spiritus revelationis, Spiritus sapientiæ, Spiritus veritatis audit.[p] His accenseri possunt et alia non minus divina Spiritus Sancti attributa; velut Independentia quoad voluntatem et operationem; nam, *hæc omnia* (gratiarum scilicet istarum eximiarum productionem; donorum istorum mirabilium distributionem) *operatur unus ac idem Spiritus, dividens singulis prout vult*, ait S. Paulus.[q] Uti *ventus ubicunque vult spirat*,[r] nec a quoquam determinari potest, aut inhiberi, ita (quod Dominus noster in Evangelio Johannis insinuat) Sanctus Spiritus pro jure suo ac arbitrio quicquid vult operatur. Bonitas absoluta; quæ soli Deo convenit (nam *bonus nemo, præterquam unus, Deus ipse:*) atqui *Spiritus tuus bonus: deduc me in terram rectam* (ait Psaltes.[s]) Veracitas absolutissima (quæ et scientiam perfectam et bonitatem extremam implicat), qualem innuit ei assignata veri tatis abstractæ titulus: *Spiritus est qui testificatur* (ait S. Johannes) *quoniam Spiritus est veritas*,[t] hoc est absolutissime perfectissimeque verax. Demum omnipotentia Spiritui Sancto congruit, ut ex ejus operibus constat, quæ mox sequenti proponemus argumento:

Nam, tertio, Operationes divinissimæ (creatæ cujuscunque rei potestatem transcendentes) adscribuntur Spiritui Sancto, qnales sunt res creare: nam, informi massæ Spiritus incubans mundum enixus est: *Spiritus Dei cœlos ornavit*, inquit B. Job: *Verbo Domini* (canit Psaltes) *cœli formati sunt, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum*:[u] qui vero res omnes condidit, Deus est (ὁ δὲ πάντα κατασκευάσας, Θεὸς), infert Apostolus ad Hebræos.[v] Res conservare: *Emittes Spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et renovabis faciem terræ* (de rerum continua productione seu conservatione significatur.) Homines speciatim cum primitus, tum continuo producere: nam a Dei Spiritu promanavit anima protoplasti; deque seipso

[j] 1 Sam. ii. 2.
[k] Vulg. *Sanctum*.
[l] Heb. ix. 14.
[m] Psal. cxxix. 7.
[n] 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11.
[o] Luc. x. 22.
[p] Eph. iii. 5; i. 17; Rev. xix. 10; Joh. xv. 26.
[q] 1 Cor. xii. 11.
[r] Joh. iii. 8.
[s] Matt. xix. 17; Psal. cxlisi. 10; Neh. ix. 20.
[t] Vulg. *Christus*; 1 Joh. v. 6.
[u] Gen. i. 1; Job xxvi. 13; Dsal. xxxiii. 6.
[v] Heb. iii. 4; Psal. civ. 30.

profitetur ille bonus Elihu, *Spiritus Dei fecit me, et spiraculum Omnipotentis vivificavit me.* Sed et (quod aliquanto majus et difficilius æstimetur merito) homines denuo creare, vel deformatos ad imaginem Dei renovare (hominis quodammodo demortui spiritum vivificando, cæcam illustrando mentem, perversos affectus reformando;)[v] quæ effecta dare prout Deo, sic et Spiritui Sancto passim attribuitur.* Sed et huic adnexum justificare, vel peccata condonare (non ministerialiter, sed, quod soli Deo convenit, principaliter et absolute) nam, *sed justificati estis* (inquit S. Paulus) *in nomine Domini Jesu, et in Spiritu Dei nostri.*[x] Ecclesiam influxu suo velut animare; suo nutu temperare, leges ei præscribere, rectores ei præficere; quin et ei extruendæ, propagandæ, conservandæque proficua quæque charismuta dispensare (quæ sane divinæ protestatis omnino propria, præcipuaque sunt opera.) Miracula (hoc est, opera naturæ legibus adversa vel superiora, Deoque proinde soli congrua) peragere; quæ nem pecularitER attribuuntur Spiritui Sancto; in his quod palmam obtinet, resuscitare corpora mortuorum: *ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν διὰ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐν ὑμῖν*, inquit S. Paulus.[y] Nullum est denique seu naturæ, seu providentiæ, sue gratiæ tam sublime, tam arduum opus, quale non adscribitur efficaciæ Spiritus Sancti, quod potestatem ejus *αὐτοκρατορικὴν*, potentiam *παντοκρατορικὴν* demonstrat: nullis certe luculentioribus argumentis demostrari potest ipsa summi Numinis omnipotentia.

4. Exinde porro Spiritui Sancto divina majesta asseritur, quod ipsi rectissime divinus cultus exhibetur. Exhibetur is ex præscripto Dei, quando solemniter in ejus nomen baptizati,† fidem in eum spemque nostram defigere profitemur, ei cultum protestamur et obsequium. Idem præstatur, cum ae Paulinæ benedictionis normam una cum Domini Jesu gratia, Deique Patris charitate, Sancti Spiritus imploratur communicatio.‡* Idem non obscura significatur, ubicunque (quod haud raro fit) divinorum in officiorum et operum (tam eximiorum ac admirabilium) executione Patri Filioque conjunctus et coordinatus reperitur. Etenim hoc a Deo zelotypo, suique honoris admodum curioso (qui *gloriam suam alteri se neutiquam communicaturum*[a] profitetur haud semel), creaturæ cuiquam concessum esse, ut pari quasi passu secum ambulet, parile dignitatis ad culmen evehi videatur, haudquaquam credibile vel ulli rationi consonum est. Adhœc, quanta Spiritui Sancto dignitas competit, qualis ei reverentia debetur, exinde liquido perspicitur, quod in eum prolatæ blasphemiæ singulatim abjudicatur venia; cujus impetrationem in Deum Patrem admissa facinora, nec non Christo Dei filio intentata obloquia minime respuunt; nec enim rei natura fert, ut creaturæ quicquam detrahere tam capitale sit, aut tantam aggravationam capiat; ut et vix concipi potest creaturæ honorem divino sic anteferri.‡

5. Accedit his quod cum Christus, etiam ut homo supra res omnes (*ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα, ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀγχῆς, καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ δυνάμεος*,[b] ut apostolus nos docet) elevetur ac emineat, nihilominus ille eatenus Spiritui Sancto subjacet, atque cedit: nam, ut talis, a Spiritu Sancto naturam suam accepit (*τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γενηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου*, inquit evangelista:) verum, *πλείονα τιμὴν ἔχει τοῦ οἴκου ὁ κατασκευάσας αὐτὸν*, *ædem dignitate superat, qui illam extruxit*, inquit Apostolus ad Hebræos.[c] A Spiritus Sancto missus est Christus: *Dominus* (de eo prædixit propheta) *misit me, et Spiritus ejus:* atqui, *non est servus major Domino suo, nec Apostolus major est eo, qui misit illum; non est major*, ait Dominus, *κατὰ λειότητα*, hoc est, inferior est

* Ἡ κτίσις οὐχ ἁγιάζει κτίσιν.—Basil.

† Ποίᾳ γὰρ κοινωνίᾳ τῷ κτίσματι πρὸς κτίστην; διά τι τὸ πεποιημένον συναριθμεῖται τῷ ποιήσαντι εἰς τὴν τῶν πάντων τελείωσιν;—Ath. Or. III. contr. Ar.

[v] Job xxxiii. 4; Eph. iv. 24; ii.0; 12 Cor. iv. 6; v. 17; Coloss. iii. 10; Tit. iii. 5.

[x] Luc. v. 31; 1 Cor. vi. 11; Rom. viii. 2; Tit. iii. 5; 1 Cor. 12, 13; Act. 20, 28; Comparatur, Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii.; Heb. ii. 4.

[y] Rom. viii. 11.

* Ἀσεβὴς οὖν ἐστι λέγειν κτιστὸν ἢ ποιητὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅπότε πᾶσα γραφὴ παλαιάτε καὶ καινὴ μετὰ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ συναριθμεῖ αὐτὸ καὶ δοξάζει. —Ath. περὶ ἐνσάρκου ἐπιφ. p. 600, t. I.

† Quomodo inter creaturas audet quisquam Spiritum Sanctum computare? aut quis sic se obligat, ut si creaturæ derogaverit, non putet sibi hoc aliqua venia relaxandum?—*Ambr.*

[a] 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

[a] Es. xlii. 8; xlviii. 11.

[b] Phil. ii. 9; Eph. i. 21.

[c] Matt. i. 20; Heb. iii. 3.

mittente qui mittitur.[d] A Spiritu Sancto consecratus est Christus, et inauguratus officiis suis: '*Spiritus Domini super me, eo quod unxit me*, (de Christu prædixit Esaias, interpretantibus evangelistis;) sed *absque controversia* τὸ ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλογεῖται, subdit author Epistolæ ad Hebræos.[e] A Spiritu Sancto Christus ubertim et præter mensuram eximiis dotibus ornatus est; at *beatius esse dare quam accipere*, ex ore Domini prolatum est axioma. Spiritus denique Sancti virtute Christus miracula patravit; per Spiritum Æternum se obtulit Deo immaculatum; Spiritu resuscitatus est a mortuis; quæ certo non obscura sunt argumenta Spiritum Sanctum Christo, ut homini, præcellere.[f] Quare cum extra Deum unum nihil Christo, etiam ut homine, præstantius aut superius sit, necessario consectatur Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum.

6. Addo, Cum rerum creatarum, variis ex occasionibus, ordines et classes percenseantur (ut cum ad Dei laudes concinnendas ipsarum universus chorus advocatur; angeli nominatim, cœli, terræ, homines, bestiæ, plantæ citantur; quando census initur rerum a Christo conditarum ipsique subditarum, quas inter angeli, throni, dominationes, potestates, virtutes memorantur;)[g] mirum sit hunc creaturarum (modo creatura sit) apicem, hunc ipsarum præcentorem et choregum omino prætermitti: verisimile sit, id si prophetæ scissent, aut sensissent apostoli, tacituros non fuisse; quod certe si fecissent, scrupulos hos tantos erroresque nobis exemissent; verum non erat quod facerent, cum revera Spiritus Sanctus in creaturum rerum censu non sit; id quod jam satis astruxisse videmur, adeoque thesis nostræ tertiam partem comprobasse.

Præmissis autem omnibus haud leve momentum accedit a tot sanctorum Patrum doctrina, tot conciliorum auctoritate, totiusque ecclesiæ tot per secula decurrente consensu; quibus (absque causis admodum sonticis) obnunciare, tam a prudentia recedit quam a modestia procul elongatur. Notiora vero sunt illa et magis apud adversarios confessa, quam ut opus sit iis immorari.

Superest, ut quam paucissimis ultimam theseos partem (quæ Spiritus Sancti originem spectat) comprobatam demus; nempe Spiritum Sanctum a Patre Filioque procedere.

Quod Spiritus Sanctus a se non est, uti Pater, perspicuum est; quoniam isto posito, duo forent prima principia, et plures adeo Dei, unde οὐκ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει. Quod a Patre procedit, constat ex eo quod Pater omnis essentiæ fons est; etiam hoc apud omnes in confesso est; item a Christo signanter Spiritus Sanctus παρὰ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι, *egredi*, vel *emanare* dicitur *a Patre*; et τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ vocatur a S. Paulo.[h] Quod a Filio quoque procedit, colligitur,

Primo, Quod sicuti Patris, ita et Filii Spiritus sæpe nuncupatur; quod eum pariter ad Filium ac ad Patrem referri significat; utrumque proinde similiter ad ejus productionem conspirare.[i]

Secundo, Prout a Patre, sic etiam a Filio mitti dicitur: missio vero et ἐκπόρευσις haud differunt (nisi loquendi saltem modo; quatenus missio denotat originis terminum, ἐκπόρευσις ejusdem actum vel effectum designat:)[j] nec aliter Spiritui Sancto (qui Deus est, ut ostensum), mitti vel egredi convenit, quam per essentiæ communicationem.

Tertio, De Spiritu Sancto dicit Filius ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, *de meo accipiet et annunciabit vobis*;[k] cui coincidit, ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ λαλήσει, quibus innuitur Spiritum Sanctum a Filio scientiam accipere, quod aliter non potest (cum Deus sit), quam ab eodem essentiam suam accipiendo.

Quarto, Spiritus Sanctus est Persona ordine tertia; cum itaque Filius ordine prior (ordine dico, non tempore) divinam essentiam obtineat; hæc adeo, cum emanet Spiritus Sanctus, Filio simul ac Patri communis sit; a Patre seorsum essentiam recipere non potest, quin eandem simul a Filio derivet: quomodo Christus

[d] Isa. xlviii. 16; Joh. xiii. 16.
[e] Luc. iv. 18; Isa. lxi. 1; Heb. vii. 7.
[f] Joh. iii. 34; Luc. iv. 1; ii. 40, 52; Act. xx. 35; Matt. xii. 28; Heb. ix. 14; Rom. i. 4; viii. 11.
[g] Psal. ciii. 20-22; cxlviii.; 1 Pet. iii. 22; Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; Rom. viii. 38.
[h] Joh. xvi. 13; Novat. c. 31; Joh. xv. 26; 1 Cor. ii. 12; Matt. x. 20.
[i] Gal. iv. 6; Rom. viii. 9; 1 Pet. i. 11; Phil. i. 19.
[j] Joh. xv. 26; xvi. 7; Luc. xxiv. 49.
[k] Joh. xvi. 13, 14.

ipse videtur argumentatus; ubi ait, *Omnia quæ Pater habet, mea sunt; ideo dixi, quod ex meo accipiet.*[1]

Quinto, Hanc demum a se Spiritus Sancti processionem significasse videtur Christus, quum discipulis insufflans Spiritum Sanctum communicaret; ut quidem Augustinus et Cyrillus arbitrantur.[m]

Accedit Latinorum Patrum Hilarii, Ambrosii,* Augustini, et reliquorum consentiens authoritas, hoc explicite docentium.

Sed et antiquiores Græci, Athanasius, Basilius, uterque Gregorius, Epiphanius, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, idem (etsi rarius adeo diserte, sæpe tamen æquipollenter, et quoad sensum) tradunt.

Itaque theseos partibus cunctis utcunque comprobatis concludo:

Spiritum Sanctum esse Personam distinctam, Patri Filioque coëssentialem, et ab utroque procedentem.

Ἀκούσεις γέννησιν, τὸ πῶς μὴ περιεργάζου· ἀκούσεις τὸ προιὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς, τὸ πῶς μὴ πολυπραγμόνει.— Naz. Or. XXIX.

DE REGIMINE EPISCOPALI.

Rejectio regiminis episcopalis, ubi habentur orthodoxi et legitimi episcopi, facit proprie schisma mortale.

In hanc thesin imprimis nonnulla strictim adnotabimus, tum illam argumentis quibusdam adstruemus.

Episcopale regimen quid designet, unicuique perspectum autumo, quatenus illud ab aliis ecclesiæ administrandæ formis, χθὲς καὶ πρώην introductis, distinguitur; illud nempe regimen, penes quod, in districtu quopiam ecclesiastico, singularis unus (ad id rite vocatus, dilectus, approbatus et consecratus) toti cœtui, totique clero præficitur, ceu pastor et inspector supremus,† in sacris quibuscunque rebus dispensandis et ordinandis, πρεσβεῖα quædam obtinens et peculiaria munia sibi reservata, sacros ordines conferendi, baptizatos confirmandi, jurisdictionem exercendi; quale S. Cyprianus innuit et utcunque describit, quum affirmat "singulis pastoribus portionem gregis adscriptam esse, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus;"[a] et quod "inde" (nimirum a Dominica dispositione) "per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur;"[a] quale denuo regimen ante plurima secula per universum orbem Christianum invaluisse neminem latet.

Hujusmodi regimini variis modis obrogari potest; veluti *primo*, Cum episcopo potestatem exerenti ejus subditi obsequium detrectant; de quo S. Cyprianus, "Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia, ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex, vice Christi cogitatur."[b]

Secundo, Cum nonnulli, (quibuscunque de causis, aut quocunque prætextu) se ab episcoporum suorum communione (adeoque penitus ab imperio) subducunt atque segregant; id quod olim Novatiani, Donatistæ, Melitiani, Luciferiani schismatici fecere, nec non hæretici plerique catholicorum episcoporum consortium declinantes; quo et illud S. Cypriani referatur, "Quiplantatus non est in præceptis Dei Patris et monitis, solus poterit de ecclesia ille discedere, solus episcopis derelictis cum schismaticis et hæreticis in furore remanere."[c]

Tertio, Cum talis regiminis ipsa species abdicatur, alia quaquam ecclesiæ regendæ forma subrogata; quod utique vix usquam priscis temporibus attentatum, apud nos saltem nuper factum meministis: Et hic quidem, opinor, episcopale regimen rejiciendi modus in thesi potissimum innuitur.

Schisma propriæ divisionem significat, ast inde μετωνυμικῶς peccatum, aut vitium, divisionis in ecclesia causam, designat; quod scilicet admittit, quicunque (contra voluntatem Domini, suos inter

* Deus Pater coæternum sibi et coomnipotens genuit Verbum, cum quo Spiritum Sanctum produxit.—*Ambr. in Symb.*

† Cui ἐκγρίτως παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τάξεις εἰς αὐτουργίαν ὁ θεῖος θεσμὸς ἀπονενίμηκε τὰς θειοτέρας ἱερουργίας.—Dion. Hier. c. 5.

[1] John. xvi. 15; xvii. 10.

[m] John xx. 22.

[a] Cypr. Ep. 55.

[b] Ib. Ep. 27.

[c] Ib. Ep. 49.

discipulos omnes unitatem, charitatem, pacem instituentis) animo turbulento, vel utcunque pravis affectibus occupato, ecclesiæ membra, unitate soluta, a se disjungit, pacem infringst, ordinem conturbat, dissidia, factiones, scandala charitati adversa creando, vel fovendo.[d] Scilicet hoc diversimode committi potest:

In particulari quapiam ecclesia contentiones, factiones, turbas, animorum divortia concitando; quomodo factum apud Corinthios,* cum S. Paulus dixit, *Ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν*. cum et S. Clemens iisdem improperat *μιαρὰν καὶ ἀνόσιον στάσιν, ἣν ὀλίγα πρόσωπα προπετῆ καὶ αὐθάδη—ἐξίκαν σαν.*[f]

Etiam committitur, utcunque peregrina perversaque dogmata rectæ fidei vel probis moribus adversa serendo, indeque scandala pariendo, cogendoque sectas ab orthodoxa ecclesia devias; de quo cum alias sæpe S. Paulus, tum in illo ad Romanos loco signanter effatur; *Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα παρὰ τὴν διδαχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε ποιοῦντας· καὶ ἐκκλίνατε ἀπ' αὐτῶν.*[g]

Etiam perpetratur ab illis, qui sibimet arripiunt potestatem indebitam et inordinatam (ecclesiarum legibus aut moribus adversam) functiones ecclesiasticas obeundi, concionandi præsertim, aut populum docendi: quales illi pseudapostoli, *ἐργάται δόλιοι, μετασχηματιζόμενοι εἰς ἀποστόλους Χριστοῦ*· illi viri *λαλοῦντες διεστραμμένα τοῦ ἀποσπᾶν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὀπίσω αὐτῶν*· illi *ἐνδύνοντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, καὶ αἰχμαλωτεύοντες τὰ γυναικάρια*· illi *θέλοντες εἶναι νομοδιδάσκαλοι*· illi *ἐξ ἐριθείας τὸν Χριστὸν καταγγέλλοντες.*[h]

Item ab illis fit, qui pastoribus immorigeri sunt, aut ipsos repudiant; quales illi *ἀνυπότακτοι, γογγυσταί, αὐθάδεις, τολμηταί, δόξας βλασφημοῦντες*, quos apostoli perstringunt; illi *ἀτάκτως περιπατοῦντες*, qui S. Pauli dicta respuerunt; iste ambitiosus Diotrephes, qui S. Johannem non admisit.[i]

Itidem patratur ab illis, qui sine justa vel necessaria causa ab ecclesiæ cujuscunque fidelis communione secedunt, aut separando se dirimunt: de qualibus Judas apostolus, *Οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες*· et S. Cyprianus, "Sibi extra ecclesiam et contra ecclesiam constituunt conventiculum perditæ factionis."[j]

Denique cum Patrem Dominus obtestatus fuerit, ut ejus discipuli *πάντες ἓν ὦσι*, in hoc gravissime impingunt, qui corporis Christi compagem luxant, dum ejus membra præcipua, diversas ecclesias, a se divellunt, amicæ pacis inter illas, communionis sanctæ, commercii hospitalis, fraternæque charitatis vincula utcunque dissolvendo;[k] quod fit cum una ecclesia aliam acerbe taxat, aut temere damnat, aut inique a communione repellit; cum una alterius jura vel privilegia invadit, in alteram indebitum imperium usurpat, aut tyrannicam dominationem exercet; cum una quæpiam ecclesiasticæ dispensationis modum quemcunque generali consensu a confœderatis pastoribus, *εὐταξίας* aut concordiæ gratia, lege sancitum, vel usu firmatum (nulla cogente necessitate, vel gravi ratione suadente) violat.

Ex his schismatis faciendi modis cum omnes ferme, vel certe plusculos incurrere videantur hi plerique, qui episcopale regimen abrogant, illi saltem intelliguntur, qui singulis ipsorum molitionibus apposite quadrant.

Subditur autem epitheton *mortali*; quo nempe delicti gravitas insinuatur; cujus qui reatum incurrit, penes divinum judicium æternæ morti sese reddit obnoxium, inde non nisi seria pænitentia et emendatione congrua absolvendus.

Ita præcipuos thesis absolute sumptæ terminos exposuimus. At ne forte casus speciales ejus veritati subinde derogent, duæ merito inseruntur exceptiones: prima est, *Ubi habentur orthodoxi episcopi*; recte hoc; nam episcoporum heterodoxorum nedum regimen, at communionem ipsam rejicere fas est, imo officii est, e sacræ scripturæ, Patrum, ecclesiasticæ praxis authoritate:

* "Fraternitatis bene sibi cohærentis, et se in vicem diligentis concordiam scindendo," ut Cyprianus loquitur.—*Ep.* 49.

[d] Joh. xvii. 20, 21; xv. 12; xiv. 27; Mark ix. 50.

[f] 1 Cor. xi. 18; i. 10; iii. 4; Clem. ad Cor. p. 2.

[g] Heb xiii. 9; Eph. iv. 14; 1 Tim. i. 3; vi. 3; iv. 1; 2 Tim. ii. 18; Tit. i. 11; Rom. xvi. 17.

[h] 2 Cor. xi. 13, 15; Act. xx. 30; 2 Tim. iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 7; Phil. i. 16.

[i] Tit. i. 10; 2 Pet. ii. 10; Jud. 8, 16; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14; 3 Joh. 9.

[j] Jud. 19; Cypr. Ep. 55.

[k] Joh. xvii. 21, 22; Tertull. de Præscr. p. 20.

Nam quilibet hæreticus, aut ἑτεροδιδασκαλῶν (etiam episcopus, imo forte magis episcopus, ut criminosior et periculosior) repudiandus, declinandus, et derelinquendus est; ab hoc στέλλεσθαι, ἀφίστασθαι, ἐκκλίνειν, hunc παραιτεῖσθαι jubemur.[l] Etiam apostolo, imo angelo cœlesti (quanto magis apostoli vicario, vel angelo terrestri), aliam ab evangelio doctrinam annuncianti, execratio intentanda est.

Consonant his Patres; Cyprianus, "Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, et Deum metuens, a peccatore, præposito separare se debet," (peccatore, id est, fidei desertore.)[m] Item, "Nec," inquit, "sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse a contagio delicti possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans." Idem alibi, "Quomodo possunt integritati et continentiæ præesse, si ex ipsis incipiant corruptelæ et vitiorum magisteria procedere?"[n]

Chrysostomus, Ἀξίωμα προσώπων οὐ προσίεται, ὅταν περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ. Item, εἰ μὲν γὰρ δόγμα ἔχει διεστραμμένον, κἂν ἄγγελος ᾖ, μὴ πείθου.[o]

Ambrosius, "Si qua est ecclesia" (quanto magis, siquis episcopus) "quæ fidem respuat, nec apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ possit aspergere, deserenda est."[p]

Augustinus, "Nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, ut contra canonicas Dei scripturas aliquid sentiant;" quanto magis hæreticis episcopis obnunciandum est?[q]

Itaque P. Celestinus I. populum Constantinopolitanum, a Nestorio falsa dogmata propinante secedentem, ita laudavit, Μακάριος δὲ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλη, ᾗ παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς·[r] Et in Ephesino concilio probantur presbyteri, qui eundem Nestorium ἤλεγξαν, et τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας αὐτὸν ἐκέβαλον. Et in eodem admittitur illud Charisii presbyteri effatum perquam notabile; Εὐχὴ μὲν ἅπασι τοῖς εὐφρονοῦσι τιμὴν αἰεὶ καὶ πρέπουσαν αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς μάλιστα πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἀπονέμειν. εἰ δέ που συμβῇ τοὺς διδάσκειν ὀφείλοντας τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνηχεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, οἷα τὰς ἁπάντων ἀκοὰς καὶ καρδίας καταβλάψει, ἀνάγκη τὴν τάξιν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς διδάσκειν ἑλομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσσόνων διελέγχεσθαι.[s]

Hinc octava, quæ dicitur, synodus papæ Honorio ab orientalibus anathema recte dictum asserit, ὅτι ἐπὶ αἱρέσει κατηγορήθη, δι' ἣν καὶ μόνον ἕξεστι τοὺς ἀποδιεστῶτας τῶν μειζόνων κατεξανίστασθαι.[t]

Ipse, ne plura congeram, P. Nicolaus I. "Fides universalis, et omnium communis est, quæ non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet;"[u] itaque procul habendi sunt, qui fidem, rem maxime nostram, ablatum eunt.

Neque mirum hæc dici, cum revera qui a sana fide deflectit, non amplius episcopus, quippe nec Christianus sit; nam ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, inquit S. Paulus; et juxta Tertullianum, "Si hæretici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt;" illudque Cypriani, "Nec Christianus videri potest, qui non permanet in evangelii ejus et fidei veritate."[v]

Porro subditur et altera exceptio, *Ubi habentur episcopi legitimi;* hoc est, qui cum rite consecrantur, tum jure populo suo præficiuntur; Nam "qui" (quales S. Cyprianus hisce verbis perstringit) "se ultro apud temerarios convenas sine divina dispositone præficiunt, qui se præpositos sine ulla ordinationis lege constituunt, qui nemine episcopatum dante episcopi sibi nomen assumunt;"[w] vel "qui" (ut apud S. Augustinum nonnulli) "turbide atque inordinate in eos coercendos insiliunt, qui nulla sibi lege subjecti sunt;"[x] Qui (inquam) inordinate (præter Dei voluntatem et ecclesiæ instituta) munus sacrum invadunt, aut regiminis clavum arripiunt, hi jure rejici possunt; quin et merito debent, ne ipsorum vel sacrilega præsumptio vel arrogans injuria comprobari videantur: etenim πῶς κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσι; *Nec quisquam sibi sumit hunc honorem, nisi qui vocatur a Deo, tanquam Aaron; Qui non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille* (non pastor ovium, sed) *fur est et latro: Non mittebam*

[l] 2 Thess. iii. 6; 1 Tim. vi. 3, 5; Rom. xvi. 17; 2 John 10; Tit. iii. 10; Gal. i. 8.
[m] Cypr. Ep. 68. [n] Cypr. Ep. 62.
[o] Chrps. in Gal. i. 9; in 2 Tim. Orat. 2.
[p] Ambr. in Luc. ix. p. 85.
[q] Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cap. 10.
[r] Act. Conc. Eph. p. 359; Act. p. 229.
[s] Act. Eph. p. 358.
[t] Syn. VIII. Act. 8, p. 963.
[u] P. Nicol. I. Ep. 8, p. 506.
[v] Tit. iii. 11; Tert. de Præscr. c. 27; Cypr. de Un. Eccl.
[w] Cypr. de Un. Eccl. p. 256.
[x] Jure culpandi sunt qui, &c.—Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cap. 17; Cypr. Ep. 73, p. 181.

prophetas, et ipsi currebant; non loquebar ad eos, et ipsi prophetabant;[y] ita nempe tales sacræ functionis aggressores divina proscribunt oracula: tales scilicet in ecclesia Romana Novatianus, in Carthaginensi Majorinus, in Alexandrina Gregorius et Georgius (Athanasii æmuli;) et universim, quos antiqui Patres ecclesiarum adulteros prædonesque vocitarunt, qui veris extrusis episcopis ecclesias occuparunt, aut in segreges cœtus genuinis pastoribus abductos (adscita spuria quapiam ordinatione) potestatis umbram exercuerunt; quales episcoporum neutiquam habendos loco ita graviter monet S. Cyprianus; "Nec episcopus computari potest, qui, evangelica et apostolica traditione contempta, nemini succedens a seipso ortus est;"[z] et, "Qui nec unitatem Spiritus, nec conjunctionem pacis observat, et se ab ecclesiæ vinculo, atque a sacerdotum collegio separat, episcopi nec potestatem potest habere, nec honorem."[a]

Hisce quoad expositionem prælibatis, thesi jam comprobandæ nos accingemus. Hoc autem imprimis nimis quam manifestum sumimus, illos qui episcopale regimen abjiciunt, de facto saltem ecclesiæ (cujus usitatam praxin deserunt) unitatem atque concordiam infringere, veterisque disciplinæ tenacibus offensionem ministrare, novam suam quamcunque, tot seculorum præscriptioni adversam, regiminis formam invehendo; illud proinde si jure factum excusare non valent, si justas aut necessarias tanti moliminis causas assignare nequeunt, quinimo si res ipsa per se culpabilis sit, ne schismatis rei sint, effugere non poterunt.

Quod autem res a culpa non sit immunis, his elucebit argumentis.

I. Nefas est divinum institutum (vel apostolicam in grandis momenti re constitutionem) abolere. Nam "adulterum est" (ut S. Cyprianus exclamat), "impium est, sacrilegum est, quodcunque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur;"[b] atqui tale fore regimen episcopale, cum a pluribus doctissimis viris luculente fuseque demonstratum sit, tum hæc jam transcursim perstringenda suadent.

I. Id sacra scriptura docet.

Rectores enim hæc asserit a Deo constitutos, et a Spiritu Sancto ecclesiæ præpositos, quos passim ἐπισκόπους, *inspectores*, vel *superintendentes*, ut S. Hieronymus vertit, προεστῶτας, *antistites*, aut *præsules*, ἡγουμένους, *ductores*, vel *antesignanos*, ἐπιμελητὰς seu *curatores*, pastores denique nuncupat;[c] quibus ultro cedere subjicique nos jubet, nec aures tantum dociles adhibere, sed et honorem deferre, ac obsequium præstare.

Hisce munus nempe demandatum est, ut apostolis (primis ecclesiarum parentibus, et pastoribus supremis) dum in vivis superessent, earum in administratione vicariam operam, sociasque manus et συνεργίαν accommodarent; et postquam vita excessissent, in ipsorum locum succederent, regni cœlestis clavibus acceptis, quas apostolis Deus, et per eos ecclesiæ concessit, in æternum duraturas.

Liquet enim apostolis (præter extraordinaria quædam officia specialibus donis ad ecclesiæ fundationem necessariis communita), peculiaria nonnulla munia, regiminis episcopalis propria, competisse; qualia sunt, ecclesiis pastores et λειτουργοὺς adsignare, ecclesiæ insertis Sancti Spiritus σφραγῖδα imprimere, jurisdictionem in disciplina formanda, legibus ferendis, defectibus corrigendis, causis dijudicandis, delinquentibus castigandis (κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ἔδωκεν ὁ Κύριος,) obire;[d] quorum cum ad ecclesiæ conservationem et ædificationem (πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων, εἰς ἔργον διακονίας, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ[e]) perpetuus et ordinarius sit usus, ea ad posteros transmitti, adeoque successoribus committi debuerunt.

Itaque rectores ecclesiastici sunt revera (quales ipsos S. Patres, ne quidem S. Hieronymo excepto, uno ore proclamant) apostolorum in ecclesia pascenda regendaque hæredes succedanei et succenturiati; "quibus" (ut S. Iræneus loquitur) "illi eam quæ in unoquoque loco est ecclesiam tradiderunt;"[f] per quos cum

[y] Rom. x. 15; Heb. v. 4; John x. 1—; Jer. xxiii. 21.
[z] Cypr. Ep. 76, p. 208.
[a] Cypr. Ep. 52, p. 97.
[b] Cypr. Ep. 40, et 68.

[c] 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11; Act. xx. 28; Hier. Ep. 85, ad Evag.
[d] Act. xiii. 2; vi. 6; viii. 17; Cypr. Ep. 73; Eus. iii. 17; vi. 33; 2 Cor. x. 8; xiii. 10.
[e] Eph. iv. 12.
[f] Cypr Ep. 27, 69, 41, 75; Hier. Ep. 54, ad Marc. am. &c.; Iren. iv. 63.

apostolicum officium in secula traducatur, iis adsistendo Christus sponsionem suam exequitur, qua se pollicitus est apostolis ad ævi consummationem affuturum.[g]

Juxta quæ satis constat ab apostolis in ecclesiis passim rectores constitutos, talibus officiis destinatos.

Hinc a S. Paulo Tito demandatum, ut in districtu suo Cretensi τὰ λείποντα reformaret, et singulis in civitatibus presbyteros constitueret, instrueret et argueret μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς, *omni cum imperio et authoritate*;[h] Refractariis, et parva docentibus silentium imponeret, h reticosque proscriberet.

Hinc idem Timotheo commissam omnigenam jurisdictionem multis innuit, ipsum ad ejusce rectam administrationem ubertim erudiens excitansque; scilicet ut presbyteros non aspere jurgaret, ast officii leniter admoneret; ne temere delatam adversus illos accusationem susciperet;[k] ut ipsis pro meritis honoraria laboris præmia dispensaret; ut delinquentes palam argueret et corriperet; ut nemini præpropere manum imponeret, aut censuris eximeret; ut sacros ordines in viros idoneos, moribus spectabiles, examine præmisso conferret; ut viduarum aptam electionem procuraret; ut liturgias recte confici prospiceret; ut hujusmodi cuncta prudenter, et juste, sine præjudicio quopiam, aut partium studio, administraret: quæ sane præfecturam illi commendatam abunde monstrant.

Hinc denuo principalibus istis in Asia ecclesiis, plures presbyteros complectentibus, unum angelum præsedisse, a quo Spiritus Sanctus ecclesiastici status (utpote suæ curæ concrediti) rationem exigit, ipsi imputans quæcunque recte vel perperam gesta sunt, haud obscure divinus Apocalyptes indigitat.

II. Hæc ex eo nonnihil confirmantur, quod apud veterem Dei populum hujusmodi regimen obtinuit; a cujus forma Dominus noster, novitatis haud amans, in ordinanda populi sui disciplina non facile recessisset; quin ordinem potius apud illos constitutum suis institutis adaptasset; unde nec ob hoc apud Judæos conversos uspiam turbatum legimus. Atqui constat apud eos, sicuti magni synedrii senatoribus unus antistes præfuit, ita singulis synagogis (quibus utique jam particulares ecclesiæ respondent) ἀρχισυνάγωγον (ראשהקהל) quendam, seu caput cœtus, reliquos inter doctores et presbyteros cum auctoritate præsedisse.

III. Ecclesiæ primitivæ status et praxis, apostolica tempora statim excipiens, hoc penitus firmat, et irrefragabiliter quasi demonstrat; nam episcopale regimen tunc passim invaluisse, certum atque confessum est: at vero qui fieri potuit, ut ecclesiæ tam variis in locis a se longissime dissitis (Hierosolymis puta, Antiochiæ, Alexandriæ, Ephesi, Corinthi, Romæ) ab apostolis nuper fundatæ, hujus in disciplinæ, agnitione et usu derepente simul omnes conspirarent, nisi primitus illam ab institutione apostolica derivassent? quomodo tam subito, tam facile, sine manifesta quadam confœderatione sine notabili strepitu, sine multa contradictione irrepere potuit ab apostolica institutione deflectens regimen? Num verisimile sit inter fervidas illas persecutiones, ecclesiæ magistris potissimum incumbentes, adeoque cum eminentia, nil aliud quam gravissima accerseret pericula, stolidam hanc ambitionem ubique sic increbuisse præsidentias indebitas occupandi? Adeone sanctissimos plerosque fide confessores et martyres ista pestis invasit, ut injustam potestatem vel impotenter appeterent, vel improbe arriperent? An alii fortissimi quique viri tam iniqua molientibus facile cessissent, aut prompte consensissent? Cuncti Patres, viri sanctitate juxta ac sapientia illustres, tam cæci fuissent, ut non perspicerent, tam pravi, ut ultro comprobarent ingruentem ejusmodi corruptelam? Tota demum ecclesia tanto abusui tam libenter acquievisset, tam placide succubuisset? Imo potius, cum hæc absona sint, et quæ vix concipi potest ullatenus obvenisse, regimen episcopale cunctarum ecclesiarum apostolicæ constitutioni innexum est; et juxta Tertulliani effatum aliis Patribus astipulantibus probatum, "Constat id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum;" cui et illud accinit Augustini, "Illa quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe observantur, dantur intelligi vel ab ipsis apostolis, vel plenariis conciliis, quorum est in ecclesia sa-

[g] Matt. xxviii. 20.
[h] Tit. i. 5; ii. 15; i. 11; iii. 10.
[i] 1 Tim. v. 1, 19, 17, 20, 22; iii. 10; v. 9; ii. 1; v. 21.
[j] Apoc. ii.

luberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta retineri."[k]

IV. Hoc etiam invicte munit historiarum certa fides, et inconcussa traditio, quæ in ecclesiis quibusque præcipuis præsidentes episcopos continua ab apostolis serie deducit; nam "Habemus" (inquit, et aliquoties iterat Irenæus, testis apostolico ævo finitimus) "annumerare eos, qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos."[l] Istam historiæ fidem, consonumque traditionis suffragium, si morose respuimus, quo sodes fundamento religionis nostræ veritas nitetur, quo fulchro sacrorum librorum auctoritas sustentabitur? quid uspiam sanctum, quid sertum apparebit? Hoc certe ratiocinio, cum firmiori non possent, Irenæus, Tertullianus, aliique patres hæreticos refutarunt, apostolicæ doctrinæ obstrepentes.

V. Accedit his veterum Patrum (uno saltem Hieronymo dempto, non antiquissimo, nec sibi satis in hac re constanti) unanimis consensus, episcopale regimen auctori Domino vel apostolis adscribens; quem aspernari, nescio certe num immaniorem arrogantiam an stupidiorem vecordiam sapiat: parco testimoniis, quæ et innumera et nimis obvia sunt.[m] Itaque rejicere hoc regimen est divinam institutionem violare idcircoque criminosum.

2. Culpa non vacat ecclesiæ catholicæ sanctionem, "toto" (ut Hieronymus loquitur) "orbe decretam,"[n] communique assensu firmatam, divinæ legi minime contrariam, abjicere. Hoc qui negat, quem in ecclesia unitati, paci, charitati locum relinquit? anon synodos omnes generales aspernatur, despuit, aut irritas facit? annon dum totius ecclesiæ sententiam refigit, etiam singulæ cujusque, totam comprehensæ ecclesiæ pessundat auctoritatem? At episcopale regimen tale saltem est; et si minus apostolica utcunque tamen ecclesiastica potissima constitutione nititur; si non divina lege, saltem humana prudentia constitutum est. Hoc ex innumeris synodorum decretis liquet, quæ regimen hoc clarissime probant, firmissimeque muniunt; ut quod de Paschali jejunio, a synodo Nicæna præscripto, graviter inculcat S. Chrysostomus, id huic negotio, longe potiori ratione, congruat; Τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῷδε ἢ τῷδε χρόνῳ νηστεῦσαι οὐκ ἔγκλημα· τὸ δὲ σχίσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ φιλονείκως διατεθῆναι, καὶ διχοστασίας ἐμποιεῖν, καὶ τῆς συνόδου διηνεκῶς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερεῖν, ἀσύγνωστον, καὶ κατηγορίας ἄξιον, καὶ πολλὴν ἔχει τιμωρίαν.[o]

Cæterum divinæ legi non adversari regimen episcopale, cum res ipsa monstrat, (ubinam enim talis lex extat?) tum eorum præcipui fatentur, quibus hoc regimen non arridet.

3. Non absimiliter reprehensibile est ecclesiarum innocuæ consuetudini seu praxi vulgatæ repugnare: hoc ponit apostolus, quando suum de feminis inter sacra peragenda velandis virisque retegendis præceptum hoc urget argumento; *Si quis autem videtur contentiosus, esse, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque ecclesiæ Dei*;[p] quod sane frustra dixissit, si pacis gratia consuetudini, non esset obsequendum; cui ita succinit Augustinus: "In his rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit scriptura divina," (demus adversariis hoc in præsenti causa contingere,) "mos populi Dei, vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt;"[q] rursus, "Scripturarum a nobis tenetur veritas, cum id facimus, quod universæ placuit ecclesiæ:" iterum, "Siquid horum per orbem frequentat ecclesia, hoc quin ita faciendum sit disputare, insolentissimæ insaniæ est;"[r] quanto magis huic censuræ subjacet, orbis totius in retanta consuetudinem penitus abjicere!

4. Etiam culpæ affine est regimen abjicere rationi consentaneum, ecclesiæ commodum et salubre, pietatique servandæ vel fovendæ apprime conducens.

Episcopalem certe præsidentiam ratio multiplex exigit, et pluribus ex causis res ipsa postulare videtur.

Absque illa vix, aut ne vix fieri potest, ut in divino cultu decora conservetur harmonia, in sacra disciplina firma concordia vigeat, scandala propulsentur, factiones reprimantur, a perniciosis hæresibus religio protegatur, ecclesiæ status aliquandiu persistat integer et incolumis,

* In. Tit. i. 5. Episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine quam Dominica dispositionis veritate presbyteris esse majores.—*Hier. ibid.*

[k] Tertul. in Marc. iv. 5; Aug. Ep. 118.

[l] Iren. iii. 3; iv, 63; v. 20.

[m] Cypr. Ep. 55, 52.

[n] Chrys. tom. 6, Orat. 28.

[o] 1 Cor. xi. 16.

[p] Aug. Ep. 86.

[q] Aug c. Cresc. i. 33; Aug. Ep. 118.

ne in plurimas illa sectas comminuta dissipetur.

Sane reipublicæ Christianæ plurimum interest, societates institui mole quadam et robore non exili præditas, quæ collatis viribus operisque conjunctis religionis veritatem, dignitatem, incrementum, et quæcunque commoda tutentur; alioquin si ipsa comminuatur in frustula, vel particulis incohærentibus, tamquam pulvis aut arena, constet, facile statim quocunque vento seu invasionis externæ seu intestinæ seditionis dispergetur; quin et Babylonia quadam opinionum rituumque confusione laborans, in sapientibus fastidium excitabit, profanis ludibrium debebit. Verum nulla societas, grandiuscula præsertim, ordinato pacatoque in statu, diutine consistere potest sub potestatibus multis paribus atque coordinatis; vel absque singulari quadam authoritate quæ ad reipublicam spectantia proponat, inita de his consilia moderetur et ad consensum inflectat, discordes sententias conciliet, dubiis in casibus arbitretur, constituta executioni mandet, repugnantes coerceat; ita fit enim, ut quod pluribus incumbit, id nemo curet; quod multis committitur, id nullus exequatur. Unde mera democratia, nisi de monarchia mutui quid adsciscat, omnino subsistere nequit; neque proinde corpus ullum sine capite, ullus exercitus sine duce, ullus senatus absque præside, vel civitas absque præfecto durare solet. Hoc jugis experientia docet, hoc etiam episcopalis præsidentiæ adversarii non diffitentur, quin et sua praxi confirmant; itaque varias ipsi subordinationes a se excogitatas instituunt, et singulis suis ecclesiasticis conventibus moderatorem quendam, velut πρόσκαιρον episcopum, præponunt; ratione sic efflagitante, ut Beza docet, imo et Deo ordinante; "Essentiale fuit" (inquit ille vir clarissimus, et paritatis presbyteranæ patronus accerrimus) "quod ex Dei ordinatione perpetua fuit, est, et erit, ut presbyterio quispiam et loco et dignitate primus actioni gubernandæ præsit, cum eo quod ipsi divinitus attributum est jure;" item "Nec presbyterorum" (inquit) "cœtus rite constitutus dici potest, in quo nullus sit ἡγούμενος."[r]

Porro, si nulli sint, qui cleri doctrinam et mores indesinente cura vigiles inspiciunt, quidvis dicendi agendique licentia confestim ingruet; plerique quæ suo genio placebunt, aut populi cupiditatibus adblandientur, aut propriis commodis inservient, sana doctrina posthabita, pro concione venditabunt; complures suæ voluptati nihil non indulgentes luxu diffluent, socordiaque languebunt; etiam inter se discrepantes sententiis, sermonibusque confligentes sacerdotes plebem in partes distractam dissidiis et factionibus implicabunt; unde S. Hieronymus, "Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate consistit, cui si non exsors quædam et ab hominibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesia efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes."[s] Idem Pater tametsi) propria quadam ex opinatione vel conjectura) primitus "Ecclesias communi presbyterorum consilio gubernatas" aliquando censuerit, ratione tamen suadente, vel cogente necessitate, statim id ubique demutatum addidit,* et "in toto orbe decretum, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur."

Quinetiam ad institutam a Christo totius ecclesiæ catholicæ unitatem retinendam, ad Dominici corporis compagem, arctius stringendam, ad communionem ecclesiarum expediendam, admodum utilis aut prorsus necessaria est hujusmodi præsidentia; nec enim alias inter cœtus disparatos facile commercium institui potest, aut stabilis concordia foveri, quam personarum singularium interventu; quapropter episcoporum cura et consensu catholicam unitatem contineri, crebro suggerit sanctissimus ille prudentissimusque Cyprianus; "quando," inquit, "Ecclesia, quæ catholica et una est, scissa non sit, neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, et cohærentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata."[t] Et, "idcirco copiosum est corpus sacerdotum concordiæ mutuæ glutino, atque

[r] Beza. de Var. Minist. grad. c. 23, p. 153; c. 22.

* In schismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque ad se trahens ecclesiam Christi rumperet.—*Ad. Evag. Ep.* 85.——Patet quis non scripturarum, sed nostram esse sententiam, &c.—*In Tit.* i. 5; Hier. in Tit. i. 5.——Paullatim vero ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem solicitudinem esse delatam.—*Ibid.*

[s] Hier. contr. Lucif. cap. 1.

[t] Cypr. Ep. 69.

unitatis vinculo copulatum, &c."[u] Hujusmodi proinde tantis commodis, episcopali regimine sublato, qui ecclesiam spoliant, ut de illa pessime merentes, admodum culpandi sunt.

5. *Scandala facere* ab apostolo inter gravissima delicto censetur, et *væ istis* Christus denunciat, *per quos hæc obveniunt;*[v] at quænam gravior erga totum populum Christianum offensa committi potest, quam sacratissimum ordinem, ab ipso semper in summo pretio habitum, et præcipuo honore, parentum ad instar, cultum, eliminare et expungere?

6. Episcopi scilicet a profundissima usque antiquitate Summi sacerdotes, Sacerdotum principes et apices;[w] sacerdotii sublime fastigium, et pontificatus apicem adepti; ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac divina potestate præditi; a quibus ministerii exordium est, apostolorum *προεδρίαν* sortiti, Christi vicem gerentes, beati papæ (ut alia complura satis obvia taceam ejusmodi elogia), crebro dicti sunt et certo existimati; quorum ideo non aliquos tantum honore exuere, sed omnes radicitus extirpare qualis flagitii res, quanti horroris videatur necesse est?

7. Item, episcopis antiquitus utcunque obluctari vel obstrepere piaculum erat, et hæresium ac schismatum origo censebatur; "Neque enim," ait Cyprianus,* "aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur." Et. "Inde schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt et oriuntur, dum episcopus, qui unus est et ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur;" "nec putent sibi vitæ aut salutis constare rationem, si episcopis et sacerdotibus obtemperare noluerint."[x] Quanto scelestius et magis schismaticum existimassent, non hujus tantum aut illius episcopi mandatis obsistere, sed omnis episcopatus jugum excutere?

8. Quinetiam in præpositos utcunque sibi judicium assumere summæ temeritatis et arrogantiæ rem arbitrati sunt Patres; "Quis enim," inquit Cyprianus, "hic est superbiæ tumor, quæ arrogantia animi, quæ mentis inflatio, ad cognitionem suam præpositos et sacerdotes vocare?"[y] quanto gravius autem omnes abjudicare, ipsumque munus episcopale quasi capitis damnatum proscibere?

9. Istis in seculis "altare contra altare erigere, "cathedram sibi constituere, gliscente discordia,"* (Cypriani verba sunt,) "episcopum sibi constituere, et contra sacramentum semel traditum divinæ dispositionis et catholicæ unitatis adulterum et contrarium caput extra ecclesiam facere; (contra ecclesiasticam dispositionem, contra evangelicam legem, contra institutionis catholicæ unitatem alium episcopum fieri consentire)," nefarium et execrandum facinus erat, propter quod admissum Novatiani, Donatistæ reliquique ferme schismatici tam pessime audierunt; quale facinus igitur altaria cuncta demoliri, cathedras omnes submovere; non in unius episcopi præjudicium alterum creare, subornare, sed in omnium ruinam nullum pati? quanto damnosius ecclesiam unamquamque capite præciso (quod nostri moliuntur) *ἀκέφαλον* facere, quam (id quod veteres schismatici fecerunt) bicipites ecclesias erigere?

Episcopalis itaque regiminis abjectionem quisquis animo pravo (contentioso scilicet, arrogante, pervicace, fastidioso, vel utcumque perverso) molitur; eum quidni cum doctissimo respondente schismatis (et quidem mortalis, hoc est, peccati gravissimi) reum pronunciem? "Quod enim" (ut S. Cypriani verbis concludam) "majus potest esse delictum, aut quæ macula deformior, quam adversus Christum stetisse, quam ecclesiam ejus, quam ille sanguine suo paravit et condidit, dissipasse? quam evangelicæ pacis ac dilectionis oblitum contra unanimem et concordem Dei populum hostilis discordiæ furore pugnasse?"[a]

"Inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordiæ, nec passione purgatur."[a]

* Cypr. Ep. 55.—Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, et ortus atque conatus schismaticorum, tale cogitantium ut sibi placeant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant.—*Cypr. Ep.* 65, 69.

[u] Cypr. Ep. 67.

[v] Rom. xvi. 17; Matt. xviii. 7.

[w] Tert. de Bapt. 17; Opt. I. Cypr. Ep. 52; Leo Ep. 84; Cypr. Ep. 55; Amb. de Sacr. III. 1; Bas. Ep.—Cypr. Ep. 55.

[x] Cypr. Ep. 62.

* Optat. Cypr. Ep. 76, 42, 44.—A pastore oves, et filios a parente separare, et Christi membra dissipare.—*Ep.* 58.

[y] Cypr. Ep. 69. (Ep. 55, p. 112, 117.)

[a] Cypr. Ep. 72.

[a] Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. p. 257.

DE TRIBUS SYMBOLIS.

Relaxatio fidei trium Symbolorum, in octavo articulo ecclesiæ Anglicanæ propositorum, admitti non potest, sine scandalo dato apostasiæ ab ecclesia universali.

A nascentis ecclesiæ primordiis usu receptum apparet, formulas quasdam professionis, et sacræ doctrinæ summulas (quales Sanctus Paulus τύπους διδαχῆς, et ὑγιαινόντων λόγων ὑποτυπώσεις indigitare videtur, Tertullianus veritatis et fidei regulas ac leges appellitat), in ecclesiis prostrare; quibus veluti symbolis ac tesseris Christiani fideles dignoscerentur, et religio nostra qualis esset omnibus innotesceret; quibus ad Christianismum accedentes neophyti ipsius principiis imbuentur;[a] eidemque nomen dantes quousque profecerant ostenderet, et quid susceperant credendum profiterentur; quibus denuo quasi metis aut repagulis ingenia continerentur, ne præter oleas sanæ doctrinæ devios in errores exorbitarent, aut excurrerent.*

Hæc primitus admodum erant succincta atque simplicia; nec aliud ferme quam præcipua continebant religionis nostræ capita, ab aliis illam (Judaismo scilicet, et ethnicismo tunc obtinentibus) distinguentia; prout ex illis liquet ejusmodi formis, quæ in sanctis Irenæo, Tertulliano, Cypriano proponuntur, aut subindicatur.

Sed postquam emergentes prave curiosi dogmatistæ suis ausi sunt commentis et παραδιατριβαῖς sublimia fidei nostræ mysteria pervertere, vel contaminare;[b] ecclesiae pastoribus necesse vel ex usu visum est, post quæstiones eventilatas at accurate discussas, alia nova symbola veritatem districtius elucidantia proponere; cum ut ecclesiæ filios ad veram dogmatum intelligentiam erudirent, et auctoritate sua damnatis erroribus aditum præcluderent, tum ut illorum professione orthodoxos ab hæreticis dispescerent, illosque gremio foverent, hos procul arcerent.

Ita cum P. Samosatenus, ἀποστὰς τοῦ κανόνος ἐπὶ κίβδηλα καὶ νόθα διδάγματα μετελήλυθεν,[c] istis Antiochena synodus a se formatam definitionem opposuit; ejusque vestigiis insistens Nicena synodus Arii, postmodumque Constantinopolitana, πνευματομάχων heterodoxias hac ratione transfixit.

Veruntamen cum prioribus symbolis, catholico consensu receptis, veritas satis definita videretur; et quo multorum curiosa vel contentiosa reprimeretur ambitio novas indies fidei confessiones procudentium, lacinias suas prioribus assuentium (a quibus dissidia succrescebant, et fides perplexa reddebatur), synodo Ephesinæ generali (ut et postea Chalcedonensi) legem sancire placuit, gravissima pœna munitam, ne cui exinde liceret alium a Niceno fidei typum componere vel exponere.[d]

Hinc factum, ut reliquis dimissis, tria saltem symbola publicam in ecclesia auctoritatem tenuerint; quæ proinde, ecclesia Anglicana, mater nostra, quo suam cum ecclesia catholica concordiam testatam faceret, et semetipsam ab errorum tam contagio quam consortio præstaret immunem, suffragio suo comprobavit (in articulis suis expresso), liturgiis suis inseruit, adeoque filiis suis (clericis præsertim) agnoscenda et usurpanda præscripsit: "Symbola" (inquit) "tria, Nicenum, Athanasii, et quod vulgo Apostolorum, appellatur, omnino recipienda sunt, et credenda; nam firmissimis scripturarum testimoniis probari possunt."[e]

De quibus singillatim paucula quædam attingamus ad thesin propositam spectantia; hoc saltem prænotato, quod in illa *fidei relaxatio* talis intelligi videatur, qua symbolorum usus publicus obmittatur, aut ipsorum professio, legibus refixis, non exigatur; reliqua vero tam clara sunt, ut explicationem minime desiderent.

Jam apostolicum symbolum (illud ipsum, vel ei consimile, quod Tertullianus appellat "regulam veritatis, quæ veniat a Christo transmissa per comites ipsius;"[f]

* Symbolum tessera est et signaculum quo inter fideles perfidosque secernitur. — *Max. Tyr. Tertull. Præscrip.* 14.

[a] Rom. vi. 17; 2 Tim. i. 13; Tert. Apol. cap. 47, de vel Virg. i. de Præscr. 13; Heb. vi. 1.

[b] 1 Tim. vi. 5.

[c] Eus. 7, 30.

[d] Syn. Eph. Can. 7; Syn. Chal. Act. 5, p. 340; Evag. 2, 4,—ἑτέραν πίστιν.

[e] Art. 8.

[f] Apol. cap. 47.

quod saltem antiquitus in ecclesiis plerisque, imprimis Romana, baptismum suscipientes profiteri solebant) præcipuos complectitur et maxime peculiares Christianæ religionis articulos, e sacris literis congestos, et simplicissimus verbis liquido conceptos; a quo proinde Christianum sibi nomen asserentium nemo ferme quisquam ullatenus dissentire præ se fert; adeoque nec quisquam, opinor, in illo comprehensæ fidei relaxationem ullam cogitet aut exoptet; ullam autem admittere quid aliud esset, quam ipsius Christianismi repudiati scandalum accersere? de eo proinde nil attinet plura dicere.

Nicenum vero symbolum, ab illo primo celeberrimoque concilio, quod in ipsis ecclesiæ triumphantis auspiciis, e persecutionum flammis emergentes celebrarunt plusquam trecenti antistites ecclesiarum, fidei Christianæ confessores eximii fortissimique athletæ; nam (ut S. Chrysostomus aureo suo penicillo illos alicubi depingit), καθάπερ ἀριστεῖς τινες μυρία στήσαντες τρόπαια, καὶ πολλὰ δεξάμενοι τραύματα, οὕτω πανταχόθεν ἐκανήσαν τότε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οἱ προστάται, τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ βαστάζοντες, καὶ πολλὰς ἔχοντες ἀριθμεῖν τιμωρίας, ἃς διὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὑπέμειναν—καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τούτων ἡ σύνοδος ἅπασα συγκεκρότητο τότε,—[a] ab hujusmodi, inquam, tot Patribus conditum et a secundo generali concilio, Constantinopoli habito, nonnihil adauctum, S. Trinitatis mysterium, haustis e divina scriptura sensibus, luculente tradit, Christi divinam æternamque naturam ab Arianæ sectæ commentis, ipsum in creatarum temporaliumque rerum censum deprimentibus, exerte vindicans; nec non Sancti Spiritus divinitatem asserens a pravis πνευματομάχων heterodoxiis.

Hujusce symboli fidem, post tot superatos atque sedatos adversarum molitionum fluctus ubique prævalentem, adeoque divinæ providentiæ quasi suffragio comprobatam (ne dicam sacrorum oraculorum claris testimoniis quoque subnixam) totque seculorum universali consensu stabilitam, jam relaxare, quid aliud esset, quam istorum hæreticorum vel in castra transire, vel in consortium nos tradere? quam orthodoxiæ proditæ nos plane reos facere, vel utcunque suspectos præbere? quam consopita dissentionum incendia resuscitare; quam defixas a Patribus metas amovere; quam ovilis Dominici septa diruere murosque demoliri; quam unitatis catholicæ clarissimas tesseras, certissimaque pignora projicere; quam veritatis simul ac pacis conservandæ exploratissima media, falsitatis autem discordiæque propulsandæ potentissima probatissimaque remedia subtrahere; quam ecclesiæ (non degeneris, inquinatæ pontificio jugo oppressæ, sed) omnino primitivæ, defœcatæ, liberrimæ consistoria, summe veneranda, "quorum in ecclesia," si Augustino credimus, "saluberrima est auctoritas," auctoritate sua prorsus exuere, tamque diuturna possessione firmato ab honore deturbare? quam denuo totius ecclesiæ quæ fuerunt unquam aut esse poterunt augustissima judicia convellere, vel omnino cassare? quorum nihil non apostasiæ ab ecclesiæ universalis vel fide vel pace suspicionem ingerat, et scandalum obtrudat.

Enimvero si nullam fidei professionem exigat, si nullos communioni suæ limites præfigat ecclesiæ, unde quæ sit ejus mens, qualis doctrina, constabit? quo signo monstrabit, quo testimonio evincet, quo pignore cavebit se quoad intaminatam fidem cum ecclesia catholica conspirare vel cohærere? vel hæreticorum se opinionibus et consortio renunciare? quibus notis aut characteribus ab heterodoxis doctoribus orthodoxos pastores, a lupis, a vulpibus, a canibus oves secernet aut disterminabit? qua ratione τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκαλούντων, et sanctissima mysteria pervertentium ora frænabit, aut serpentium errorum contagia sistet? quo pacto tam ab apostolis impense laudatæ crebroque inculcatæ ὁμονοίᾳ consulet; vel efficiet, ut juxta S. Pauli mandata constanter omnes idem sentiamus, idem loquamur; simusque κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῖ, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ; *idem sapiamus, et in eadem regula permaneamus; in uno Spiritu stemus unanimes; unitatemque Spiritus in vinculo pacis servemus?*[h] quomodo denique præceptis apostolicis obsequetur jubentibus hæreticos, ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦντας, aliud evangelium prædicantes, aversari, devitare, detestari?

Quod si fidei professionem ullam requirat, quidni præsertim hujus Nicenæ, quam tanta commendat antiquitas, tam

[a] Chrps. tom. vi. Orat. 28.

[h] 1 Cor. i. 10; Phil. iii. 15; i. 27; Eph. iv. 3.
[i] Tit. iii. 10; Rom. xvi. 17; Gal. i. 8.

venerabilis auctoritas edidit, tot ætatum præscriptio roboravit, adeoque diffusus ecclesiæ consensus sacravit? Si quos omnino communioni suæ terminos præscribat, quidni potissimum hos, ita dudum Christiani populi sensibus infixos, ut sine fidei vel gravi ruina vel periculosa concussione vix evelli queant? Denique si Patrum fidem respuimus, annon eo ipso ab ecclesia catholica deflectimus? sin constanter illam amplectimur, quorsum ejus professionem luxamus?

Tertium S. Athanasio adscriptum, symbolum, non auctoris claritate (is enim apud doctos haud adeo certus est) nec antiquitatis compertæ gratia (nam duntaxat a mille circiter annis ejusce notitia percrebuit), neque consensus amplitudine (cum ab occidentali tantum ecclesia recipiatur) ita commendatum, hoc tamen nomine dignitatem suam tuetur, quod undicunque profectum tot per secula tantamque per orbis Christiani partem invaluit; quin et a se intrinsecus hoc habet, quod reliquis quodammodo perfectius et plenius est, nec non ad ὀρθοδοξίαν adserendam accommodatius.

Etenim præter S. Trinitatis doctrinam enucleate propositam (non Ario tantum, at Sabellio quoque damnato, quem Nicenum haud ita clare tangit) incarnationis Dominicæ mysterium dilucidius explicat, juxta synodorum œcumenicarum Ephesinæ et Chalcedonensis definitiones accuratas, utramque Christi naturam a Nestorii illas distrahentis, et ab Eutichetis iisdem confundentis, erroribus asserens; ut et ab Apollinarii perverso dogmate Domini humanitatem mutilantis; quinetiam de Sancti Spiritus origine gravissimam decidit controversiam, adversus Græcos hac in parte cespitantes; (quibus argumentis ut ejus vetustati nonnihil derogatur, ita perfectioni præstantiæque intrinsecæ plurimum accedit.)

Hujus itaque fides eatenus relaxanda non est: ne synodorum istarum, a primis duabus haud longo intervallo proximarum, vel puram doctrinam respuere, vel eximiæ auctoritati detrahere videamur; vel saltem ne Græcorum errori videamur astipulari; et generatim propter easdem ferme causas, quas de Nicena fide non relaxanda mox attigimus.

Hoc sane, una cum reliquis in occidentali ecclesia diu receptis, sapienter ecclesia nostra retinendum censuit; cum ut suam ὀρθοδοξίας curam zelumque demonstraret, tum ut concordiæ studium ostenderet in iis omnibus, quæ veritati consona Romanæ partes docent, ultro agnoscendis; tum etiam ne quam captiosis hominibus speciosam offensionis ansam ministraret.

In hoc quidem symbolo quibusdam nonnulla minus arrident; illud præsertim quod in dogmatum explicatione dissentientes tam aspera censura percellit, tantisque pœnis devovet. Cui exceptioni breviter (etenim ut fuse non vacat) respondemus.

Primo, Illud judicium, non ad symboli fidem, adeoque nec ad quæstionem, pertinere videtur. Id verborum ipso series innuit; nam præfatorio judicio subjicitur, *Catholica vero fides est hæc:* item fidei expositæ adnectitur epilogus, *Hæc est catholica fides*, quam excipit simile judicium; itaque fides ipsa judiciis istis παρενθετικῶς interclusa jacet.

Secundo, Judicium illud non æque videtur ad omnia symboli puncta se extendere, verum ad illa præsertim, quæ in universalibus consiliis definita sunt, et quibus adversa dogmata Patres tanquam hæretica sunt execrati. Nam, v. g. Græcos hæreticis accensere, vel a salute prorsus excludere, multi theologi non sustinent, alioquin huic symbolo mardicus adhærentes; ne id faciant, gravissimis argumentis permoti. Nam (ut alia præteream) an leve est tantam ecclesiæ partem, a Photii saltem tempore (hoc est, plusquam 800 annis), huic errori adhærentem abscindere, vel inferno addicere? unde factum est, inquiunt, ut plerique Patres Græci præsertim de eo hæsitent, aut nihil exploratum tradant? unde ex illis præcipui docet processionis (vel ὑπάρξεως) Sancti Spiritus modum tuto ignorari? unde Constantinopolitana synodus hoc indefinitum transiliit? unde synodi subsequentes definitioni quicquam adjici prohibuerunt? unde Theodoretus hoc dogma oppugnavit tam impune, Cyrillo contra nihil hiscente, nec ejus tot adversariis ei propterea erroris dicam impingentibus?

Tertio, Ejusmodi judicia sic temperanda sunt, ut iis non quilibet ignarus aut simpliciter errans et incredulus subjaceat at ii saltem, qui pravis affectibus, animo revera hæretico (hoc est, αὐτοκραταχρίτῳ, vel hypocritico, temerario, factioso, arrogante, contumace), patefactæ circa fidei

doctrinam veritati præfracte obnituntur atque reclamant, ἄνθρωποι, juxta Apostolum, διεφθαρμένοι τὸν νοῦν, ac inde, ἀπεστερημένοι τῆς ἀληθείας. Ita quidem S. Augustinus, "Si mihi" (inquit, ad Honoratum Manichæum scribens) "unum atque idem videretur hæreticus et credens hæreticis homo, tam lingua quam stylo in hac causa conquiescendum mihi esse arbitrarer; nunc vero cum inter duo plurimum intersit; quandoquidem hæreticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi, et maxime gloriæ principatusque sui gratia, falsas ac novas opiniones vel gignit, vel sequitur; ille autem qui hujusmodi hominibus credit, homo est imaginatione quadam veritatis ac pietatis illusus."[j] Et rursus, Donatistarum episcopos alloquens. "Qui sententiam," inquit, "suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audacia præsumptionis suæ peperunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærunt autem cauta solicitudine veritatem, corrigiparati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi; tales ergo vos nisi esse crederem, nullas fortasse vobis literas mitterem."[k] Ita nonnullos ille Manichæos nonnullosque Donatistas hæreseos absolvit: quam in rem continere non possum he quoque vetusti piissimique scriptoris (Salvian)[l] adjungam verba perquam diserta, de quibusdam Arianis ita proloquentis; "Hæretici sunt, sed non scientes; denique apud nos sunt hæretici, apud se non sunt; nam in tantum se catholicos esse judicant, ut nos ipsos titulo hæreticæ appellationis infament: quod ergo illi nobis sunt, hoc nos illis: nos eos injuriam divinæ generationi facere certi sumus, quod minorem Patre Filium dicant; illi nos injuriosos Patri existimant, quia æquales esse credamus. Veritas apud nos est, sed illi apud se esse præsumunt; honor Dei apud nos est, sed illi hoc arbitrantur honorem divinitatis esse quod credunt; inofficiosi sunt, sed illis hoc est summum religionis officium; impii sunt, sed hoc putant veram esse pietatem; errant ergo, sed bono animo errant, non odio sed affectu Dei, honorare se Dominum atque amare credentes; quamvis non habeant rectam fidem, illi tamen hoc perfectam Dei æstimant charitatem: qualiter pro hoc ipso falsæ opinionis errore in die judicii puniendi sint, nullus potest scire nisi Judex.

Itaque nihil officit ista exceptio, quo minus hujusce symboli fides merito debeat retineri, seu relaxari non debeat.

ANIMÆ HUMANÆ CORPORIBUS NON PRÆEXISTUNT.

Humanæ animæ, de qua præsens instituitur disputatio, nihil magis proprium aut a natura ingenitum esse videtur, quam ut rerum, quas sensu percipit, et quibuscum continuo versatur, causas et origines inquirat. Eorum enim, qui communiter apparent, effectuum notitia atque historia ultro otiosis et quasi nolentibus se ingerunt, per apertas sensuum fenestras ad animæ sedem penetrantes; at hæc patientis solummodo personam sustinet, ac velut domi residens advenarum impulsum persentiscit. Tum demum se erigit, ac in se dignam activitatem conspirat, quum ut Homericus ille hospes peregrinum, ita hæc suos compellat, Τίς, πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν πόθε τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; cum rerum principia et sortes nascendi, unde ortæ, quomodo productæ sint, sedula disquisitione investigat: quale scrutinium si indifferenter in reliqua omnia forinsecus sibi oblata exercere consuescat, mirum non est si ad sui ipsius (cujus sibi intime conscia est, quam semper præsentem intuetur, cujus omnes motus dum exerit, immediate perspectos habet), originem atque natales indagandos præcipuo studio aspiraret: quo conatu dum occupatur, dum ætatem suam retro percurrit, annosque præteritos cogitatione remetitur, tandem infantiæ terminum assequitur, ante quem nullibi extitisse, nihil sensisse, molitam, aut meditatam fuisse, se recordatur; unde circa id tempus existendi initium sumpsisse merito suspicatur. Ut enim me Romæ fuisse, quod valde optarem, purpuratorum patrum splendidissimis pompis interfuisse, magnificas ædes tam publicas quam privatas, imaginum pigmentorumque elegantias, et præclara antiquitatis monumenta perlustrasse, ne-

[j] 1 Tim. vi. 5; Aug. de Util. Cred. cap. 1.
[k] Aug. Ep. 162.
[l] Salv. de Gub. Dei, lib. 5.

mo ut credam adegerit, quia illarum rerum nulla species animo insidet: ita animas in cœlo olim ævum transegisse, ibi nescio quæ facinora perpetrasse, exinde in hcæ corpora præcipites decidisse, ideo quispiam prona fide non admittit, quoniam hujusmodi eventuum nulla in se deprehendit vestigia. Quod tamen minime effecit, ne plurimi experientiæ propriæ testimonio diffisi, animas suas præsentis vitæ auspiciis superiores existimarint. Quibus illos non accenseo, qui ex corporea quacunque concretione oriri animas putant; inter quos præcipui Democritus, Anaxagoras, Epicurus, Stoici. Hi enim, licet animarum substantiam, igneam nempe, aëream vel spirituosam præextitisse, plerique ab æterno crediderint, fuisse tamen animas, antequam hæc materies coalesceret, non asserunt, ut nec æthereæ substantiæ particulas, antequam in lucidum orbem cofluant, stellam componere. Nec usquam Aristoteles, quod sciam, huic sententiæ aperte favet (illud enim θύραθεν ἐπεισιέναι ambiguum est, et ad alios existendi modos referri potest), quin potius dum Πυθαγορικοὺς quos vocat μύθους ridet, dum passim Platonicam ἀνάμνησιν ubique impugnat, omnemque intellectus notitiam a sensibus derivari contendit, dumque animam corporis "organici actum" definit, ab ea penitus alienus esse videtur. Ex philosophis igitur principes Pythagoras et Plato hoc commentum introduxerunt, quorum passim celebrantur hujus μετεμψύχωσις, illius ἀναψυχία. Exque horum institutione e Christianis theologis Origenem et Synesium, atque ex hæreticis tam Judæis quam Christianis qui idem senserunt, hausisse credibile est. Et μετεμψύχωσις quidem, hoc est, Tertulliano definiente, "ex animarum recidivatu revolubili alterna mortuorum atque viventium suffectio," ut Christianæ fidei fundamenta, resurrectionem præsertim, ultimumque judicium convellens, ab omnibus merito exploditur, ut supervacaneum putem in ea refutanda oleum atque operam insumere. Simplex est προϋπαρξις, quam impugnandam suscepimus, idque sequentibus potissimum ratiociniis.

Primo, Si animæ præexistant, tum ita ut vel ante mundum conditum, vel una cum eo, vel aliquo post eum tempore creatæ existere cœperint; nam a se esse, vel ab æterno factas, nemo, opinor, Christianus affirmaverit. Non ante mundum conditum, cum nulla ratio sit, cur aliud ipsis extra commune rebus universis initium statuamus; quod propterea simpliciter principii nomine insignitur; *In princopio creavit Deus cœlum et terram.* Quem locum respiciens Apostolus, τὸν Λόγον[a] solum tum extitisse innuit, futurum omnium Opificem. Id quod ex eo confirmatur, quoniam ex antiquissimi sanctissimique scriptoris mente nihil hanc periodum antecessit, præter chaos quoddam, hoc est, informem quandam, indigestam, tenebricosam molem, minime idoneum animabus habitaculum. Quis enim in illa confusione locus fuit animarum dignitati accommodatus, quem incolerent? quid in tam spissa caligine cernerent? quo mentis aciem dirigerent? in quæ objecta activitates suas exercerent? Annon rectius sancti Patres hoc universum, tanquam animarum hospitium quoddam atque gymnasium, eo duntaxat fine constructum statuunt, ut esset ubi animæ commode degerent, quod ordinarent et regerent, in cujus mirabili ordine, harmonica compage, elegantissima specie contemplandis, se oblectarent: contra animas idcirco productas, ut tam augustæ fabricæ pulchritudine atque præstantia animadversis, Conditoris optimi, maximi, sapientissimi majestatem suspicerent, ejusque admiratione perculsi in amorem raperentur: quæ si vera sunt, nec mundus anima posterior extitit, nec anima mundo, ipsa hujus pars maxima et præstantissima. Neque post mundum conditum simul omnes existere cœperunt, siquidem cur illæ hoc potius, quam alio tempore fierent, nulla ratio assignari possit; præcique quum humanum genus ex prima propagine magis magisque indies cresceret, ideoque novæ semper requirerentur animæ, ex publico, quod hæc hypothesis præstruit, animarum seminario depromendæ: itaque omnes ab ineunte mundo Adami animæ concreatas oportuit. Verum obstat quod in sacra τῆς κοσμοποιΐας historia, ubi rerum creatio luculente percensetur, animarum tum conditarum aut præexistentium nulla mentio habetur; quam ignorare Moses qui potuit, cui universa series divini opificii clare perspecta, accurate descripta est; aut cognitam dissimulasse, quum primum rerum statum

[a] Gen. i. 1; Joh. ii. 1.

et præcipue hominis sibi enarrandum proposuerit, sincerus imprimis author, et quovis Pythagora vel Platone tantum scientia et fide, quantum ævo anterior; præsertim quum alicujus momenti negotium vertitur, in quo sine tanti magistri ductu facile est labi, ad cujus notitiam flagrantibus desideriis anhelamus? Imo idem sacer Historicus tantum abest, ne omnes animas tum conditas asseveret, ut unam tantum memoret, reliquarum in hunc mundi campum antesignanam, eamque non a grege animarum forinsecus assumptam, sed a Deo immediate inspiratam, Gen. ii. 7. *Formavit Dominus Deus hominem e limo terræ, et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitæ.* Cui Senecæ illud mirifice consonat, "Si primam ejus originem aspexeris, non est ex terreno et gravi concreta corpore, ex illo cœlesti Spiritu descendit."[b] Cujus sane Spiritus unicus Adamus primo particeps fuit, nisi aut Moses nescivit, aut legentibus imponere voluit, aut nobis saltem invidit origines nostras; qui cum unius animæ natales celebret, cur reliquas æque nobiles præteriret? imo cum animarum par conditio sit, quare Adami anima corpus præformatum subsequatur, reliquæ materiam dispositam antecedant? illa ex divino afflatu procedat, hæ ex communi thesauro desumantur? illa nunquam extra corpus fuit, vita simplici contenta; hæ seorsim agant, duplicemque statum experiantur? quid illa promeruit, ut ab ortu statim in corporeum claustrum truderetur, cum hæ justa libertate fruerentur? ut illa sensibus alligata, necessitatibus subjecta, laboribus mancipata fuerit, quorum hæ diu exortes feriantur? Quin potius quoniam Adami anima nunquam præextitit, nec a corpore separata diurnavit, neque extra sensuum consortium cogitandi facultatem exeruit, non est quod reliquas dissimili conditione factas arbitremur. Cui accedit, quod Christi, secundi Adami, sanctissima anima non præextitit, sed a Deo itidem spirante procreata est, Luc. i. 35. πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι, διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς Θεοῦ· in quo loco, ut Adamus, Luc. iii. ver. ultimo, *Filius Dei* vocatur, ob Spiritum a Deo communicatum; ita Servator noster, quatenus homo est, eo nomine Filius Dei dicitur, quod animam suam a Deo Patre acceperit, quæ proinde non præexistit, ideoque nec nostræ, quæ quoad existendi modum in hoc tantum ab illius anima differunt, quod hæc a divino Spiritu immediate, nostræ humano interventu producuntur. Loci enim, quos allegat optimus doctissimusque vir, Joh. xvii. 5. (M. H.) καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σὺ πάτερ παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ᾗ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρά σοι, et Phil. ii. 6. ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, et consimiles, divinitatem Christi clarissime respiciunt, eoque communiter ab interpretibus referuntur.

Secundo, Animarum præexistentiæ adversatur ipsarum propagatio, sive mavis, substitutio. Cujus modus (quoad dependentiam successivam intelligo) si aut analogiam naturæ sequi, aut experientiæ arbitrium agnoscere volumus, sacræ historiæ calculo comprobatum, ab illo vix discrepat, quo brutorum animantium imo et vegetabilium augentur numeri, species conservantur. Similis ubique vis prolifica deprehenditur, gemella procreandi methodus; ex parili benedictione se multiplicandi potestatem obtinuere; et prout ex unius equi stirpe equina diffunditur progenies, quæ immensas regiones populando sit; nec minus ab una glande quercuum ingentes sylvæ exurgunt, ita ut nullæ his præparentur animæ, nisi quas pro re nata emittunt: ita ab uno homine plurimarum gentium infinita exuberavit multitudo; Act. xvii. 26. ἐποίησέ τε ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Igitur inquit Tertullianus infra, unde merito Adamus *pater*, Eva viventium *mater*, appellantur: quæ nomina nisi parentes ad animarum existentiam aliquid conferrent, frustra imponerentur. Nam corpora quod attinet, præterquam quod animarum quasi appendices, instrumenta et vascula sint, illorum substantia a generantibus independens jam olim extitit, iisque figuras et conformationes organicas, non parentes tribuunt, sed ipsæ sibi animæ, Deo opitulante, effingunt; ut prætereamus corporis primordium, animæque vehiculum semen, quantulumcunque est, quod in matricem recipitur, protinus sensu arbitro putrere, dispergi, evanescere, aut si aliquid superest, continuis incrementorum affluxibus mutari, atque transponi; ut non absurde neget Aristoteles semen patris ullam partem materiæ corporis fœtui conferre; et nescio an fundamen-

[b] Consol. ad Helv.

um corruat honoris et gratitudinis, quam ipsis ceu vitæ authoribus exhibere solemus.[c] Ideoque si parentibus animarum existentia aliquatenus deputetur, nihil est plane quod impertiant, quibus tamen parentibus sacræ literæ non tantum hominis (cujus anima essentialem constitutionem in tantum ingreditur, ut homo dicatur *anima vivens*),[d] sed et ipsarum animarum productionem disertis verbis assignant, haud ultra debitum, credo, liberales. Gen. xii. 5, *Tulitque Sarai uxorem suam, et Lot filium fratris sui, universamque substantiam quam possederant, et animas, quas fecerant in Haram.* Gen. xlvi. 18, *Hi filii Zelphæ, quam dedit Laban filiæ suæ, et hos genuit Jacob, sedecim animas.* Exod. i. 5, *Erant autem omnes animæ egressorum e semine Jacob septuaginta.* "Igitur" (inquit Tertullianus) "ex uno homine tota hæc animarum redundantia agitur, observante, scilicet, natura Dei editum, *Crescite et in multitudinem proficite;*"[e] quibus addi potest, quod parentes similes sibi liberos progenerare dicantur, Gen. v. 3, *Et vixit Adam centum et triginta annos, et genuit ad imaginem et similitudinem suam;* et hoc quidem juxta philosophi pronunciatum, φυσικώτατον τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἔργον τὸ ποιῆσαι ἕτερον οἷον αὐτό.[f] Quomodo autem sibi similes gignunt, si aliquo modo animas non communicant, quæ ad humanæ naturæ integritatem quam maxime pertinent?

Tertio, Si animæ præexistunt, unde est quod specie oris, habitu corporis, animi moribus, prosapiam soboles referat? quod liberi sæpius parentibus pulchri formosis, robusti validis, "fortes creantur fortibus et bonis," ac vice versa? qua nascendi sorte in patris vitia succedit, virtute æmulatur proles, quocum animæ extraneæ nulla cognatio, nullum præcessit commercium? quæ sane ex corporeæ atomi dispositione haud proveniunt, quæ tantilla ex parentis substantia discerpitur, cujus fluxa temperies quolibet momento variatur, quæque haud scio an virtutum vitiorumque capax sit, oumque præcipui habitus animæ insideant, et ipsa sibi organa extruat, nativæ indoli conformia. Cui affine est,

Quarto, Natorum animæ paternorum criminum pœnas persæpe luunt, benefactorum gratiam reportant, quod cum multis e sacra historia exemplis poterit confirmari, sufficiet primi hominis lapsum commemorare, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον. Ex quo peccato mors intravit, et reliqui morbi, labores, cruciatus humanum genus pervaserunt, quibuscum vita communis perpetuo conflictatur, ut liquebit verba illa perpendenti, Gen. iii. 17, 18. *Adæ vero dixit, quia audisti vocem uxoris tuæ, et comedisti de ligno, ex quo præceperam tibi, ne comederes, maledicta terra in opere tuo: in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitæ tuæ. Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi,—In sudore vultus tui vescceris pane, donec revertaris in terram, de qua sumptus es.* Quod si posterorum animæ Adami animæ σύγχρονοι fuerint, neque ab illa aliquatenus dependeant quo jure Adamici criminis participes evadunt, quod nulla generis proximitate attingunt? Nam corpora quod attinet hæc ut primitiva labe inquinata concedamus, neque ulla commoda sentiunt, nec afficiuntur incommodis, neque mercede gaudent, nec supplicio anguntur. Ne dicam omnem materiam Adæ independentem coëxtitisse, ideoque ex eodem luto nos minime conflari: animasque proinde solas ab eo utcunque derivari, ideoque meri o communem cum eo fortunam subire. Quo utitur argumento S. Augustinus: "Si" (inquit) "anima nostra nullam de illa peccatrice originem ducit, quæ causa est animæ subeundi originale peccatum?"[g]

Quinto Quum in sacris literis quispiam aut egregie nequam, aut apprime bonus sanctusque celebratur, ultra natales et prima incunabula meritorum origo nusquam extenditur. Nonnulli, ἀπὸ βρέφους[h] ab ineunte ætate virtutibus innutriti, alii flagitiis assuefacti indigitantur. Psal. lviii. 4. *Alienati sunt peccatores a vulva, erraverunt a utero, locuti sunt falsa.* Contra Hieremias in utero sanctificatus dicitur; de S. Johanne Baptista prædictum, καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. S. Paulus de se, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου[i] non utique dicitur e cœlitum puriore cœtu delectas esse egregias

[c] Aristot. q. de Gen. An. c. 2, 20, 21; et 4 de Gen. An.
[d] Gen. ii. 7.
[e] De An. 27.
[f] De An. 2, c. 4.
[g] Epist. 157.
[h] 2 Tim. iii. 15.
[i] Jer. i. 5; Luc. i. 15; Gal. i. 15.

has animas, neque præstratas invasisse sanctitatem, sed ipsis Deo procurante congenitam fuisse. Nec sequiores illas ex altero secum pravitatem detulisse, sed ab ipsa infantia scelerum exemplis initiatos, peccandi perpetua consuetudine conceptam improbitatem [patravisse.] Item cum humanæ vitæ calamitates graphice depingunt, ac animarum miseram conditionem flebilibus modis deplorant, non e cœlesti habitatione detrusas, non in materiæ custodiam demersas mœrent, sed a recentis vitæ lachrymis exordium petunt, ab uterinis infortuniis threnodias auspicantur. Job iii. 10. *Quia non conclusit ostia ventris, qui portavit me, nec abstulit mala ab oculis meis? Quare non in vulva mortuus sum, egressus ex utero statim perii? quare exceptus genibus? cur lactatus uberibus?*

Porro, *sexto*, ut Socratica interrogandi licentia hanc quæstionem vexemus. Cum justa Aristotelis effatum πᾶν τὸ ὂν ὑπολαμβάνεται εἶναί που, ubi gentium ab orbe condito hæ preæxistentes animæ ætatem transigant? per liberas regiones vagæ spatiantur, an certis sedibus fixæ conquiescunt? prope ambitum telluris opportunos receptus expectant, an ex longinquo in corpora defluunt? æthereas arces obsident, an per nescio quæ intermundia volitent, an in terrestribus claustris detinentur? Platonici quidem a supernis ipsas devocant, cœli olim indigenas, juxta quos Cicero in Somnio Scipionis, "Hominibus animus datus est ex illis sempiternis ignibus quos sydera et stellas vocamus;" at reclamante Christo, Johan. iii. 13. Οὐδεὶς ἀναβέβηκεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ· ubi e cœlo descendisse ac cœlestium conscium fuisse sibi soli assumit, aliis abjudicat. Quin hos cum Ænea sciscitemur,

——Anne aliquas ad cœlum hinc ire putandum
Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora, quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido?
Æn. vi.

Quid autem attinet animabus vitam separatam cœlestem attribuendo humanam naturam cum angelica confundere, quas revera distingui apparet, ad Heb. ii. 16. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου ἀγγέλων ἐπιλαμβάνεται, ἀλλὰ σπέρματος Ἀβραὰμ ἐπιλαμβάνεται. Nec opus est ut animarum gregibus redundantes planetæ uas ad nos colonias deducerent, quum a provido Numine peculiares animas destinari, quæ terrestrem hunc mundum conspicere et contemplari, eique interesse ac præsidere teneantur, ratio dictet, authoritas suffragetur: quæ tum demum in scenam prodire, partesque commissas capessere aptæ natæ sunt, quum sibi corporum personas induere: interim donec nudæ, habitusque corporei expertes sunt, quid rei moliuntur? dormiunt, an vigilant, desides otiantur, an destinentur negotiis? certe aliquid agunt, quum animæ sint, quibus desidia mors est: quid autem? Non colores prospicere valent, ad quos oculis opus est, volatiles formas motusque palabundos colligentibus; non sonos dijudicare, quos auricularum sinuosi anfractus modulantur; nec saporum capere discrimina, ad quæ palati titillatio requiritur; neque mundi hujus visibilis harmoniam, pulchritudinem, delicias percipere queant, quum ad hoc comparatæ videntur, ut ab anima organorum vario apparatu instructa dignoscantur; et nescio an ullum cum his rebus commercium inire possint, sensuum familiari auxilio destitutæ: sin maxime possint, quare apud ipsas gestorum—"Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura," æque ac ab iis, qui e vivis excesserunt?

Deinde antequam corpora ingruunt, quam lotum somnolentam degustant, quo rore Lethæo perluuntur, ut omnium quæ in præcedenti statu egerint, senserint, perceperint, recordationem omnimodam amiserint? Nullo, opinor, morbo laborant lethargicæ hæ animæ tam acuto, nulla agitatione tam fera commoventur, quæ unico instanti memoriæ thesaurum penitus exhauriant, omnesque prævias species ex animæ tabula eradant. Species, inquam, istas, quas absque corporis ullo influxu aut ministerio acquisitas quomodo corpus auferendo sit, quum postea animæ a corpore separatio etiam violenta, eorum quæ instatu conjuncto gessimus, idque ab eo dependenter, ideas minime excutiat, nec impedimento sit, quo minus multorum memores persistamus? imo mirum est nullos adhuc a superiore vita impressos characteres legi, nec ex animarum ingeniis, proprietatibus, differentiis ullum pristini status signum aut vestigium notabile elucescere. Non enim ex hac scaturigine subtilitatem Itali, Galli inconstantiam, Germani hebetudinem, Scythæ simplicitatem, Dalmatæ ferociam, Cretæ

vanitatem trahunt; ad regionum constitutionem, alimentorum temperiem, educationis curam, temporum eventum, casuumque licentiam, ad hujusce naturæ statas leges, aut ad fortuitas circumstantias, dispositionum omnis varietas et habituum naturalium discrepantiæ exiguntur.

Porro, Si uniuscujusque præexistet anima, cum generandi actus requirit corpus ingressum, quomodo illa præsto est, unde accitur, quo pacto in semen se insinuat? quem fingere possumus Mercurium ψυχαγωγὸν quo adigente in corporeum carcerem compingitur? invita intrat an sponte? vi compulsa, an impetu suo? conscia quid agat, an ignara? delectu proprio, an alieno? Si sapit, cur levis et libera prius cum sit, ergastulo se includat, mole onerosa vestiat, morbis et mœroribus corporeis se submittat? Si nescit, quomodo callem per avia tenebrarum invenit, nec tritum et satis angustum? quem præmonstrare parentes nequeunt, ipsi animarum quod sint, ubi præstolantur, quot novam provinciam candidatæ ambiant, nescientes? ad hæc evolvenda Deus, ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, scilicet advocetur necesse est; quare autem supremi Numinis, pro cujusvis pagani arbitrio in cogendis animabus quotidiana deposcitur opera? annon sufficiat naturæ legem certam et fœdus inviolabile sanxisse, fœcunditatem homini se implantasse, concursum ordinarium subministrasse, et verbum ad omnia efficax protulisse, *Crescit et multiplicamini?* ut taceam, videri si assidue Deus in corpora animas cogeret, opus non fuisse, ut quandoque ipsum facti hominis pœniteret, aut diluvium inducendo humanum genus pessundaret, quum nulla naturæ, quam instituerat, lege violata, hoc tantum compulsu intermisso, hæc destructio necessario consequi, scelerumque inde propagatio intercipi potuisset.

Denique postquam anima directoris cujuslibet auspiciis ad luteas ædes ducentem semitam inivit, in semen quomodocunque intromissa, ex qua subito disciplina plastici artificii mirabilem sibi peritiam comparavit, hujusmodi architecturæ prius ignara, nec in effingendis corporibus exercitata? unde tanta statim συμπάθεια emergit, et peregrini hospitis arctus cnm materia nexus? et cur a vinculi parum connaturalis dissolutione tantopere abhorret? quæ omnia cum animam corpori congenitam satis indicant, tum inextricabilis præexistentiæ laqueos innectunt.

Deinde, Hanc opinionem plerique Sancti Patres aperte damnarunt, hosque secuti ecclesiastici doctores. Augustini verba sunt, "Credimas animas nec esse initio cum angelis, nec simul creatas, sicut Origenes finxit." Hieronymus; "Nobis nihil placet, nisi quod ecclesiasticum est, et publice in ecclesia dicere non timemus, ne juxta Pythagoram ac Platonem, ac discipulos eorum, qui sub nomine Christiano introducunt dogma gentilium, dicamus animas lapsas de cœlo esse."[j] Idem alicubi hanc doctrinam peregrinam, alibi impiam et celeratam vocat, acriter quidem pro more suo. Tertullianus postquam hæreticis quibusdam hoc dogma tribuisset, subjungit, "Doleo Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum."[k] Epiphanius; "Illud quoque quis Origenem dicentem patiatur, quod animæ angeli fuerint in cœlis, et postquam peccaverint in supernis directas esse in hunc mundum, et quasi in tumulos et sepulchra, sic in corpora ista relegatas, pœnas antiquorum luere peccatorum, et corpora credentium non templa Christi esse, sed carceres damnatorum?"[l]

Ultimo, Fundamenta infirma sunt, quibus hanc præexistentiam superstruunt adversarii.

Nam, primo, Traditionem allegant, ex profundissima antiquitate desumptam. Philolaus Pythagoricus, *Μαρτυρεόντωι δὲ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ θεόλογοί τε καὶ μάντεις, ὡς διὰ τινὰς τιμωρίας ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ σώματι συνέζευκται.*[m] Ipse Socrates apud Platonem, *Παλαιὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστί τις ὁ λόγος οὗτος οὃ μεμνήμεθα, ὡς εἰσιν ἐνθένδε ἀφικόμεναι ἐκεῖ, καὶ πάλιγγη δεῦρο ἀφικνοῦνται.*[n] Cicero: "Ex quibus humanæ vitæ erroribus atque ærumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris initiisque tradendis divinæ mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera suscepta in vita superiore pœnarum luendarum causa natos esse dixerunt, &c."[o]

Quos hi antiquos vates, quos theologos intelligunt, præexistentiæ præcones, non

[j] Lib. de Sp. et An. cap. 40.—Ad Hedibiam, ad Demetr. [k] De An. cap. 23.
[l] Epist. ad Joan. Hieros.
[m] Apud Eugub. [n] In Phœd.
[o] In Hortens. apud Aug. l. 9, contr. Jul.

admodum constat: inter Homeri et Hesiodi figmenta nusquam comparet, unde nec Orpheum et Musæum sic institutos improbabile fuerit, quos Græca theologia patres atque antistites agnoscit; an igitur Pythagoram ipsum de quo Ovidius,

——— primusque animalia mensis
Arguit imponi, primus quoque talibus ora
Docta quidem solvit, sed non et credita verbis, &c.
15 *Metam.*

An vero potius Ægyptios sacerdotes; a quibus τῆς μετενσωματώσεως doctrina imbutum Pythagoram author est Herodotus? Respondeat pro me Tertullianus: "Nullus sermo divinus, nisi Dei unius, quo prophetæ, quo apostoli, quo ipse Christus intonuit: multo antiquior Moses etiam Saturno, nongentis circiter annis, nedum pronepotibus ejus; certe divinior multo, qui decursus generis humani ab exordio mundi quoque per singulas nativitates nominatim temporatimque digessit."[v]

Sane nobis nihil pensi est hujusmodi spurias, malefidas, multorumque portentorum obstetrices historias rejicere; quibus si legitimam originem assignare volumus, non aliunde fortassis repetenda erit quam ex institutione Mosaica perperam intellecta: quæ cum primi hominis animam a supremo numine inflatam perhibeat, quid mirum si cœleste illi genus ascripserint; inde a cœlo delapsam autumarint: vel potius, primum hominem in paradiso collocatum fuisse, ibi Dei immorigerum extitisse, deinde ex amœnissimo horto ejectum exulasse; hisque cohærentia cum audiverint, quid fabularum præstigias affectantibus facilius erat quam elysium terrestre in cœleste palatium evehere, quodque revera uni homini acciderat, ad omnes transferre? Sed et priscorum Hebræorum suffragia advocant, querum complures hoc dogmate imbutos ex Josepho, Philone, Talmudistis certum, e sanctoribus literis probabile est: quod innuit Judæorum illa quæstio, [t] Τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος, ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ; illudque authoris Sapientiæ, [u] μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἀνείμενος. Josephus de Essenis, Καὶ γὰρ ἔδόξωται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥδε ἡ δόξα φθαρτὰ μὲν εἶναι τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὴν ὕλην οὐ μόνιμον αὐτοῖς· τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἀθανάτους ἀεὶ διαμένειν καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λεπτοτάτου φοιτώσας αἰθέρος, ὥσπερ εἰρκταῖς τοῖς σώμασιν, ἔθγγυί τινι φυσικῇ καταστωμένας,[x] idem Pharisæis tribuit, quod opinati fuerint, Ψυχὴν πᾶσαν μὲν ἄφθαρτον, μεταβαίνειν δὲ εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν μόνην. Quid igitur? an propter horum suffragia Pythagoricam animarum translationem amplectemur? quam nescio an ab ethnicis philosophis, vel a sacerdotibus Ægyptiis mutuati fuerint; certe nec a Mose, neque ex sanctorum prophetarum scholis edidicere. Enimvero quadrat, et fortassis huc ex scribentis proposito collineavit admonitio illa Paulina, Βλέπετε μή τις ὑμᾶς ἔσται ὁ συλαγωγῶν διὰ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ κενῆς ἀπάτης, κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ οὐ κατὰ Χριστόν.[a]

Nonnullos etiam S. Scripturæ locos citat Origines, *Peccavi antequam humiliarer*, hoc est, antequam in corpus descenderem; *subjecta est creatura vanitati*, id est, corpori; et aliquot alios in commenti sui patrocinium allegorica expositione detortos; a quibus excutiendis, atque ab aliena interpretatione vindicandis, non est quod diutius immorer. Superflua res esset, et pene infinita, et quod sancti Patres abunde præstiterunt.

Secundo, Rationibus decernunt, quarum palmaria est, quod divinæ justitiæ hinc optime consuli, hac sola clave providentiæ adyta reserari posse videantur. Nam si hanc vitam nihil animæ præcessit, ergo nec meriti. Cujus igitur justitæ fuit, misellas animas in corpora tot infirmitatibus obnoxia constringere, ad statum tot molestiis involutum damnare? Cur ipsa nascendi lege proclivitate in vitia tam obstinata feruntur, ad virtutes adeo aversæ ac contumaces? cui infelicitati tantarum gentium, totque seculorum pene fatalis barbaries imputanda est? unde naturam tam aspere novercatur, fortuna tam ferociter insultat mortalibus, nisi quod anteactæ vitæ pœnas damus, veteresque nequitias ultricibus furiis divinæ Nemesis flagra persequuntur?*

Respondeo, *primo*, Si hæc doctrina justitiæ divinæ illustrandæ tantopere inserviret, cur prophetis Dei intimis non innotuit? quare in sacris oraculis sæpius clariusque non inculcatur? præcipue in evangelio, de quo Sanctus Paulus, Δικαι-

[v] 28 de An.
[t] Joan. ix. 2; viii. 20.

* Not. in quo statu Cain peccavit? et ii qui statim ab ortu, &c.
[x] De B. J. H. 8, 11.
[a] Col. ii. 8.

οσύνη Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται[t] quum maxime intersit, ut de divina justitia recte sentiamus, cum illius elucidandæ multiplex succurrat occasio, et in eo sacræ scripturæ plurimum occupentur. Imo,

Secundo, Horum accidentium aliæ causæ exprimuntur, in quibus parentum contumacia, inobedientia, neglectus, præcipue Adami: ex quo semine non alibi quam nostro in loco, ab ipso pene nascentis mundi primordio, hæc nobis malorum seges pullulavit.

Tertio, Barbariem, inscitiam, et peccandi propensitatem quod attinet, has non omnino necessarias et prorsus inevitabiles esse docet demonstratque apostolus ad Rom. i. 19, 20, *Διότι τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐφανέρωσεν. Τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἥτε ἀΐδιος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους.* Quid enim si homines naturali lumine et facultatibus divinitus concessis abutantur, quibus ad Dei notitiam, virtutisque amplexum aspirare possint, ea propter divina providentia injuriæ est arcessenda? an Deus homines e cunis perfecte sapientes, infallibiliter justos, et prorsus *ἀναμαρτήτους*, condere debuit? Quin potius si rationis judicium consulere nolunt, conscientiæ dictamina respuunt, primævæ lucis scintillas extinguunt, naturæ leges violant, exemplorum pessima imitantur, seque improbis moribus totos devovent, non tam antiquorum criminum rei sunt, quam recentibus implicantur, quorum aut adimere potestatem, aut effectum impedire, nullo Deus jure tenetur, nullo pacto obstringitur: imo non tam puniendorum, quam probandorum hominum gratia hæc permittere potuit; et quidem permisit: Act. xiv. 16, *Ὃς ἐν ταῖς παρῳχημέναις γενεαῖς εἴασε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πορεύεσθαι ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν*· et Act. xvii. 30, *τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Θεός.*

Quarto, Humanæ vitæ miserias atque ærumnas, hoc est, naturales defectus, morbos, egestates, infortunia, querula petulantia providentiæ increpantes apostolicum fulmen retundit, *Μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι, Τί μ' ἐποίησας οὕτως;*[u] Etiam brutis animantibus communia sunt, quorum animas rationis unquam participes, et peccandi consequenter compotes fuisse, aut e supernis sedibus in corpora relegatas, quis tam absonus est ut dicat, tam audax, ut propterea divinam insimulet justitiam? Neque est quod hæ afflictiones tantas tragœdias excitent, quæ tam immanes non sunt, ut facile tolerari nequeant, ut propterea vitem respuant homines, mortemque avertere non satagant, ut plerunque grandioribus commodis non compensentur. Denique hæc mala ad bonos usus transferri, ad morum medelam facere, in virtutum occasiones converti, ad stultitiam arguendam, compescendam arrogantiam, intemperantiam, coërcendam, ad conciliandam prudentiam, acuendam fortitudinem, exercendam patientiam, animumque corroborandum conducere possunt: ut prætereamex his plurima non esse *Θεόπεμπτα*, sed ab hominum in se stolida pravitate accersi: quo pacto nodum dissolvit Homericus ille Jupiter.

> Ὦ πόποι, οἷον δή νυ θεοὺς βροτοὶ αἰτιόωνται,
> Ἐξ ἡμέων γὰρ φασι κάκ' ἔμμεναι· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ
> Σῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.
> Od. α'. 32.

Quinto, Status ille animarum quicunque præcessisse supponatur, etiam peccatis, doloribus, defectibus subjacere debuit, ut reatus contrahi, et supplicii obligatio emergere possit: an idcirco ut justitiæ ac providentiæ idonea ratio reddatur, hoc alio priori comminisci oportet, istoque itidem priorem alterum, et sic in infinitum?

Sexto, Christus divinæ dispensationis mysterium aliter interpretatur. Nam, cur quis cæcus natus fuerat, sciscitantibus, Pharisæis, respondet, non ob præcedentia peccata contigisse, *ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερωθῇ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ.*[v] Reliquarum calamitatum non absimilis est ratio; instruendis hominibus, gloriæque divinæ illustrandæ inserviunt, nec tam a præteritis malis fluunt, quam ad futura bona diriguntur.

Septimo, Si corpus animæ carcer sit, non commodum diversorium, et vivere pœna sit, non beneficium: quo gratæ evanescunt, quas authorivitæ Deo debemus, quasque parentibus divinæ *δημιουργίας*, instrumentis persolvimus? frustra ab apostolo celebratur, *ὁ διδοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν, καὶ πνοὴν, καὶ τὰ πάντα.* Nec ab eodem minus incongrue dicitur Deus *ἐμπιπλῶν*

[t] Rom. i. 17. [u] Rom. ix. 20. [v] Joan. ix. 3.

τροφῆς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν (i. e. viventium.)[v] Melius non exclamasset Job, *Vitam et misericordiam tribuisti mihi.*[x] Tacuisset David, *Manus tuæ finxerunt, et præparaverunt me.* Immeritis laudibus tot hymni personant; in ludibrium abiit conformati hominis solennis historia, illudit nobis hæc mundi concinna fabrica, magnificus apparatus; custodia est, non theatrum libertatis. Neque denique ibi vita communicata tam Creatoris beneficentiam suspicere est, quam Vindicis severitatem perhorrescere.

Quibus, *octavo*, subjungo illa Epiphanii contra Origenem disputantis, "Si hoc verum est, ubi est fides nostra? ubi præconium resurrectionis? ubi apostolica doctrina, quæ in ecclesiis Christi hucusque perdurat? ubi illa benedictio ad Adam et ad semen ejus, et ad Noe et ad filios ejus, *Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram?* Jam enim non erit benedictio, sed maledictio, juxta Origenem, qui angelos vertit in animas, et de sublimi fastigio dignitatis facit ad inferiora descendere; quasi Deus non possit animas per benedictionem dare, nisi angeli peccaverint, et tot in cœlo sint ruinæ, quæ in terra nativitates."

Nono, Justitiæ convenit, ut delictorum, ob quæ sontes plectuntur, non aboleatur memoria; cum ut ad qualemcunque resipiscentiam ex reatus conscientia et pœnæ sensu perducantur, tum ut justitiæ ultricis majestatem agnoscerent, discerentque "justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos:" quo spectat illud Tertulliani, "Evacuabitur ratio judicii, si meritorum deerit sensus. Igitur cum olim peccatum esse non agnoscimus, cur pœnam inde infligi censeamus?"

Ultimo, Ex admissa præexistentia non minus inextricabiles difficultatum labyrinthi oriuntur. Cur enim Adami anima nunquam præextitit, Caini unum atque alterum annum, Pharaonis per aliquot secula, Judæ anima sero in corporeum pistrinum conjecta est? et in universo aliquæ ad pænos subeundas præcoces, aliæ tamdiu immaturæ sunt? Cur sæpe, ut videtur, meliores animæ temperiem corporis languidam, dubiam, infirmam sortiuntur, longe pejores sanis, vegetis, robustis corporibus donantur? Unde apud Indos, Mauros, Æthiopes, reliquasque barbaras gentes, dociles animi, benignæ indoles, felicia ingenia, apud Christianos aliosque populos moraliores contraria dispositione præditæ animæ nascuntur? Qualia problemata ex præexistentiæ hypothese difficulter, ex naturæ lege ordinaria, ejusque pluriformibus circumstantiis multo facilius solvuntur.

Tertio, Prœexistentiam Platonici ex notionibus quibusdam deducunt, quas tanquam rudera præcedentis ruinæ, pristinæque scientiæ reliquias, etiamnum superstites volunt. Item ex humanæ mentis docilitate, quæ non tam prompte disciplinas arriperet, nisi quas prius calluisset; quæcunque quæ interciderat memoria, ex mentis agitatione reviviscit: qui arguendi modus Ciceroni vehementer arrisit, Tuscul. quæst. I. "Habet autem (anima) primum memoriam, et eam infinitam, rerum innumerabilium, quam quidem Plato recordationem esse vult superioris vitæ: —nec fieri ullo modo posse, ut a pueris tot rerum atque tantarum insitas et quasi consignatas in animis notiones, quas ἐννοίας vocant, haberemus, nisi animus, antequam in corpus intravisset, in rerum cognitione viguisset." Libro de Senectute, c. 21. "Magno est argumento homines scire pleraque antequam nati sint, quod jam pueri, quum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari." Sed contra, nullas ejusmodi ἐννοίας animo inhærere verisimile est, quas mentis opera, sensus adminiculo, a recentis vitæ exordio non acquisivit. Axiomata enim, et prima veritatis principia, quæ perspicuitate sua communem assensum merentur, vel ex terminorum genuina significatione, vi sibi indita, protinus apprehendit, aut ex quotidiana observatione facile dignoscit; reliquas autem ex his pendulas conclusiones non temere, et ex idearum fortuito occursu, sed nativæ sagacitatis virtute elicit, per consequentiarum successivam seriem operoso progressu discurrendo: imo si præcesisse aliquem animæ statum supponamus, has ipsas notiones tum aut ei primitus impressas, aut ab intellectus naturali facultate excusas, vel a jugi experientia desumptas oportuit, ne oblivionum scilicet ac reminiscentiarum perpetuas reciprocationes fingendo

[v] Act xvii. 25; xiv. 17.
[x] Job x. 12; Ps. cxix. 73.
[y] *Vide* Just. in Tryph.

in infinitum regrediamur. Cum igitur cognitio omnis aliquando nova esse debuit, et animus præsens scientiæ omni, quam possidet, adipiscendæ par sit, neque aliter jam discit, quam in superiore statu didicisset; quidni hic opportune terminum figamus, neque in seculorum, quæ dudum affluxere, obscuras profunditates frustra nos immergamus? Cum sane illius, si qua est, elapsæ vitæ tam exilis, aut potius nulla est recordatio, ut merito canat Platonicæ sententiæ fautor ac interpres poëta,

——animæ, quibus altera fato
Corpora debentur, Lethæi ad fluminis undam
Securos latices, et longa oblivia potant.

Ultimo, Alios existendi modos destruendo, præexistentiam astruere conantur. Idcirco enim animas a Deo creatas infundi negant, quia puram, insontem, immaculatam, qualis e divina manu procederet, in corpus immundum et vitiosa labe contaminatum immitti, totque confestim morbis et miseriis ineluctabilibus nullo suo merito addici, nefas, atque divinæ justitiæ contrarium ducunt: ut et Deum ad actum creationis sublimem, liberum, peculiarem, adulterorum quocunque arbitrio, incestorumque temeraria libidine determinari, fore incongruum. Nec minoribus difficultatibus involutam animarum ex traduce propagationem arguunt; nam ex eo consequi aut animas a parentibus creari, aut si ab eorum substantia discerpantur, divisibiles esse, quorum illud idioma Dei incommunicabile creaturæ adjudicat; hoc animarum dignitati, simplicique naturæ derogat. Sed quoniam contra præexistentiam satis prolixe disputavimus, neque e reliquis aliquem existendi modum propugnandum suscepimus, et auditorum patientiæ consultum volumus, sufficiat utcunque probatum dedisse, quod animæ humanæ corporibus non præexistunt.

DE POTESTATE CLAVIUM.

MATT. xvi. 19.—*Et dabo tibi claves regni cœlorum.*

MODUS, quo Christus, ecclesiæ Rex, hanc ordinat atque regit, illi perquam affinis est, quo Deus mundi Dominus ipsum moderatur. Mundum Deus partim immediato providentiæ suæ nutu temperat, partim intercedente delegatorum suorum, et quasi proregum visibilium (quos variis regni sui provinciis præfecit), opera curaque vicaria administrat. Horum (a Deo accepta authoritate simul ac imposito officio) partes sunt, sub Rege summo, in suo quemque districtu, secundum ab ipso præstitutas æqui bonique regulas, ipsius ita gubernare subditos, cum ut imprimis omnibus qua licet modis Dei promoveatur honos, tum ut proxime salus hominum procuretur; allaborantibus iis, ut et Deus ubique summa reverentia colatur, et homines vita secura, tranquilla, commoda perfruantur: quinetiam horum præfectorum unusquisque commissi sibi gregis utilitati speciatim ita prospicere debet, ut simul omnes aliquatenus universi generis humani commoda respiciant, cum reliquis hominibus pacem, amicitiam, innocuum beneficumque commercium fovendo, versusque cunctos, quibuscum eos rem habere contingit, humanitatis officia et æquitatis leges observando: illis porro Dei vicariis quæ committitur authoritas, omnimodam complectitur ad illos consequendos fines necessariam, vel utcunque requisitam potestatem, leges æquas et idoneas sanciendi, judicia exercendi, dispensandi præmia, pœnas infligendi, sic ut hisce subditi, juxta Dei voluntatem et ex divini juris vigore, sese morigeros præstare teneantur. Adsimili ratione, ecclesiæ caput et absolutus rector Christus (cui scilicet *omnis in cœlo, supraque terram potestas est donata*[a]) spirituale regnum suum dispensat, partim immediate sui Spiritus directione et efficacia, partim legatorum et præsidum suorum (τῶν ἡγουμένων, τῶν προεστώτων, τῶν ἀγγέλων, "judicum vice Christi," quos vocat Cyprianus,[b] τῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπεχόντων πρόσωπον, ut ait Basilius*) ministerio, quos ipse variis ecclesiæ suæ provinciis præposuit, authoritate sic instructos, ut eo modo res ecclesiasticas ordinare possint atque debeant, qui cum ad Christi provehendam gloriam, tum ad populi Christiani bonum procurandum maximopere conducat;† scilicet,

* Ὁ γὰρ καθηγούμενος οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἐστιν, ἢ ὁ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπέχων πρόσωπον.—Basil. Const. Monast. cap. 22.

† Nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem

[a] Matt. xxviii. 18. [b] Epist. 55.

ut imprimis Regi Christo debita reverentia, concilietur, ut ejus mandatis integrum deferatur obsequium, ut ipsius regnum in optimo statu conservetur atque floreat, quin et indies accrescat et prolatetur; tum et ejus subditi (quibus in rebus ipsorum vertitur salus, et bonum præcipuum) ad officium suum peragendum instructione requisita dirigantur, et monitis opportunis excitentur; a peccatis muniantur, et perficiantur in sanctitate; quoque modo demum quam optime præparentur at æternam illam, ad quam (Dei benignitate gratiosa) destinantur ac invitantur, felicitatem occupandam. Hi vero Christiani regni dispensatores, ita quisque propriam, quam nactus est, Spartam singillatim obire debet ac ornare, totius ut interea corporis utilitati consulat atque studeat, cum reliquis fidelibus "communicationem pacis," ut cum Tertulliano loquar, et "appellationem fraternitatis," et "contesserationem hospitalitatis" servando;[d] hoc est, concordiam mutuam obnixe colendo, propensamque versus universos Christi cultores charitatem exercendo; quinetiam ipsis quæ a Christo demandatur authoritas, omnimodam continet ad ista complenda requisitam potestatem: penes ipsos est (in sua penes unumquemque provincia) leges aut regulas salubres præscribere, causas emergentes decidere, præmia distribuere, sed et pœnas irrogare (officii nempe sui spiritualis naturæ consentaneas, et ejusmodi proposito accommodatas), ita demum, ut etiam hujusce regni populus, e Christi Domini mente jussuque, legibus istis parere, decisionibus acquiescere, censuris subjacere constringantur.[e]

Hæc vero potestas (magna saltem ex parte) multis ab inde seculis appellari consuescit *potestas clavium*, ex illis, quæ legi, verbis adsumpta nomenclatura; quibus in verbis Sancto Petro pollicetur Dominus, se regni cœlestis claves ei donaturum: circa quod seu promissum (seu prædictum) illud imprimis observandum venit, quod licet uni Petro (verborum ad formam et sonum attendendo) factum videatur, revera tamen commune sit, et ad ecclesiam totam ejusque rectores pertineat: nec enim occasio promittendi Petrum unice spectabat, neque causa propter quam promitteretur Petro suberat peculiaris; nec alligabatur uni Petro promissi materia; nec in Petrum denique solum derivatus est ejus effectus. Occasionem quod attinet; interrogavit omnes (quotquot aderant) discipulos Christus, *Vos autem quem me dicitis esse?* Petrus e more suo (utpote præ reliquis promptus et fervidus; πρόθυμος et θερμὸς,* ut ait Chrysostomus, vel ut inter illos ætatis, vocationis, aut alia nescio qua ratione quodammodo præeminens; ut προέδρος, adeoque προήγορος) e vestigio præsultans responsum arripit (προπηδᾷ καὶ προλαμβάνει, ait Chrysostomus), id omnium nomine dictans, quod indubie cuncti senserunt, uti colligitur e capite 14. ubi succlamant omnes, ἀληθῶς Θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ, quanquam Bellarminus (satis id audacter et temere) quid potissimum responderent ignorasse cæteros, haud veritus est oggerere: sane quum, apud S. Johannem, simili (fortassis eadem) ex occasione confessionem hic apostolus prorsus eandem ederet, expressum habetur; Ἡμεῖς, inquit, πεπιστεύκαμεν καὶ ἐγνώκαμεν, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος· ita tunc exerte, nunc autem implicite Petrus, velut Apostolorum os (quo illum nomine cum hic, tum alibi Chrysostomus insignit), "pro omnibus loquens, et ecclesiæ voce respondens" (ut loquitur B. Cyprianus.)† Suppar est causæ promissum hoc velut elicientis ratio: quod nempe Petrus Christum Dei Filium esse cognoverit, crediderit, et confessus sit: "Mercedem" (inquit Hieronymus) "accepit vera confessio:" Petro revelatum id dicitur; cunctis hoc fidelibus æque competit; nec enim quisquam *nisi per Spiritum S. Jesum appellare potest Dominum; Omnisque spiritus, qui confitetur Jesum Christum in carne venisse, ex Deo est:*[f] firme credidit, et clare professus est illud Petrus; idem facere Christianis omnibus ex æquo convenit et incumbit: *Quis enim*

damus, quando habeat in ecclesiæ administratione voluntatis suæ liberum arbitrium unusquisque præpositus, rationem actus sui Domino redditurus.—*Cyp. Ep.* 72.

[e] 2 Cor. xiii. 10.

[d] De Præscript, c. 20.

[f] Heb. xiii. 17; Matt. xxiii. 2.

* —— qui sibi fidit Dux regit examen.

† Matt xiv. 33; De pontif.; Rom. i. 12.—Quum pro omnibus responderet.—*Tertull in Marc.* iv. 21 Joh. vi. 69 Ἔκκριτος ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ στόμα τῶν μαθητῶν καὶ κορυφὴ τοῦ χοροῦ.—Chrys. in Joh. xxi. 15; Cypr. Ep. 55.

[f] 1 Cor. xii. 3; 1 Joh. iv. 2; Gal. i. 12.

est, qui mundum vincit, nisi qui credit Jesum esse Filium Dei? Corde creditur ad justitiam, et ore fit professio ad salutem: nihil igitur hac ex parte Petro fuit proprium, nullum hic singularis privilegii fundamentum habetur. Neque si rem ipsam expendimus, aliquid Petro delatum constat, aut exhibitum, quod non et aliis æque competit, ac alibi diserte tribuitur: affirmat Christus sese super Petrum, ceu rupem firmam (super Petrum; etenim istum sensum, ut aliquatenus simpliciorem, ut Petri saltem prærogativæ, si qua fuit, faventiorem, haud respuimus), ecclesiam suam extructurum; hoc est ejus imprimis opera efficace se multos in cœtum sibi fidelem ac obsequentem, divina protectione conservandum, compacturum; se Petri prævalido testimonio, impigroque studio ac labore, *domum* suam (quam in Epistola sua vocat ipse Petrus) spirituale erecturum:[n] hoc autem reliquis apostolis (quin et omnibus ecclesiæ doctoribus aliquatenus) congruere res ipsa clamat, et expresse docetur: nam in Apocalypsi, duodecim fundamentis innitens describitur urbis cœlestis murus, quibus totidem apostolorum inscribuntur nomina; et apostolorum atque prophetarum fundamento inædificari ecclesiam astruit S. Paulus; idemque vocat eandem *ædificium Dei*, cujus ipse velut sapiens architectus fundamentum posuerat.[o]

Pollicitus est etiam Petro Dominus (id quod phrasis propositæ sensum explicat), quicquid is super terram alligarit, id in cœlis alligatum fore; quicquid ille solverit hic, id ibi fore solutum: idem hoc explicite verbis prorsus iisdem ecclesiæ spondetur (Matt. xviii.) quin et verbis æquipollentibus alibi discipulis suis promittitur a Christo, (Joh. xx.[k]) Sed et illa nedum promissa, sed et ipsis exhibita, ab ipsis exercita luculente constat. Nam si denuo promissi respiciantur effectus, nil hujusmodi peculiare quippiam accepisse Petrus vel præstitisse deprehendetur, quod non et alii pariter acceperint et usurparint. Nihil ille juris supra reliquos collegas adsumpsit sibi, vel exercuit: id innuit Christus, ubi scribarum ambitionem sugillans, subdit; *Εἷς ἐστιν* (inquit) ὑμῶν ὁ καθηγητὴς Χριστὸς, πάντες δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστε·[l] liquido testatur id universus tenor historiæ apostolicæ; sed et aperte significat S. Paulus, ubi de seipso prædicat, nihil ipsi defecisse, quod sibimet apostolorum præcipui possent vindicare (οὐδὲν ὑστέρησα τῶν ὑπερλίαν ἀποστόλων:)[m] ubi quoque (quasi solicite caveret, et obviam iret illorum commento, qui non immediate collatam, sed a Petro derivatam volunt in reliquos apostolos hanc potestatem) se nec ab hominibus, neque per homines (οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι. ἀνθρώπων), apostolum esse constitutum asserit, ast immediate Christo ipsi Deoque Patri suam acceptam referre potestatem apostolicam; ubi sibi cunctarum ecclesiarum curam imcumbere testatur; ubi denique se Petro nominatim exerteque comparat, neque sibi minus potestatis aut officii concreditum innuit in sua provincia, quam Petro in sua.[n]

His expensis, haud immerito censetur hoc quicquid est potestatis (clavium nomine designatum) non in Petrum personaliter (hoc est restrictive, vel exclusive) consideratum, sed quodammodo repræsentative (communis ex fidei, vel communis officii ratione), vel quatenus is aliorum omnium simili conditione gaudentium, similive munere fungentium quasi vices obiret, aut sustineret personas, conferri, vel conferendum promitti: in Petrum, tanquam strenuum fidei confessorem, eximium ecclesiæ fundatorem, gnavumque pastorem; fere juxta quod ita commentatur Origenes; "Quod si nos loquimur idem quod Petrus loquutus est efficimur Petrus; et nobis dicetur, *tu es Petrus;* Petra enim est quisquis est discipulus Christi."[o] Vel si Petrum directe spectent hæc verba, saltem ea interpretative vel consecutive non minus ad alios pertinere, quibus ex rationis paritate, vel officii similitudine conveniunt; præsertim reliquis apostolis, qui (ut B. Cyprianus ait) "hoc erant quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis:"[p] in ecclesiam adeo totam finaliter (hoc est, in ejus gratiam et beneficium) collatum est, formaliter autem (hoc est, quoad ejus usum et exercitium) iis præ-

[g] 1 Joh. v. 5; Rom. x. 10.
[h] 1 Pet. ii. 5; Rom. xv. 20.
[i] Apoc. xxi. 14.
[j] Eph. ii. 20; 1 Cor. iii. 9, 10.
[k] Matt. xviii. 18; Joh. xx. 22, 23.
[l] Matt. xxiii. 8.
[m] 2 Cor. xii. 11.
[n] Gal. i. 1; 2 Cor. xi. 28; Gal. ii. 7.
[o] In Matt. Tract. i.
[p] De Unit. Eccl.

sertim concessum intelligatur, quibus ecclesiæ propagandæ conservandæque cura demandatur, et officium incumbit. Ita certe rem accepere veteres; e multis, quæ protulerunt huc spectantia, paucula quædam allegabimus; Tertullianus: "Si adhuc clausum putas cœlum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, et per eum ecclesiæ reliquisse, quas hic unusquisque interrogatus atque confessus feret secum."[q] Ita Pater ille prædoctus, e communi sententia, ut videtur; quam tamen alibi, Montanismo penitius infixus, ut ejus ὑποθέσεσι serviret, retractavit; nam libro de Pudicitia,[r] ordinariam in ecclesia peccata remittendi potestatem convellens, ac eapropter asserens apostolos non ex disciplina, sed ex potestate (mirifica scilicet aut prophetica) id fecisse, sic infit: "De tua nunc sententia quæro, unde hoc jus ecclesiæ usurpes; si quia dixerat Petro Dominus, *Super hanc Petram*—idcirco præsumis et ad te derivasse solvendi et alligandi potestatem, id est, ad omnem ecclesiam Petri propinquam, qualis es, evertens atque commutans manifestam Domini intentionem, personaliter hoc Petro conferentem." Ita tunc is, et in eam mentem plura pro fanaticis Montani deliriis adversus ecclesiam disputans. Cyprianus, Epist. 27. "Dominus noster, cujus præcepta et monita observare debemus, episcopi honorem, et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens in evangelio loquitur, et dicit Petro, *Ego tibi dico*—Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio, et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur." Firmilianus, Cæsareæ Cappadocum episcopus, apud Cyprianum, Epist. 75. hunc citans locum, subjicit: "Potestas peccatorum remittendorum apostolis data est, et ecclesiis, quas illi a Christo missi constituerunt, et episcopis, qui eis ordinatione vicaria successerunt." B. Ambrosius, Epist. 83. "Claves illas regni cœlorum in B. Petro cuncti suscepimus sacerdotes." Augustinus in Johannem: Petro dicitur, *Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum*, tanquam ligandi et solvendi solus acceperit potestatem, cum et illud pro omnibus dixerit, et hoc cum omnibus, tamquam personam gerens unitatis, acceperit." Rursus: "Quando ei dictum est, *Tibi dabo claves*—universam significavit ecclesiam;"[s] Et, "Si in Petro non esset ecclesiæ sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, *Tibi dabo claves*—si hoc ergo—in ecclesia fit, Petrus quando claves accepit, ecclesiam sanctam significavit."[t] Basilius in Constit. Monast.—Πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις παρέχει ἴσην ἐξουσίαν· καὶ τοῦτον σημεῖον τὸ διαρεῖν ἅπαντας, καὶ λύειν ὅσπερ ἐκεῖνος. Theophyl. Εἰ καὶ πρὸς Πέτρον μόνον εἴρηται τό, δώσω σοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις δέδοται.[u]—E quibus præstantium veteris ecclesiæ magistrorum dictis de illius sensu constare videtur: itaque jam ratum habeatur promissam hic, et aliquando proinde commissam fuisse potestatem hanc Clavium nomine designatam; id quod ex ejus natura, usu, scopo verisimilius evadet; quæ modo nobis breviter instituimus exponenda, methodum hanc insistentibus; primo, Nomen ejus; secundo, Objectum seu terminum: tertio, Phrases æquipollentes, quibus exprimitur, aut explicatur: quarto, Praxin ejus et exercitium in ecclesia primæva: quinto, Ejus instituendæ originem, vel exemplar in ecclesia Mosaica; sexto, Ejus necessitatem, et utilitatem (hæc, inquam, vel horum partem aliquam nunc pro modulo temporis et nostro) perstringemus.

I. Clavium nomen (metaphoricum cum sit) significat eo denotatam rem natura sua, vel quoad aliquam proprietatem suam, ipsi præsertim intimam et nobis obviam, claves referre. Claves autem, velut organa certis usibus destinata, nullam obtinent naturam aut proprietatem aliam immediatam, quam ut aditum, sive transitum, qui est ab uno loco in alium, muniant, illum vel recludendo, vel occludendo; illarum consequenter effectus proximi et primarii sunt vel introitum aut admissionem præbere; vel egressum prohibere, seu introrsum detinere; vel aditum obstruere, et ab intrando arcere: horum igitur actuum omnes aut aliqui (vel iis analogum et agnatum quiddam) huic potestati, quo nomen hoc apte sibi adsciscat, congruere debent, respectu loci seu status, quem ipsa respicit: per eam adeo jus habetur vel in regnum cœlorum admittere, vel in eo detinere, vel ab eo

[q] Scorp in Gnost. cap. 10.
[r] De Pud. c. 21.
[s] Tract. 118, in Joh.; Tract. 124.
[t] Tract. 50.
[u] Const. Mon. cap. 22.

excludere, cum nihil aliud firme suppetat, propter quod hoc nominis indipisci potuerit. Enimvero cernimus, cum similes ad casus illustrandos adhibetur hæc metaphora, horum effectuum nonnullos interpretandi causa adjectos: ita cum in Apocalypsi de sancto illo et verace (de Servatore nempe nostro) dicitur ipsum habere *clavem Davidis*, subjicitur, *Aperit et nemo claudit: claudit et nemo aperit:*[v] cum et Dominus Judæorum legisperitis improperat, eos *clavem abstulisse scientiæ*, dicti sui mentem elucidat, subdens:[w] *Ipsi non intrastis, et eos qui intrabant prohibuistis;* itidem de scribis ait: *Clauditis regnum cœlorum* (locum scilicet haud alium ab eo de quo nunc agimus) *ante homines;* quid hoc? exponit: *Vos enim*, addit, *non intratis, nec introeuntes sinitis intrare.*[x] Unde colligi potest, hanc potestatem in eo præcipue sitam esse, ut in locum, quem respicit, adducat, vel ab eo secludat quomodocunque; de quo loco proxime dispiciendum est; etenim talis sit potestas hæc oportet, qualem rei, quæ regnum cœlorum appellatur, natura capit aut exigit.

II. Regnum cœlorum, e Novi Fœderis usu, duos præcipue sensus accipit: imprimis crebro designat religionis sub evangelio statum, prout is a rerum conditione distinguitur, quæ sub antiqua lege vigebat. Sub legis Mosaicæ tempora Dei regnum quodammodo terrestre fuit: *Facta est Judæa sanctificatio ejus, Israel potestas ejus; factus est in Salem locus ejus, et habitatio ejus in Sion.*[y] In Hierosolymis *magni Regis civitate* quæ dicitur) velut in arce regia, imperiique sui metropoli, residebat Deus; Ei quod illic extabat templum quasi palatii loco fuit, pro solio (præsentiæ specialis loco)[z] tectum fuit, arcæ sacræ Cherubinis interjectum:[a] inde subditos gubernare videbatur, edictis extra ordinem subinde promulgatis, hoc est, oraculis, per temporum occasiones, in sacerdotum atque prophetarum ipsum consultantium ora infusis. Leges imposuit, ex magna parte carnales (ἐντολὰς σαρκικάς, ut est apud Apostolum ad Hebræos) et terrenas:[a] visibilia potissimum tributa (cultum crassum et corporeum) exegit atque retulit a subditis; privilegia, beneficiaque terrena concessit et elargitus est illis; ad legum suarum observantiam terrestrium præmiorum pollicitatione excitavit et allexit; ut et ab inobedientia præsentia damna pœnasque temporales interminando deterruit; verbo, nihil fere non sub illa dispensatione (saltem immediate, quoad primam speciem) terrestre videbatur ac temporale, præsentem hanc in terris vitam respiciens. Verum sub evangelica constitutione prout regnum Dei capacius et illimitate protensum evasit, ita nullum Deus adsumpsit sibi peculiarem in terris residendi locum, nec aliter jam præsidet, aut colitur, quam ut in cœlo (nativa quasi majestatis suæ gloriæque sede) residens, et lucem habitans inaccessam;[b] per legem mortalibus imperitat perpetuam et immutabilem, inde delatam; hostias jam et adorationes exposcit maxima ex parte spirituales, eo dirigendas; privilegiis et beneficiis spiritualibus subditos ornat obstringitque; eos præmiis ad obsequium invitat in cœlo conferendis, ab impietate pœnis subducit post hanc vitam inferendis;[c] breviter, nihil fere jam inculcatur non cœleste vel æternum: hic itaque rerum status apte *regnum cœlorum*, *regnum Dei*, *regnum Christi* (regnum veniens et appropinquans, ἡ ἐρχομένη, ἡ ἐγγίζουσα βασιλεία, tunc utique cum in terris ipse Christus Rex noster humiliter versaretur;[d] at vero jam regnum præsens, postquam Christus ad cœlestem thronum evectus, ibique juxta Patris omnipotentis dextram residens, inde super omnia longe lateque dominatur;)[e] in quod regnum transferri, ad cœlestem Hierusalem accessisse, concives et cohæredes evasisse sanctorum in luce degentium, in cœlo πολιτεύεσθαι, cœlestis vocationis participes fieri, cum Christo cœlestibus in locis considere dicuntur, quicunque sincera mentis persuasione Christi doctrinam amplexantur, animique firmo proposito se Christi legibus subjiciunt;[f] eo scilicet ipso cœlestis hujus regni civibus ac subditis ascripti, munia suscipien-

[v] Apoc. iii. 7; Is. xxii. 22.
[w] Luc. xi. 52.
[x] Matt. xxiii. 13.
[y] Psal. cxiv. 2; cxlvii. 19; lxxvi. 2.
[z] Psal. xci. 1, &c. [a] Heb. vii. 16.

[b] Joh. iv. 24; Rom. xiv. 17.
[c] 1 Pet. ii. 5; Eph. i. 3; Joh. xviii. 36.
[d] Matt. iii. 2; iv. 17; vi. 10; x. 7.
[e] Luc. ix. 27; xix. 11; xxi. 31, 32; Matt. xii. 28.
[f] Colos. ii. 9; 1 Cor. xv. 27; Colos. i. 12, 13; Heb. xii. 22; iii. 1; Eph. ii. 6; Phil. iii. 20; Heb. xii. 28; Matt. v. 20.

tes ei statui debita, nec non privilegiis in eum collatis dotati: hujusmodi vero status vel relatio in sacris literis ita passim et obvie *cœlorum regnum* vocatur, nihil ut sit opus instantias allegare, vel ei confirmandæ tempus impendere: subnotandum est tantummodo, Christi regnum hoc (sicuti quoad alia regna fit) ibi vigere, ubi vere nomen ejus colitur, et auctoritas agnoscitur; ubi veritati, quam docuit, fides adhibetur, et legibus quas tulit obsequium præstatur;[g] ubi vicariis ejus rite constitutis honos et observantia deferuntur; ubi denique charitas et concordia, disciplina, et ordo conservantur (mediocriter saltem, si non exquisite;) unde cœtus hominum, ita Christo fidentium et obsequentium, in tali statu constitutus et compactus, etiam subinde cœlorum regnum dicitur: ut, verbi gratia, ubi cœlorum regnum agro assimilatur, cui bonus Sator triticum insevit, malus autem interspersit zizania; ubi fermento confertur in massam ingentem saporis sui quiddam diffundenti; ubi sagenam referre dicitur, quæ mari injecta piscium (bonorum simul ac malorum) promiscuam copiam apprehendit et complectitur;[h] hæc autem acceptio (juxta quam regnum cœlorum ecclesiam designat) eodem recidit quo prior, nec in re proposita quicquam immutat; perinde fuerit an statum abstracte, vel concrete homines in hoc statu constitutos intelligamus: ita enim in usu sermonis vulgari fit, ut regnum quodpiam vel pro ipso statu, vel pro personis ei subjectis accipiatur.

Sed et præterea sæpe phrasis eadem statum alterum designat, qui priorem illum extreme perficit;[i] illam αἰώνιον βασιλείαν, æternum illud Christi Servatoris nostri regnum (de quo S. Petrus), hoc est, supremum illum beatitudinis ac gloriæ statum; qui præparatur iis, et in quem denuo recipientur omnes fideles Christiani, qui per hanc transitoriam vitam in jugi versus Regem cœlestem obsequio perseverarunt;[j] quem *non quicunque dixerit Dominus, Dominus* (qui tantum ore, vel externa specie tenus se Christi subditum profitetur), *at qui Dei in cœlis existentis voluntatem peragit, ingredietur.* Jam vero cum hi duo status (unus gratiæ seu favoris apparentis hic in terris, ἡ χάρις αὕτη ἐν ᾗ ἑστήκαμεν, ut S. Paulus loquitur;[k] alter gloriæ gaudiique perennis in cœlis) natura sua, et ex intentione primaria cohæreant indivulse; quippe cum huic iste tanquam gradus subordinetur, vel in hanc ut via prætendatur);* quum hic illius completio quædam et consummatio sit; is ordine præcedat, hic fine proponatur; idcirco quod unum ipsorum immediate spectat, id ad alterum ex consequentia refertur; videlicet in casu, qui præ manibus, potestas aperiendi vel claudendi statum gratiæ (in hunc admittendi, vel ab hoc secludendi) merito potestas quoque censeri possit ad gloriæ statum, pari (respective) modo relata; quoniam vero personæ, quibus induitur vel inhæret hæc potestas, hic versantur, et hic eam exercent; cum et ejus immediati effectus hic appareant (etenim Petrus in terris ligat, atque solvit) ideo par esse videtur, ut directius et immediatius ad præsentem hunc gratiæ statum referatur hæc phrasis; regnumque cœlorum intelligatur hoc, in quod Christi nomen professi recipiuntur; status hic, inquam, intelligatur; aut si malitis, cœtus ipse, cui potestas hæc committitur; quanquam remotius et ex consequente gloriosum insuper Dei regnum, eoque gaudens societas in cœlo triumphalis connotetur. Succedit itaque jam ut despiciatur quomodo status hi (præsertim ille gratiæ, qui immediatius respicitur), hujusmodi clavibus subjecere possint; qua ratione penes hominem quempiam concipiatur gratiæ statum aperire vel claudere; ejus respectu ingressum vel egressum præbere quomodocunque, vel auferre. Cum variis hoc modis effici possit, illorum plerique saltem ad hæc pauca capita redigantur. 1. Per efficacis adjumenti, quo quis admoveatur huic statui, vel in eo permaneat, subministrationem: aut e contra, per interpositionem obicis aut impedimenti, quo quis ab eo amoveatur. 2. Per intercessionem, qua cuipiam intrandi permanendive voluntas et facultas

[g] Luc. xviii. 16; ix. 62.
[h] Matt. xiii. 24, 33, 47.
[i] 2 Pet. i. 11; Matt. viii. 11, 16, 28; xviii. 23, 25, 34; xxvi. 29; Luc. xxii. 29; Act. xiv. 22; 1 Cor. vi. 9, 15, 50; 2 Tim. iv. 18; 1 Thess. ii. 12; 2 Thess. iii. 14.
[j] Matt. vii. 21.

* Idem erat specie status peregrinantium in eremo, et residentium in terra promissionis; at gradu differebant.
[k] Rom. v. 2; Act. xx. 24.

impetrantur. 3. Per discretionis facultatem, qua dotatus quis cum dignos ab indignis, aptos ab ineptis internoscere queat, tum juxta qualitates ipsorum exploratas respective (pro suo arbitratu) jus habeat vel illos recipiendi, vel hos rejiciendi. 4. Per formalem actum judicii, cujus virtute post causam cognitam decisamque quidam participes fiant jurium et privilegiorum ad hunc statum pertinentium, alii reddantur illorum incapaces, et exortes.

1. Primo, inquam, hujusmodi status recludi potest, verum quodpiam adminiculum suppeditando; qua ratione, qui docendo viam commonstrant, qui consiliis, argumentis, hortatibus, admonitionibus et reprehensionibus tempestivis adducunt; qui media vel occasiones suppeditant; qui leges præscribunt eo conducentes, vel adjuvantes, utcunque recludere dicantur. Ita Deus Gentilibus ostium fidei dicitur aperuisse præcones idoneos ad illos summittendo.[1] Sic et sibi magnum et evidens (vel efficax) ostium Ephesi apertum, et alterum apud Troadem dicit S. Paulus;[m] idemque Colossenses hortatur Deum exorare, ut sibi λόγου θύραν aperiat, Christi mysterium prædicandi; ubi *januam aperire* nil denotat aliud quam opportunitates et adjumenta rei peragendæ necessaria dispensare. Ita vero status, istius de quo loquimur, ad naturam attendendo, quandoquidem e debito versus Dei gloriam ac hominum salutem respectu obstringuntur omnes (suo quisque modo ac ordine) conniti, ut homines quotquot ubique sunt, in cœlorum regnum adducantur, aut in eo persistant; hoc autem ecclesiæ præsidum (pro officio quod obeunt pro facultate qua pollent) potissimum intersit; ideo rei naturam spectando, jure censeatur hic modus propositæ potestatis unam partem constituere, vel eam ingredi (nec enim subesse ratio videtur, cur ab hujusce phrasis significatu quicquam rejiciamus, quod illo satis apte vereque comprehendit:) quo admisso, possint exhinc multæ claves, aliquatenus distinctæ, numerari: nempe, clavis doctrinæ, clavis exhortationis, clavis admonitionis, clavis correptionis (παράκλησις), denique clavis νομοθεσίας, et his, si quæ sunt, affines aliæ.

[1] Acts xiv. 27.

[m] ἐνεργὴς θύραν, 1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 12.

Quin et ab altera parte, qui viæ notitiam auferunt aut impediunt, qui dehortantur ab ingressu, vel deterrent; qui media vel occasiones subducunt; qui difficultates, pericula, damna, vel obstacula quæpiam objiciunt; qui leges condunt præpedientes viam, aut arcentes ab ingressu, ejusmodi statum claudere dicantur, vel ab eo excludere:[n] ita scribæ regnum cœlorum claudebant, hoc est, impediebant, ne Christi doctrinam amplecterentur homines, aut ejus se legi subjicerent; eos ab attentione fideque dictis ejus et factis præstanda, per calumniosas suggestiones, avertendo; ut et ab agnitione perspectæ veritatis per minas, contumelias, et pœnas acerbas abigendo. Talis autem clavis, ut cuiquam concedatur, rei natura vix fert; conscientia siquidem et charitas vetant eo modo gratiæ statum obstruere; Scribisque vitio vertitur, quod homines ita cœleste regnum ingredi non siverint. Est tamen nonnihil, ab hujusmodi legitima potestate non abhorrens, quod et huc referri possit: cum scilicet iis, qui veritatem malitiose respuunt (ἀπωθοῦσι τὸν λόγον, et se vita æterna indignos judicant, ἀντιτάττονται καὶ βλασφημοῦσι, ut habetur in Actis),[o] qui salubria monita præfracte repellunt et aspernant, qui noxiis erroribus aut vitiis pertinaciter adhærent, qui turpi vita religionem dehonestant, qui pacem et ordinem conturbant,[p] ad tempus, et sub conditione (quousque scilicet impietati vel contumaciæ suæ involuti persistunt), illa submoventur adminicula, quibus ordinarie patefit aditus in hunc statum; iis doctrina subtrahitur; ab eos monendo desistitur; iis cœtuum actuumque sacrorum participatione interdicitur; ab eorum consortio abstinetur, quo nempe cum aliis prosit exemplum, terror incutiatur; subducatur contagio, depellatur infamia; tum ipsis ejusmodi pœna corrigendis inserviat; si forte de suo statu admoniti, pudore suffusi, metu perclusi, dolore compuncti resipiscant.

Hinc aliud clavium genus; [rejectionis, declinationis, excommunicationis claves; quæ] tamen ad alia capita commodius referantur.

[n] Luc. xi. 52.

[o] Act. xiii. 46, 51; xviii. 6; Matt. x. 13.

[p] Tit. iii. 10; 1 Tim i. 20; 1 Joh. v. 16; 2 Joh. iv. 10; Matt. xviii. 17; vii. 6; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14; Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. v. 7, 11, 13.

2. Alius aperiendi modus est intercessio, quascilicet ab eo, qui solus eos præstare potest, tales effectus impetrantur; quo pacto cœlum plusquam triennio clausum reseravit Elias; qualis etiam cœlum occludendi potestas testibus Apocalypticis concessa traditur.[q] Hic vero modus propositi status naturæ admodum quadrat; quatenus oratione ad Deum fusa (quæ plurimum valet) cum voluntas prompta, tum apta dispositio comparantur iis necessariæ, qui statum hunc capessunt:[r] hoc modo Christianis omnibus aliquatenus competit cœleste regnum aperire; pastoribus autem id apprime convenit, ex officio peculiari; quorum utpote functio preces concipere, et ore fungi cœtus universi: nam S. Paulus ideo mandat pro cunctis hominibus supplicationes fieri, quoniam Deus omnes vult salvari, et ad veritatis agnitionem pervenire;[s] hoc est, cupit omnes hunc cœlestis regni statum ingredi; illum proinde vult communium precum clave reserari. Etiam S. Johannes, cum hoc modo præcipit: *Si quis videat fratrem suum peccatum admittentem, quod non ad mortem,* αἰτήσει καὶ δώσει αὐτῷ ζωήν, *precetur et illi vitam donet;*[t] eximiam scilicet insinuat ad hoc ipsum orationis efficaciam. Domini quoque nostri promissum habetur, huic ipsi non obscure agnatum et annexum, quo post exhibitam ligandi solvendique potestatem, continuo spondetur, *Si duo ex vobis consenserint super terram de omni re quamcunque petierint, fiet illis a Patre meo, qui in cœlis est:*[u] hinc emergit altera clavis, hanc potestatem ex parte constituens, nempe clavis orationis vel intercessionis.

3. Alter, tertio, succurrit hujusmodi statum aperiendi modus per facultatem discretionis, qua quis instructus personarum aptitudinem perspiciat, et ex illius perspectæ ratione quosdam admittere (quos aptos nempe dignosque consuerit) alios autem repellere vel eliminare sibi concreditam habeat potestatem:* veluti si quis servo, vel amico cuipiam suo domum committat, cum mandato vel licentia quosdam (sibi puta amicos, vel agnatos, vel aloquin bene comparatos) excipiendi hospitio; et neutiquam tales alios excludendi; cui non absimilem potestatem obtinet œconomus, quem (ut in evangelio habetur) constituit Dominus supra familiam suam, ut det illis in tempore demensum suum;[v] qualem et eleemosynarius usurpat in dispensanda Domini sui liberalitate: qualem denuo legatus habet a rege suo perduellibus ad fidem reducendis deputatus, cui integrum sit cuicunque, pro personæ qualitate delictive modo, veniam condonare vel subtrahere: hujusmodi discretione (modo quodam mirifico, mensuraque plusquam ordinaria) dotatos fuisseconstat ecclesiæ primævæ pastores: nam inter Spiritus charismata recensetur πνεῦμα διακρίσεως, et τῆς προφητείας actibus adnumeratur, cordis arcana patefacere; cujus doni specimen edidit Petrus Ananiæ nequitiam detegens; sed et δοκιμάζειν πνεύματα pastoribus aliis ordinarie (suo modo ac modulo) competit;[w] nedum quatenus (ut alii) humana prudentia utuntur, ast insuper ex inflexu et assistentia speciali Dei; nam et hoc proculdubio charismatis illius divini partem constituit, quod presbyterii χειροθεσίᾳ collatum innuit S. Paulus ad Timotheum scribens; cujus et ipse Petrus aliud specimen exhibuit, cum de Simone Mago proferret illud: *Cor tuum non est rectum coram Deo: In felle enim amaritudinis, et obligatione iniquitatis video te esse;* cujusmodi sententias, rebus inspectis, et assistente Deo, proferre valent ordinarii pastores.[x] Porro satis liquet hoc modo cœlestis regni statum reserari vel observari posse; cum quicunque charitatis et prudentiæ judicio digni, recteque dispositi sunt (qui sunt εὔθετοι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ,[y] qui nempe Christi doctrinam intellectu capiunt, assensuque comprobant, qui de vita priore male acta resipiscunt, et ad Christi mandatis dehinc obtemperandum se composuerunt), ecclesiæ protinus inseri debeant; ut et illos exhinc secludi par sit, quos secus animatos esse constat: cum et nonnulli sacrorum mysteriorum e rei dignitate, cumque suo fructu participes esse queant, adeoque

* Εἰσί τινες τεταγμένοι πρὸς τὸ φιλοκτυστεῖν τοὺς βίους, καὶ τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῶν προσιόντων, &c.—Orig. in Cels. III. p. 142.

[q] Luc. iv. 25; Jam. v. 17; Apoc. xi. 6.
[r] Jam. v. 16.
[s] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 4.
[t] 1 Joh. v. 16.
[u] Matt. xviii. 19.
[v] Luc. xii. 42.
[w] 1 Cor. xii. 10; xiv. 25; Act. v.; 1 Joh. iv. 1.
[x] 1 Tim. iv. 14; Act. viii. 21, 23.
[y] Luc. ix. 62.

debeant; alii vero non sine ecclesiæ dedecore, suoque detrimento res ejusmodi sacras attingant;[a] cum quibusdam recte moratis consolationem impertiri, aliis prave affectis iram denunciari expediat; cum alii sint oves veræ, quibus caula patere debeat, et pascui copia fieri; alii vero sint canes mordaculi (quibus contemerandum dari vetuit Christus, quod sanctum est) aut immundi porci, quibus projici non debent conculcandæ margaritæ; vel lupi rapaces (non parcentes gregi), quos ideo fas et æquum est procul arcere.[a] Cum et hos secernere pastoribus ecclesiæ concessum sit, ac ut ea facultate utantur nedum in honorem illis, sed in ecclesiæ commodum cedat; quidni concredatur illis talis authoritas? quidni (rem ipsam spectando) ad illam de qua agimus potestatem pertinere censeatur clavis discretionis, in sacramentorum dispensatione ab illis adhibenda, qui sunt *οἰκονόμοι μυστηρίων Θεοῦ*.[b] Sane speciatim baptismus, quem competentibus et idoneis, juxta suum arbiratum, dispensandi jus obtinent ecclesiæ pastores, a Nazianzeno diserte vocatur *κλεὶς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν*, et *οἴχημα πρὸς Θεόν*· ab Augustino ecclesiæ janua, porta gratiæ, primus introitus sanctorum ad æternam Dei et ecclesiæ consuetudinem.* "In Christi baptismo reseratur aditus cœlestis regni, quo solvuntur alligata retro delicta," ait Tertullianus.[c] Eademque plane ratio est reliquorum actuum, quos pastorum prudentiæ commisit et commendavit Dominus.

4. Demum quarto hujusmodi status aperiri claudique concipiatur per actus judiciales, et quasi prætorios, juxta sententiam, secundum præstitutas leges aut regulas, deliberatione præmissa causaque mature discussa prolatam; eo fere modo, quo cernimus indies nonnullos civium (his vel illis privilegiis ac immunitatibus gaudentium) in statum ascribi recipique; sed et alios ab eo distineri vel expungi, per suffragia decretaque formaliter ab iis enunciata, quorum auctoritati, juxta reipublicæ constitutionem, assignatum est id muneris aut officii: cujusmodi potestate quum donatus esset atque defungeretur ille (apud Esaiam prophetam) Servatoris nostri typus Eliacim, de eo propterea dicitur, *Dabo clavem domus David super humerum hujus; et aperiet, et non erit qui claudat; et claudet, et non erit qui aperiet:*[d] hunc vero modum in nostro casu adhiberi natura rei nedum pati, sed prorsus exigere videtur. Cum enim (ut prænotatum est) huic statui vel inseri vel inhærere debeant illi tantummodo, qui cum a mentis fide, tum a morum habitu digni sunt (quorum recta fides et honesta conversatio Deo simul ac ecclesiæ honorem concilient, et illorum quibuscum versantur ædificationi deserviant) nec non ab eo vel omnino vel ex parte (pro hominum causarumque merito) secludi par sit illos, qui seu noxiis erroribus afflati, seu pravis moribus imbuti divinam gloriam obfuscare, ecclesiæ dedecus impingere, socios corrumpere, pacem interturbare, scandala quævis progignere, compariti sunt; cum etiam super hujusmodi dispositionibus et factis eas indicantibus necesse sit (e conditione rerum humanarum) interdum suboriri controversias; cum et harum aliquæ graviores sint, quam ut æquum sit, aut intersit reipublicæ, illas perfunctoriæ vel arbitrariæ decisioni subjici (ne scilicet hominum conscientiæ famæque nimis absolute dominari videantur pastores, indeque causas etiam arripiant insolescendi) expedire videtur omnino, ejusmodi dubiis eventilandis atque dirimendis leges quasdam particulares formulasque statas institui, quarum ex præscripto pastores ecclesiæ tales causas cognoscere debeant ac definire; cujus processus effectus sunt, hinc, reos condemnare, pœnisque subjicere; inde, illos absolvere, et in integro collocare. Unde clavis habetur jurisdictionis; et in hac comprehensæ claves magis speciales excommunicationis, suspensionis, restitutionis, absolutionis; hisque suppares ac affines.

Talis et totuplex existimetur hæc potestas objecti naturam attendendo.

III. Verum ut lucis amplius nonnihil affundatur huic negotio, phrases istas excutiamus paulo, quibus in paralellis evangeliorum locis exprimi vel explicari videtur hæc potestas; imprimis quid sibi vo-

* Aug. de Pecc. Mer. et Remis. Per lavacrum undæ regeneratricis janua panditur cœlestis regni.—*Bed.*

[a] 1 Cor. xi. 29.

[a] Joh. x.; vii. 6; Act. xx. 29, *Λύκοι βαρεῖς*.

[b] 1 Cor. iv. 1.

[c] Naz. Or. 40.

[d] Tert. de Pud. 21.

[d] Es. xxii. 22.

lunt antitheta ista *ligare* et *solvere*;* tum quid designant *remissio peccatorum* et *retentio*.

Quod ligationem attinet et solutionem, satis apparet hoc ipso in loco potestatem a Petro Petrique similibus usurpandam consequentes effectus hisce verbis significari, *Et quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cœlis; quodcunque solveris super terram, erit solutum etiam in cœlis.*

Jam vero *ligatio* quamlibet determinationem, aut detentionem, apposite denotare potest rebus aut personis impositam; *solutio* quicquid illis contrarium est, puta rem in medio liberam relinquere, personam nexu quopiam, eximere. Qui justa potestate dotatus utensque quicquam mandat aut vetat, illud rei ligat (moralem ejus qualitatem determinando, faciendo ut bona sit vel mala, justa vel injusta) personas etiam ligat, eas ad observandum aut abstinendum obstringendo. Idem ille legem abrogans aut relaxans (dispensando vel excipiendo) solvit; rem quidem, faciendo, ut illa jam adiaphora sit; personam, ut is jam liber evaserit: hujusmodi ligationem, et illi oppositam solutionem attingit apostolus ubi de muliere nupta pronunciat, *Γυνὴ δεδέται νόμῳ mulier aligata est legi, quanto tempore vir ejus vivit; quod si dormierit, vir ejus, liberata est; cui vult nubat:*[e] hinc de Judaicæ legis doctoribus illis affirmatur, *Δεσμεύουσι φορτία βαρέα καὶ δυσβάστακτα, καὶ ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (quanquam hoc etiam ad legum interpretationem referri potest:)[f] hoc modo leges omnes sunt vincula (omnes *θεσμοὶ* sunt totidem *δεσμοὶ*), et obligare dicuntur eos, qui legitime subsunt; illarumque vim infringere (vel in solidum abrogando, vel ex parte dispensando) consequenter est solvere, vel relaxare; talis itaque ligandi solvendique potestas nihil est aliud, quam illa, quam supra perstrinximus, clavis *νομοθετικὴ*, leges (hoc est regulas actuum nostrorum directrices) figendi refigendique potestas. Huic suppar est potestas leges a Deo vel ab ecclesia institutas (cum authoritate, vel exofficio) interpretandi, hoc est, definiendi declarandique quidnam præcipitur, quid prohibetur, aut liberum relinquitur: quod præstare (sicuti Cameron, Seldenus et Grotius observant) a scriptoribus Hebræis nominari solet *ligare* et *solvere*: quod et Tertullianus confirmare videtur; dicens, "Quam vero clavem habebant legis doctores, nisi interpretationem legis?"[g] Hæc autem potestas ecclesiæ pastoribus eximie competit, et ad doctrinæ clavem liquido pertinet; præcipua quippe docendi pars in divinarum legum expositione (*ἐν τῷ διανοίγειν τὸν νοῦν τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς γραφάς*) consistit: etiam apud omnes gentes diviniam mentem interpretari peculiare sacerdotum censebatur officium:† horum quisque talis semper habitus est, qualis apud Horatium,

Orpheus——sacer interpresque deorum.

Præterea jurisdictionis cujuspiam, aut arbitrii jurisdictionem æmulantis exercitium, quatenus causas determinat, eoque personas (ad resarciendum damnum, ad offensæ parti satisfaciendum, ad pœnam subeundam) astringit, vel ab iis eximit, est ligatio quædam aut solutio; quales actus aperte spectat huic agnatus ille locus (Matt. xviii. 18), ubi Dominus validum fore pronunciat arbitrium inter duos disceptantes ab amico peractum uno vel altero; vel (si minus dirimendæ liti suffecerit illud) ecclesiæ finale judicium, de quibus sic asseverat: *Amen, dico vobis, quæcunque vos* (hoc est, e discipulis meis aliqui; vel ipsorum quicunque cœtus legitimus, hoc modo litem quamcunque per arbitrium aut judicium definiendo) *alligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata et in cœlo;* hoc est, omnes vestræ decisiones et sententiæ (rite secundum æqui bonique leges peractæ prolatæque) apud Deum invalescent, ratæque fient, sicut iis repugnantes Deum sensuri sint ipsarum assertorem et vindicem; juxta quod S. Chrysostomus ait, *ἅπερ ἂν ἐργάσωνται κάτω οἱ ἱερεῖς, ταῦτα ὁ Θεὸς ἄνω κυροῖ, καὶ τὴν τῶν δούλων γνώμην ὁ δεσπότης βιβαιοῖ*:[h] cujus acceptionis ad normam intellecta potestas hæc jurisdictionis illam (quam mox antehac attigimus) clavem comprehendit.

Porro, qui contractum ineunt, vinculo quodam obligantur, ab iis injecto, quibuscum pactum contrahitur; quomodo pastores etiam illos ligant, qui Christianis-

* Solvunt autem eos apostoli sermone Dei, et testimoniis scripturarum, et exhortatione virtutum.—*Hier. in Is.* 14.

[e] 1 Cor. vii. 39. [f] Matt. xxiii. 4.

† Religionum interpretes, Cic. de Leg. Cæs. 1, 6, &c.

[g] Tert. adv. Marc. IV. cap. 27.

[h] Chrys. de Sacerd. 3. (p. 16.)

mum primo suscipientes, aut eum denuo redintegrantes, fœdus ineunt cum Deo, fidem suam et obsequium Christo devoventes.

Item detentio quæcunque sub alterius potentia vel imperio vocatur *ligatio;* qua qui emancipatur proinde *solutus* dicitur: *Annon* (inquit Dominus), *hanc filiam Abrahæ, quam alligavit Sathanas ecce decem et octo annis non oportuit solvi a vinculo isto die Sabbathi?*[i] ubi quod dicitur *a Sathana ligari*, alibi exprimitur καταδυναστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου· ut et in statu quovis præsenti detineri, vel ab eo liberari, ligari illud, hoc solvi est: Δέδεσαι γυναικί; (inquit apostolus) μὴ ζήτει λύσιν, de statu perpete conjugii. Ὅσοι ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δοῦλοι, de statu servitutis. Συνέκλεισε ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπείθειαν, de statu hominum ante patefactum evangelium;[j] ita si cui sub reatus iræve statu jacenti, vindictæque idcirco vel pœnæ obnoxio, non conceditur aut abnuitur venia; vel si veniæ procurandæ necessaria aut idonea media subtrahuntur, is ea ratione *ligatus* censeatur; ut et *solutus*, qui ab ejusmodi statu per exhibitionem veniæ, per mediorum eam procurantium applicationem, per obstantium causarum amotionem extricatur: cui sensui quadantenus altera phrasis, illi quæ præ manibus ἰσοδύναμος, coincidit, quæ habetur apud S. Johannem, ubi Servator discipulis sic affatur: *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt;*[k] hoc est, quemcunque merito dignum reputabitis, qui absolvatur a reatu, et in gratiam recipiatur, adeoque cui veniam annunciabitis et exhibebitis, illi revera Deus conciliabitur et ignoscet; quemcunque vero (propter animi pravas affectiones nondum exutas) minime dignum aptumve judicabitibis, cui divinus favor indulgeatur, reatus aboleatur, cœlestis regni privilegia concedantur; et cui proinde, justis ex causis, Dei nomine veniam impertire recusabitis, ille talis in eo statu misero revera detinebitur et persistet, exors remissionis, et a divina gratia semotus:* vester eo spectans (ille vel hic) actus a Deo comprobabitur, effectumque proinde certissimum obtinebit.

Verum ut hæc paulo curatius exponantur, advertamus variis modis intelligi posse, quod ecclesiæ pastores peccata dimittunt; idquæ prænotandum est, quod cum principaliter et absolute peccata remittere Deo soli* (Regi Judicique supremo), competat (nec enim abs ratione scitabantur isti Scribæ, *Quis præter unum Deum peccata valet remittere?*) id tamen ut homines (Dei nomine et voluntate, tanquam ejus ὑπηρέται, διάκονοι, οἰκονόμοι, συνεργοί, πρεσβευταί, quibus illos nominibus et officiis insigniunt sacræ literæ), instrumentaliter, et subordinate faciunt, a Deo concessum et constitutum esse:[l] prout et iis homines convertere, regenerare, salvare, similiaque talia (qualia primario solus efficit Deus),† utcunque tribuuntur; ita quidem, ut quot et qualibus ipse Deus, tot fere talibusque modis pastores ordine suo peccata dimittunt; id autem hisce potissimum modis exequntur:

Primo, Dispositive; dum homines ad remissionem obtinendam parant, illas animi dispositiones (fidem scilicet et pœnitentiam) ingenerando, quæ ad remissionem necessario præviæ sunt, et quas hæc certo consectatur, ex vi fœderis et promissi divini: dum eos ad hunc statum invitant, aliciunt, adducunt, in quo remissio peccatorum offertur, et exhibetur: dum τοὺς ἔξω suorum criminum et errorum arguunt reosque peragunt; de statu suo perquam periculoso commonefaciunt, certosque reddunt; compunctionem ac terrorem iis incutiunt;‡ resipiscentiam acriter inculcant;[m] hinc a Domino nostro tale describitur apostolo Paulo demandatum munus: *Constituam te ministrum et testem—te deligens ex populo et gentibus, in quas nunc mitto te; aperire oculos eorum, ut convertantur a tenebris ad lucem, et de potestate*

* Tunc vera est sententia præsidentis, quando æterni sequitur sententiam judicis.—*Ambr.*

[i] Luc. xiii. 16.

[j] Act. x. 38; 1 Cor. vii. 21, 27; 1 Tim. vi. 1; Rom. xi. 32; Gal. iii. 22.

[k] Joh. xx. 23.

* Semper Dei est illa gratia, et Dei sacramentum, hominis autem solum ministerium, Acer.—*Aug. Ep.* 166.

† Ministerium dedit servis, potestatem sibi retinuit.—*Aug. in Joh. Tract.* 5.

‡ Quo de modo Firmilianus "non quasi a nobis remissionem peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur."—P. 198.

[l] Marc. ii. 7; 1 Cor. v. 4; iv. 1; Act. xxvi. 16; Tit. i. 7; 2 Cor. vi. 4; 1 Pet. iv. 10.

[m] 1 Cor. v. 12; Act. ii. 37; xvi. 29.

Sathanæ ad Deum, ut accipiant peccatorum remissionem, et sortem inter sanctos, per fidem quæ est in me—quod et ipse mox præstitisse narratur—ἀναγγέλλων μετανοεῖν, καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ Θεόν· quo munere S. Petrum defunctum cernimus, ita concionando: Μετανοήσατε, καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας.[n] Idem versus τοὺς ἔσω similiter præstant, quum illos in errores vitiaque prolabentes aut prolapsos admonent officii, severe redarguunt, corripiunt, increpant, quin et aliquando coërcent, et castigant; necnon enixe modis omnibus eos ad sanam mentem reducere student; qualia peragentes dum *peccatorum convertunt ab errore viæ suæ* (sicuti B. Jacobus docet), *salvant animam a morte, et multitudinem peccatorum operiunt.*[o]

Secundo, Idem exequuntur declarative, dum per illum quem ebuccinant λόγον καταλλαγῆς,[p] peccatorum sensu perculsis, et ad Deum animi serio firmoque proposito revertentibus, indubie paratam apud Deum veniam, gratiamque mox præsentem attestantur et annunciant;* velut legati, seu præcones, ad homines sub his conditionibus Deo reconciliandos deputati: ita munus apostolicum et pastorium depingit S. Paulus, ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πρεσβεύομεν[q]—*Pro Christo legatione fungimur, tanquam Deo exhortante per nos; obsecramusque pro Christo, reconciliamini Deo.*

Tertio, Peccata remittunt impetrative, precum energia divinam gratiam concilianteS peccatori. Ita monet S. Jacobus infirmos, ut ecclesiæ presbyteros advocent pro ipsis oraturos; κἂν ἁμαρτίας ᾖ πεποιηκώς, ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ.[r] *Et si languens peccati quippiam commiserit, id* (intercedente presbyterorum oratione), *ei dimittetur:* ita sacerdotes peccata dimittere Chrysostomus arbitratur: Οὐ γὰρ ὅταν ἡμᾶς ἀναγεννῶσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συγχωρεῖν ἔχουσιν ἐξουσίαν ἁμαρτήματα· ἀσθενεῖ γάρ τις[s]—inquit ille, dictum S. Jacobi locum adponens.

Quarto, Propius hoc et immediatius exequuntur dispensative; peccatorum nempe remissionem exerte dispensando; quin et eam revera concessam et exhibitam symbolis solennibus obsignando: nempe,

1. Dum baptismum conferunt—"felix illud" (ut Tertullianus loquitur) "sacramentum aquæ nostræ, qua abluti delictis in vitam æternam liberamur;" in quo commorientes et consepulti Christo justificamur a peccato; de quo Petrus—βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, et Ananias S. Paulum alloquens—ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας[t]—quod cum sacerdotum judicio simul ac opera administretur, eapropter illi peccata remittere dicantur; et huc Domini promissum aliquoties refert B. Cyprianus, et e Patribus alii.

2. Dum in gravia scandala prolapsis, et idcirco peccatorum reatu innodatis, post resipiscentiam probabilibus indiciis compertam, absolutos pronunciant, in statum gratiæ redintegrant (verbum est Paulinum, *vos spirituales*, καταρτίζετε τὸν τοιοῦτον) in ecclesiæ sinum et sacrorum officiorum consortium restituunt, id beneficii solenni χειροθεσίας ritu confirmantes; id quod S. Paulus χαρίζεσθαι, *gratiam indulgere*, vocat: ᾧ δέ τι χαρίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐγώ· huc et illud spectare videtur ejusdem apostoli monitum, Timotheo dictum: Χεῖρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει, μηδὲ κοινώνει ἁμαρτίαις ἀλλοτρίαις.[u] Cave ne cuiquam, ante pœnitentiam luculente comprobatam, absolutionem impertias, ne in causa sis, ut peccator remissionis præmatura spe delinitus nihil amplius curet, adeoque cum remissionis exors fiat, tum in peccatis obduretur: huc etiam Christi promissum refertur a Patribus. Ambrosius contra Novatianos disserens: "Cur baptizatis, si per hominem peccata remitti non licet? In baptismo enim utique remissio peccatorum omnium est; neque interest, utrum per pœnitentiam, an per lavacrum hoc jus sibi datum sacerdotes sibi vindicent; idem in utroque mysterio est."[v] Hisce modis ecclesiæ pastores peccata remittunt, sed et ἀντιστοίχως eadem retinent, cum media submovent, quibus homines ad peccatorum remissionem consequendam disponantur; dum

* Lomb. Dist. 18.—Dominus tribuit sacerdotibus potestatem ligandi et solvendi, id est, ostendendi hominibus ligatos vel solutos.

[n] Act. xxvi. 18, 20.

[o] 1 Thess. v. 14; 2 Thess. iii. 15; Act. xx. 31; Tit. i. 13; 1 Tim. v. 1, 22; 2 Cor. ii. 6; xii. 20; xiii. 10; 1 Cor. iv. 21; Jac. v. 20.

[p] 2 Cor. v. 19. [q] 2 Cor. v. 20.

[r] Jam. v. 15. [s] De Sacerd. 3, pag. 17.

[t] Tert. de Bapt. c. 1; Rom. vi.; Act. ii. 38; xxii. 16; iii. 19.

[u] Gal. vi. 1; 2 Cor. ii. 7, 10; 1 Tim. v. 22.

[v] De Pœnit. c. 7.

iram Dei denunciant; dum (quod subinde fieri posse S. Johannes innuit) a precibus pro illorum salute fundendis abstinent; dum baptismum indignis denegant; dum ab ecclesia depellunt aut distinent; adeoque tanquam ethnicos et publicanos habent:[v] vel dum a Deo quasi divulsos Satthanæ tradunt exagitandos.

Ex his omnibus, quæ de potestatis hujus nomine, de ejus objecto, de phrasibus æquipollentibus ac exegeticis præmissa sunt, tametsi satis verisimiliter ipsius natura deduci possit et determinari; quid tamen sit, et quousque se extendat, haud aliunde clarius eliciatur elucideturque, quam ex eo quod proxime decreveram attingere.

IV. E praxi scilicet et exercitio potestatis istius, quæ cum primitus apostolis ut ecclesiæ magistris et rectoribus demandata sit, existimare nefas est illos eam secus quam par erat usurpasse, vel ultra citrave justos limites extendisse: quicquid igitur ab iis (officii ratione, vel per modum auctoritatis ordinariæ) factum cernimus, applicabile vel consentaneum horum verborum sensui rationabiliter exposito, quidni merito potestatis hujus, ipsis a Domino tam expresse communicatæ, virtute factum arbitremur? Idem de ecclesiis ad illorum tempora proxime accedentibus jure supponamus licet; quicquid ille nempe (regiminis et disciplinæ modo) passim factitarunt, id eas non temere, vel ab auctoritate sibimet arbitrarie desumpta vel arrogata, sed ex jure potius ab ipsius Christi institutione derivato (quod singulas ecclesias in ordine statuque recto stabilientes apostoli declararint, constituerint, et ad singulares casus accommodarint) usurpasse vel exercuisse; juxta Tertulliani priscum illud effatum: "Constat id esse ab apostolis traditum, quod apud ecclesias apostolorum fuerit sacrosanctum."[x]

Verum has et cæteras, quæ supersunt instituti discursus partes (etiam potissimas) vel ut nunc obmittam, vel ut immaniter patientiæ vestræ molestus sim oportet: illud prius faciam potius; et Tetulliani luculentis verbis (in Apologetico) clavium usum primitivum repræsentantibus sermonem claudam: "Certe fidem," inquit, "sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus: ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes et censura divina: nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur."*[y]

Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et charitas Dei, et communicatio Sancti Spiritus sit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

[v] 1 Joh. v. 16; 2 Joh. 10.
[x] Cont. Marc. iv. 5.

* Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur.—*Hier. in loc.*

[y] Apol. cap. 39.

CONCIO AD CLERUM.

JOELIS ii. 12.—*Convertimini ad me toto corde vestro, et in jejunio, et fletu, et planctu.*

Quo tempore vixerit hic propheta, et circa quæ singularia eventa versetur ejus prophetia, cum nec ipse diserte indicet, nec uspiam in sacra historia tradatur, nec ex rerum quas enarrat circumstantiis, satis liquido appareat, merito ambigitur ab interpretibus, et in varias sententias fit discessio; nec e re nostra fuerit, in tam difficili lite componenda admodum solicitos esse. Illud constat, valde lugubrem fuisse et calamitosum illorum temporum statum, qualem habemus in primo capite luculenta descriptione expressum. Liquet etiam Judæis ex hostili invasione graviores ærumnas impendisse, quas propediem consequuturas capite hoc comminatur Deus, denunciat propheta, ejus horribiles circumstantias tragicosque eventus ad terrorem composita oratione accurate depingens. Ne autem tam immanis periculi magnitudine simul ac propinquitate perculsi et consternati, ex desperatione animos abjicerent, quo pacto Dei iram placare et instantem vindictam propulsare possent, docet illos propheta verbis modo lectis. In quibus pertrac-

tandis non alia utar methodo, quam textus seriem persequens, ut ipsa qualitercunque explicare satagam, deinde quæ continent utilia documenta ut expromam.

Convertimini ad me, id est, ad Deum. *Converti* vero, vel *reverti ad Deum*, ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ Θεὸν, juxta stylum sacrum et propheticum dicuntur,

Primo, Qui postquam ad idololatriam desciverant, errore deprehenso ad veri Dei cultum redeunt: aut saltem qui ab ineunte ætate quum alienis superstitionibus addicti et innutriti essent, denuo melius edocti veram religionem ex animo agnoscunt et amplexantur: quod et nunc vulgo obtinet ut dicatur *Converti*. Etenim Deum recta fide confitentes et debito honore reverentes mentis obtutu Deum respiciunt, affectu accedunt, corde amplectuntur, et proinde in sacris literis, *Deo adhærere*, Græcis vertentibus, κολλᾶσθαι τῷ Θεῷ, hoc est, *Deo agglutinari*, item Deo appropinquare, Deo appropriari, ad Dei peculium pertinere, a Deo adoptari, institui, regi dicuntur; et consequenter Deum deserere, fugere, abnegare, repudiare, Deo adversari, in Deum rebellare et fornicari, a Deo ἀποστατεῖν deficere, tergiversari, abalienari, divelli, faciem avertere, qui a vera religione ad superstitiosos ritus deflectunt; proinde optimo jure ad veram fidem et sanctum cultum receptus ad Deum *conversio* nuncupatur. Quomodo, Jer. iii. 6, *Dixit autem Jehova—Vidistine quæ fecit rebellis Israel? abit ipsa super omnem montem excelsum, et in omnem arborem viridem, et fornicatur ibi, et dixi postquam feci omnia ista, Ad me revertere:* et ita passim in Veteri Testamento; quinetiam in Novo, Act. xiv. 15, Εὐαγγελίζομαι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα· ἀπὸ τῶν ματαίων· ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων. Nam idolum Hebræis appellatur חֶבֶל, id est, μάταιον, sicuti cum aliis locis patet, tum ex illo Jeremiæ, viii. 19, Διότι παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς γλυπτοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν ματαίοις ἀλλοτρίοις.

Secundo, *Converti ad Deum* dicuntur, qui ab impietate ad pietatem, ab iniquitate ad justitiam, a contumacia ad obedientiam, a pravis et impuris moribus ad probum sanctumque vivendi institutum se recipiunt. Nam et qui Dei mandatis obtemperant, et mores suos ad divinæ legis normam componunt, Deo attendunt, Deo auscultant, Dei nutum observant, ideoque cum Deo ambulare, in Dei semitis incedere, Deum sequi, Deum amicum et familiarem sortiri, cum Deo consuetudinem habere, Deo uniri, imo et Deo inesse perhibentur, et ejusmodi passim magnificis titulis atque elogiis ornantur; contra, qui divinis præceptis minus obsequentes sunt, desertores, transfugæ, perduelles, hostes, a Deo alieni, separati, aversi appellantur: itaque vitam emendantes, et ad bonam frugem reducti, ad Deum vultum reflectere, regredi, converti dicuntur; nec aliud est hoc modo acceptum *converti*, quam μετανοεῖν, resipiscere, mores corrigere, vitam reformare. Quo spectant sacræ scripturæ loca, Deut. xxx. 2, *Et conversus fueris ad Jehovam Deum tuum, obedieriesque voci ejus per omnia.* Is. lv. 7. *Derelinquet impius viam suam, et vir iniquus cogitationes suas, revertaturque ad Jehovam.* Hos. xii. 6, *Tu ergo ad Deum tuum revertere, misericordiam et justitiam custodi, et fide Deo tuo semper.* Ps. li. 13. *Docebo prævaricatores vias tuas, et peccatores ad te convertentur.*

Tertio, *Converti ad Deum* dicuntur illi, qui se vitæ male institutæ pigere, peccata admissa agnoscere, et serio dolore prosequi, debita illis supplicia deprecari, et misericordiam divinam implorare, externis indiciis testatum faciunt: quod et simili metaphora *faciem Dei quærere*, et nonnunquam *resipiscere* dicitur; quatenus alterius conversionis, hoc est, animi pœnitentis, mutati propositi, et vitæ ad obsequium redeuntis argumentum, initium atque instrumentum est. Ita de Ninevitis, qui solenne jejunium observarant, cilicium induerant, et in pulvere sederant, dicitur, Jonæ iii. 10, *Vidit autem Deus opera eorum, quod conversi erant a via sua mala.* De Tyriis et Sidoniis pronunciat Christus, Matt. xi. 21. πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ μετενόησαν· de se Daniel testatur, cap. ix. 3, *Posui faciem meam ad Dominum, ut quærerem orationem et deprecationem jejunio, sacco et cinere.*

Nec dubium est, quin hoc loco propheta sicuti ad priores conversiones duas, sinceræ religionis studium, et vitæ emendationem, potissimum collineet, ita ultimam hanc magis directo obtutu respiciat; adeo quidem ut in intentione primariæ illæ, hæc in executione prima esse, illæ succedere, hæc præludere, illæ perfici, hæc subministrare, debuerit. E sacra enim

historia et scriptis propheticis apparet, Judæos tunc temporis magna ex parte a pura religione, quam lex Mosaica præscripserit, ad Gentilium conterminorum impias superstitiones defecisse; istorumque pravos mores, sacrificia sæva et sanguinaria, ritus stolidos, obscœnos et detestabiles ex vesana quadam κακοζηλίᾳ æmulatos esse; legem vero divinam neglectui penitus habitam, et quasi oblivioni traditam jacuisse. Quinimo apud ipsos crassissimam inscitiam, pestilentissimam superbiam, delicatissimam mollitiem, profusissimam luxuriam, insatiabilem avaritiam, eque his natas immanissimam crudelitatem, gravissimam oppressionem, execrabilem perfidiam, omne genus vitii, sceleris et injuriæ viguisse, quibus merito divinam iram irritaverant, pœnasque in se varias et severa judicia accessiverant quibusque avertendis, ut se ad veræ religionis studium reciperent, mores improbos corrigerent, et ita faciendi propositum extraordinariis quibusdam officiis ostentarent, propheta cohortatur.

Subdit autem, *cum toto corde vestro*. Cor in sacra dialecto non est tantum principale viscus illud, vitæ omnis, motus et caloris nativi fons; sed et facultatum omnium et operationum animalium pariter ac vitalium principium, origo, sedes intellectus, phantasiæ, memoriæ, affectuum; scaturigo, ex qua cogitationes, discursus, imaginationes, passiones et motus, qui in homine sunt omnes, fluunt ac emanant; thesaurus insuper virtutum, vitiorum sentina, et habituum quorumcunque repositorium; unde לב Græcis transductoribus varie redditur, nempe, καρδία, ψυχή, φρήν, νοῦς, διάνοια, ἐπιθυμία. Est itaque *cum toto corde*, cum sincero assensu mentis, cum serio voluntatis proposito, cum affectuum vehemente impetu, cum valido virium conatu בְּתֹם לֵב ut alibi habetur, *in mentis integritate*, vel *perfectione*, non בְּלַב וָלָב *cum corde duplicato*, vel potius *dimidiato*. Vult nimirum vates, ut conversio penitus cordata sit, hoc est, vera et sincera, non ficta, fucata, hypocritica: seria et solida, non ludicra, levis, perfunctoria; diligens et efficax, non imbecilla, remissa, ignava; integra denique et plena, non concisa, mutila et imperfecta.

Sequitur *cum jejunio, fletu et planctu*; quorum explicationi non est quod diu immoremur; per *jejunium* enim nihil aliud intelligitur, quam ab alimentis et oblectamentis corporalibus ad certum tempus omnimoda abstinentia, ad religiosos fines ordinata et exercita: per *fletum* vero et *planctum* externa signa denotantur, quibus internum animus dolorem, status sui displicentiam et miseriæ incumbentis sensum, vel naturæ instinctu, vel consuetudinis receptæ arbitrio, exprimere solet.[a] Cor enim cum gravis mœstitia occupat, lachrymas naturalis necessitas exprimit, et spiritus ictu doloris impulsus, quemadmodum totum corpus quatit, ita oculos, quibus adjacentem humorem perpremit et expellet. *Planctus* vero, κοπετὸς, quum pectus manibus contundunt, caput allidunt, crines vellicant, et consimiles sibi injurias inferunt, ex instituto dolorem indicare videtur; ex se enim hi gestus furoris potius quam mœroris indicia sunt, et mentem emotam magis, quam affectu commotam repræsentant. E quibus sic explicatis, et ad contextum collatis atque expensis, hæc tria elicimus documenta.

Primo, Ad divinam iram leniendam, et pœnas, quæ ex illa consequuntur, avertendas, necessario requiritur ac summopere conducit seria recipiscentia, seu vitæ reformatio et morum emendatio. Cujus effati veritas cum aliis plurimis testimoniis et exemplis e sacra pagina, tum validissimis e rei natura deductis argumentis, demonstrari potest. Testimonia atque exempla prætereo, cum brevitatis studio, tum quia huic fundamento universa fere prophetarum præconia innitantur, ad hoc evincendum tot valida elenchorum tela vibrantur, ad hoc persuadendum illorum atroces minæ, graves querelæ, pathetici hortatus diriguntur. Argumenta vero perstringemus. Et,

1. Patet hoc ex natura et ingenio hominum, quibus pœnæ infliguntur. Hi enim dum vitiosis habitibus imbuuntur, pravis affectibus distorquentur, et impuris moribus indulgent, non possunt non Deo displicere, nequeunt suis nefariis flagitiis non divinam in se indignationem provocare. Non sunt cœlestis misericordiæ idonea objecta, non capaces ullius felicitatis. Ita comparati sunt, ut non prosit illis, imo obsit magnopere et noceat divina indulgentia. Ex divinis beneficiis ut nullum commodum, ita gravissimum

[a] Sen. Ep. 99.

detrimentum percepturi sunt; nec ab ipsis deteriores tantum fient, sed et miseriores, ut sibi et aliis molestias creent, inde ansam arrepturi. Ex impunitate crescit improbitas, et corroboratur prava dispositio. Inde pœnitentiæ omnis cura abjicitur, sensus peccati extinguitur, cor obduratur, conscientiæ callus obducitur, animus ad divinæ legis monita minasque obsurdescit. Inde stolidi magis, præfracti, obstinati, intractabiles fiunt, giganteam quandam animi ferociam concipiunt, horribili superbia inflantur, profundo stupore demersi obbrutescunt: sui immemores evadunt et Dei, quem quia scelerum vindicem non sentiunt, vereri desinunt, aspernantur et negligunt, tandemque existere non credunt, aut rebus humanis non prospicere. Itaque priusquam vitiis renunciaverint, virtutemque amplexati fuerint, non jure debetur, non ex decoro convenit, imo non expedit illis, ut a pœnis liberentur, aut Deum sibi propitium experiri videantur. Cum vero ita dispositi fuerint, tum divinæ misericordiæ capaces esse incipiunt, tum faventis cœli beneficia grato animo accipere, et ex rebus prosperis qualemcunque fructum percipere queunt.

2. Patet idem ex natura, fine et usu pœnarum. Naturam habent remedii. Ex primaria intentione sua ad correctionem ordinantur. Ad hoc utiles sunt, ut melior et felicior evadat, qui perpetitur: ἡ κόλασις ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ κολαζομένου[b] non ex pura vindictâ procedunt, non ex odio mero; sed ab ira quadam propenso amore temperata, quali subinde parentes in liberos incandescunt. Non sui gratia inferuntur, nec in patientis dolorem, miseriam, perniciem tendunt, imo in ejusdem gaudium, solatium, salutem collimant et destinantur: παιδείας rationem habent, quem castigant, monentis et instruentis; medicinæ amaræ, sed salubris; cathartici fastidium parientis, ast vitiosos humores evacuantis: caustici putridas excrescentias adurentis, sanas carnes reparantis. Instar ferri corruptas partes recidunt, sinceras conservant. Falcis ritu, inutiles ramos amputant, ut feliciores inserantur. Tanquam ventus, aream averrunt, difflant, paleas, frumentum emundant. Ut ignis, sordes absumunt, scoream segregant, bonam massam puriorem, nitidiorem, splendidiorem reddunt.

[b] Cl. Alex. Pæd.

Verum animæ purgatorium sunt, ei incoctam labem excernens, affectus spurcos purificans, mentem cœlo præparans. Nec ob alios fines, quam ut animi stolidas opiniones avellant, stupidam incuriam excitent, centumacem ferociam contundant, fastuosos tumores reprimant, indomitas cupiditates compescant, peccati vividum sensum ingenerent, conscientiæ veternum excutiant, sui moneant, Dei memores timentesque efficiant, divinæ providentiæ fidem faciant, vitiorum denique ut radices extirpent, virtutum semina insinuent, vitam reforment, moresque corrigant, pœnæ mortalibus infliguntur. Quos fines antequam assequutæ sunt, expedit ut perdurent, illasque subducere crudelitati verius quam clementiæ esset deputandum. Sin scopum suum attigerint, castigatumque ad sanam mentem pertraxerint, earum omnis ratio evanescit, tum peracto suo negotio protinus cessare debent, nec habent quod ultra operentur: tum prorsus inutiles sunt, et velut sano medicina, frustra adhibentur.

3. Patet hoc ipsum ex natura Dei pœnas infligentis: quæ quidem ex quadam naturæ proprietate impura omnia et perversa odit ac detestatur; citiusque adversi poli coëant, prius cœlo infernus collidatur, facilius inter se amice conspirent infensissimæ antipathiæ, desinat esse prius contrarius ignibus humor, quam cum homine Deus, pessimo Optimus in gratiam redeat. Non potest ille non ad omnem impuritatem expurgandam, ad omnem iniquitatem coercendam, ad omnem nequitiam expugnandam, non seipsum naturæ sanctissimæ indesinenti impetu effundere. Nec ex alio manat hæc qualitas, quam ab illo bonitatis immensæ dulcissimo fonte. Bene enim Clem. Alex. ἕπεται τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ᾗ φύσει ἀγαθός ἐστιν, ἡ μισοπονηρία· quippe vita quantum creaturæ suæ damni, molestiæ, miseriæ, afferunt, nequit ignorare, nec cum sciat non misereri et succurere laboranti; nec ideo non enixam operam dare, ut a gravissimis istis malis liberetur, via naturæ suæ convenienti, id est, monitis, hortatibus, minis, correptionibus et pœnis; quas proinde infert, non sponte, nec ex suopte ingenio, sed invitus, et quasi coactus. Talem nobis depingit Jeremias Threnorum iii. 33, *Qui non affligit ex animo suo, mœstitiaque afficit mortales.* Talem se præbuit, cum Ephraimum castigaret, propheta attestan-

te, *sonuerunt viscera mea super eum*, quasi condolesceret ac compateretur patienti.[c] Sæpe se opera sua universa diligere testatur, mortem impii nolle, omnes ad salutem perductos velle. Nos vero Parentis optimi in nos indignationem concitamus, nos clementissimi Domini ultricem manum armamus,

——neque per nostrum patimur scelus
Iracunda Deum ponere fulmina.

Optime in hanc rem Salvianus: "Nos vim Deo facimus iniquitatibus nostris, nos nolentem ulcisci cogimus, nos parcere volentem non permittimus." Nec male Deo convenit quod Augusto tribuit Naso,

Est piger ad pœnas princeps, ad præmia velox;
Quique dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.
Qui cum triste aliquod statuit, fit tristis et ipse;
Cuique fere pœnam sumere pœna sua est.
Victa tamen vitio est hujus clementia nostro,
Venit et ad vires ira coacta suas.

Clemens est Dei ira, mitis justitia, salutaris severitas. Itaque antequam peccator resipiscat, potest Deus a pœna irroganda absistere, non magis quam bonus et justus esse desinere; nec magis quam fidelis medicus a curando abstinere, prius quam morbum expulerit, ægrumque ad justam sanitatem perduxerit. Tum vero, cum propositum suum obtinuerit, cum perversum rectificarit, aberrantem reduxerit, male affectum ad sanam mentem restituerit, ultro ei deferbescit ira, intime reconciliatur animus, serenatur vultus, seponitur flagellum, manu excidit fulmen; tum favoris amplo cumulo præterita supplicia compensat, et ad bonam frugem revocatum prodigum tenerrimo affectu complectitur; nec absurde dixit Seneca, "Deum habet faventem et propitium, quisquis sibi se propitiavit."[d] Est enim Deus ex indole æterna, necessaria et immutabili benignus, misericors, placabilis, χρηστὸς, φιλάνθρωπος, μακρόθυμος, πολυέλεος· quo propterea argumento noster vates Judæos ad conversionem invitat, versu proxime sequenti, *Convertimini*, (inquit) *ad Jehovam Deum vestrum, quia misericors et miserator est, longanimis, et multæ misericordiæ, et pœnitens super malum.* Talemque nobis Deum sacræ literæ, naturæ vox, gentium consensus, suffragia sapientum, et quotidiana experientia exhibent ac repræsentant. Ex quibus liquido apparet, quo Dei iram et inde oriundas calamitates evitemus, nobis necessario incumbere, ut convertamur ad Deum cum toto corde; id est, primo ut vitam reformare et mores emendare studeamus.

Secundo, Ex his colligimus, ad Dei iram avertendam necessario exigi et plurimum conferre de peccatis admissis serium dolorem, seu validam animi displicentiam. Cujus etiam pronunciati veritatem cum multa sanctæ scripturæ loca confirmant, tum rei ratio perspicue evincit. Quisquis enim vitæ male actæ sibi conscius, quot bonis exciderit, quantis se miseriis implicuerit, quam impie, inique, ingrate, optimum Patrem ac Dominum tractaverit quantam a se bonitatem alienaverit, qualemque adversus se potentiam irritaverit, serio perpendit, non potest non summopere contristari, et gravissima cum animi anxietate sortem suam deplorare, nec ideo non peccata sua valde detestari, tot malorum causas, tam acerbi doloris origines. Ad quæ in posterum devitanda (cum alioqui divinæ indulgentiæ spes affulgeat), ut vitæ melius instituendæ consilium ineat, eique pertinaciter insistat, prægustatæ amaritudinis memoria acerrime stimulatur: ita quod S. Paulus asserit, ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν ἀμεταμέλητον κατεργάζεται. Etenim ut Aristoteles ait, λύπη καθ' αὑτὸ φευκτόν,[e] nec in illa quis ultro se ingerit, a quibus vehementer doluisse se recordatur. Timet naufragus mare, ignem fugit, quisquis eum vel semel attrectavit; corpori cavet miles utcunque saucium se expertus; solitarios calles declinat a prædonibus aliquando spoliatus; qui ægrum se commeminit, sanitati noxia aversatur; quæ fastidium olim pepererunt palatum semper respuit; quidni æque a vitiis abhorreat, qui vitiorum acerbos morsus præsensit? Se vero nec Deum vereri, nec peccatum odisse, nec seipsum nosse, nec periculi sui conscium esse, nec emendandæ vitæ propositum fovere, nec proinde divinæ misericordiæ capacem aut veniæ opportunum esse commonstrat, qui morborum spiritualium maxime sontico laborat, τῇ ἀναλγησίᾳ. Itaque ubique Deus sibi demissam animi dispositionem impense placere, se mœstos consolari, afflictos et animo pauperes recreare, humiles erigere, laborantes sublevare, corde

[c] Jer. xxxi. 20. [d] De Provid. [e] 2 Cor. vii. 10; 10 Eth. ad Nicom.

contritos sanare, miseriæ suæ sensu dejectis veniam, subsidium, effugium indulgere, paratum ostendit; contra his oppositos animi habitus, superbiam, arrogantiam, confidentiam, ferociam aversari et abominari profitetur. Itaque ad Deum mitigandum, et pœnas depellendas, expedit, ut de admissis peccatis serio doleamus.

Tertio, Deducimus ad eosdem effectus (nempe ad favorem recuperandum, et instantes calamitates averruncandas), externis animi mœsti contritique signis qualemcunque efficaciam competere, eademque a Deo injungi, probari, benigne accipi. Docemur hoc cum aliis, tum Achabi et Ninevitarum illustribus exemplis, et illo Ezræ viii. 23, *Jejunavimus itaque, et petivimus a Deo nostro propter hoc, et pacatus est nobis.* Nec de nihilo est quod, ut præmonitum, hæc conversionis et resipiscentiæ titulis commendata nobis veniunt. Nimirum Deo valde arrident doloris nostri spontanea ostentatio, humilitatis verecunda expressio, mutati propositi solennis attestatio; divinam gloriam illustrant, nostrum statum decent, ad mutuam ædificationem faciunt, quam profitentur pœnitentiam valde promovent, augent, confirmant, vitæque ad emendationem properantis eximia pignora, auspicia, adminicula sunt: imprimis jejunium, de quo, quia res meretur, et præsens occasio flagitat, paulo fusius disseremus.

De *jejunio* nihil uspiam habetur in lege Mosaica expresse præscriptum, aut definitum; nulla regula traditur ejus observationem dirigens, nullum tempus ei dictum aut injunctum legimus. Nec alibi fere sub alieni nominis larva innuitur, nisi ubi de expiationis festo agitur, in quo Judæis præcipitur, ut animas suas vexent; quam vexationem sicuti de aliis abstinentiis voluptatum, ita præsertim de jejunio interpretantur Hebræi, haud absurde, ut mox videbimus. Nihilominus constat ipsos postea sibi omne genus jejunia instituisse, tam ordinaria, et ex statis temporum intervallis recurrentia, quam extra ordinem, et hæc cum publica, tum privata. Statorum jejuniorum celebris est mentio apud Zachariam vatem, cap. viii. *Jejunium quarti, et jejunium quinti, et jejunium septimi, et jejunium decimi, mensis erunt domui Judæ in gaudium, et lætitiam, et solennitates præclaras;* quæ quidem jejunia quatuor ex occasione variarum afflictionum et ærumnarum, quæ genti Judaicæ obtigerant, jam olim indicta, ad hunc usque diem observantur. De jejuniis extraordinariis ob præsentem aliquam vel imminentem calamitatem indictis sæpe legimus, quale Israelitarum, quum a Benjamitis cæsi et profligati sunt; Josaphati regis, quum ipsi Moabitæ et Ammonitæ bellum inferrent; Esdræ, cum ex captivitate Babylonica ad templum instaurandum se accingeret. Privatorum etiam jejuniorum non infrequens est mentio, quæ pii homines suopte arbitrio ad bonos fines sibi obeunda susceperunt; nec opus est ut Davidis, Nehemiæ, Danielis, et aliorum exempla proferam, quando Salvator noster illis legem dixerit, et methodum descripserit; et constet e Judæis, quicunque præ cæteris devoti et pii erant, per totius anni curriculum singulis diebus Lunæ et Jovis jejunii agendi consuetudinem usurpasse, in quibus ille in evangelio Pharisæus gloriosus nomen profitetur suum. E quo ritu fluxisse videtur mos iste Christanorum antiquissimus, et nescio an ab ipsis apostolis ad nostra usque tempora deductus, bis hebdomatim jejunandi, utpote qui a Clemente Alexandrino, et Tertulliano, vetustissimis Patribus, communi suorum temporum usu comprobatus memoretur. Imo in hac omni materia, quam Judæi licentiam sumpserant, sibi eandem Christiani vindicarunt, quod ne facerent, nulla ratio prohibuit. Nam ex eo, quod licet in lege Mosaica de jejuniis omnibus (unico forsitan excepto) altum sit silentium, nedum ut de iis lex ulla figatur, vel certa aliqua et constans regula præstituatur, utcunque Hebræi non dubitarint complura ipsi observare, et aliis observanda præcipere, clare sequitur, Hebræos non ita se Mosaicæ legi adstrictos censuisse, ut extra ipsius explicitum præscriptum in cultu divino nihil attingere deberent; quin potius quæ ad pietatem in lege commendatam vel promovendam vel exprimendam conducere videbantur, ultro excogitabant, instituebant et observabant, prophetis Dei non improbantibus, imo laudantibus, et astipulantibus; qualia fuerunt festa εὐχαριστικά, atque jejunia Purim, Mardochæi magnatis authoritate stabilita, et Encœnia a Machabæis instituta; atque illæ, de quibus modo dictum, jejuniorum statæ so-

lennitates. Quod si id Judæis non illicitum fuit, quibus Deus, quoad ritus religiosos et modum cultus sui, curiosius prospexerat, et strictiores officiorum cancellos præfiniverat, multo minus Christianæ ecclesiæ adempta est, quam et semper sibi asseurit, quæ ad λογικὴν λατρείαν honesta, decora, utilia videbuntur, statuendi et præcipiendi potestas, cui scilicet Deus ampliorem indulsit libertatem, cui in modo, ordine, mensura et circumstantiis cultus sui nihil fere expressum, determinatum, vel singulare præcepit, ut consulto ipsius judicio et prudentiæ reliquisse videatur, quod in his rebus sibi ex usu esset, liberum deligendi aribtratum. Quod nisi partium immodicum studium, et altercandi prurigo pestifera multos transversos ageret, et omnia ex certis incerta faceret, nullam arbitror hac in parte, ut per multa secula non fuit, ita nunc dierum exituram controversiam. Et sane qui Judæos in extraordinariis festis atque jejuniis celebrandis sequi se et imitari non diffitentur, cur in statis et ordinariis obeundis eorundem exemplum tam pertinaciter detrectant, nisi quantum in animos hominum præjudicia valeant, non ignoranti mirum cuivis videri possit. Non enim hoc facere magis liberum illis fuit, quam nobis; imo tanto magis nobis, quanto Deus nobis parcius in his rebus providit, nosque minus arctis limitibus circumscripsit, quanto nos illis altius sapere voluit, quantoque licentia concessa nos melius uti possumus, aut posse debemus. Nec major iis ratio fuit, aut graviores illi causæ, cur hæc solennia jejunia procuderent, quam prisci religionis Christianæ antistites habuerunt, ut nobis nostra commendarent. Siquidem enim Judæi tabulas legis lapideas confractas, Hierosolyma obsidione cincta, templum concrematum, Gedaliam interemptum (quæ scilicet ex Judæorum unanimi consensu causæ fuerunt præcipuæ quatuor, quorum Zacharias meminit solennium jejuniorum instituendorum) anniversario in perpetuum luctu recolenda autumarint; si istarum rerum recurrens memoria, ut proavorum antiqua delicta deflerent, et memorem Dei vindictam deprecarentur, satis illis causæ subministrarint, quanto dignior est passio Domini et Redemptoris nostri, qui pro nobis acerbam et ignominiosam mortem subiit, quæ solenni recordatione quotannis (quid si dixerim quotidie?) in sempiterna secula sit concelebranda? quanto potiori jure occasionem hanc arripere debemus peccata nostra gravissima fatendi ac deplorandi, qua Filium Dei sanctissimum et innocentissimum, deque nobis optime meritum, in crucem adegerunt? quo præterea luculentiori symbolo tam impensi amoris sensum exhibeamus? quo illustriori indicio pro tam eximio beneficio gratitudinem nostram exprimamus? quo denique certiori documento tantæ erga nos bonitatis benevolentiæ et charitatis susceptum æstimare nos, suscipere, et magni pendere demonstremus? Non ideo gravior illis causa fuit, sed nec sanctior finis propositus nec usus commodior oblatus fuit, nec major necessitas incubuit, nec uberiorem inde fructum isti percipere potuerunt, quam nos possumus; quod patebit jejunii fines et usus expendenti, quos nobis sacræ literæ, ratio et experientia ferme tales indigitant.

Primo, Primarius jejunii finis in sacra pagina perhibetur, ut ob perpetrata peccata conceptum dolorem augeat et intendat; unde passim afflictio, vexatio, humiliatio, vel depressio animæ nuncupatur; Græcis traductoribus nunc κάκωσις, nunc ταπείνωσις τῆς ψυχῆς. Ps. xxxv. 13, *Affligebam in jejunio animam meam;* ἐταπείνουν ἐν νηστείᾳ τὴν ψυχήν μου. Esræ viii. 21, *Tunc indixi ibi jejunium juxta fluvium Ahava, ut affligeremus nos coram Deo nostro.* Esaiæ lviii. 3, *Ut quid jejunavimus, et non aspexisti, affliximus animas nostras, et nescivisti?* Judithæ, iv. 9, ἐταπεινοῦσαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐν ἐντεύξει μεγάλῃ, quod de jejunio intelligi ex contextu liquet. Et proinde patet in expiationis festo, quum imperatur ut affligant animas suas, de jejunio recte accipi a Judæis: quod et sub gravis pœnæ periculo injungitur, Lev. xxiii. 29, *Omnis enim anima, quæ non fuerit afflicta eo ipso die, excidetur a populis suis.* Idemque proculdubio respicitur, Num. xxx. 14, *Omne votum, et omne juramentum obligationis, ut affligat animam suam,* Ὅρκος δεσμοῦ κακῶσαι ψυχήν, ubi materia fit voti vel juramenti Deo sancte præstandi, etiam a feminis. Nec obscurum est, pio dolori amplificando jejunium quantopere inserviat; cum operative naturam lacessendo, sensum imitando, spiritus acuendo, appetitum stimulando, quam privative dolorem prohibens gaudium submovendo, voluptatem extinguen-

do, et lascivientis animi impetus coercendo. Recte philosophus, Nicomacheorum ultimo, γινομένης μὲν ἀνεκληρώσεως ἥδετο ἄν τις, καὶ τεμνόμενος λυποῖτο, Semper inediæ mœror sequela est, sic ut lætitia accessio saginæ. Nec sane nisi subductis lætitiæ alimentis, cibo et potu, possibile est, ut quispiam valde contristetur. His natura velit, nolit, reficitur, oblectatur, exultat. Ex horum usu per inevitabilem resultantiam benæ turgent, spiritus exhilarantur, corpus roboratur, sensus titillatur, lætificis halitibus cerebrum repletur, imaginatio obtunditur, et cum mentis acumine tristitiæ acrimonia hebetatur. Itaque ferocienti jumento pabulum subtrahendum, servus contumax fame edomandus, prurienti naturæ blandimenta præcidenda sunt, siquidem peccati vivido sensu cruciari, et vehementis molestiæ aculeis animum pungi oporteat.

Secundo, Nec solummodo dolorem alit jejunium, sed et spiritualem parit laetitiam, animumque ad percipiendam e cœlestibus voluptatem summopere disponit; nec hoc tantum indirecte et ex consequenti, quatenus defunctæ officio conscientiæ necessario gaudium adnascitur, sed directe et effective, juxta Augustini dictum, "Cessando a lætitia carnis acquiritur lætitia mentis. Crassis enim corporeæ voluptatis fumis soluta mens amœnioribus radiis scintillat." A ventriculo quæ exhalant, nubibus discussis, in amabile sudum serenatur; sensualis complacentiæ sordibus detersis, nitidiori facie resplendet. Compedibus exemptis liberior, onere sublato levior, amotis impedimentis expeditior, molestiis abdicatis alacrior, sensu carnali destituta ad spirituales gustus acrior, occupationibus corporeis defuncta ad intellectus munia habilior, inimica carne debilitata, spiritu fortior, vegetior, animosior, ex his omnibus lætior, placidior, vivacior evadit. Quo spectat Basilii monitum, εἰ βούλου ἰσχυρὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν νοῦν, δάμασον τὴν σάρκα διὰ νηστείας.

Tertio, jejunium ad precum aptitudinem et efficaciam admodum conducit. Unde hæc duo, *oratio et jejunium*, in sacris literis indivulsa copula sociantur; juxta Chrysostomi effatum, νηστείας ἀδελφὴ καὶ ὁμόζυγος εὐχή. Uno partu gemellam hanc sobolem religio enixa est: inde perpetuæ consuetudinis fraterno vinculo colligantur; idem sacra biga officiorum jugum trahit; indissociabili nexu comitantur se invicem, et amice conspirant, maximosque semper ad pietatis effectus collatas operas præstant. Σύντε δὴ ἐρχομένω nihil non valent efficere, cœlum flectunt, infernum expugnant, mala abigunt, judicia avertunt, beneficia accersunt.[e] Ex hisce partibus conflata est sanctæ mulieris Annæ devotio, Luc. ii. 37, Νηστείαις καὶ δεήσεσι λατρεύουσα νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν· quo his vacarent, monet apostolus conjuges, ut maritali toro interdum abstinerent, 1 Cor. vii. 5, Ἵνα σχολάζητε τῇ νηστείᾳ, καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ. Harum junctas vires libidinum dæmoniis eliminandis unice sufficere docet Christus, Matt. xvii. 21, Τοῦτο τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐκπορεύεται, εἰ μὴ ἐν προσευχῇ καὶ νηστείᾳ. Gemina hac oblatione apostoli Deo sacrorum administros consecrabant, et ecclesia gubernaculis presbyteros admovebant. Act. xiv. 23, Χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ Κυρίῳ· quorum vestigiis etiamnum insistit ecclesia, et semper inhæsit; ut non dubitet Basilius M. affirmare, nefas esse sine jejunio quenquam sacrum hoc officium attrectare: οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν (inquit) ἄνευ νηστείας ἱερουργίας κατατολμᾶν. Imo nec olim nisi per orationis atque jejunii bipatentes valvas, quisquam in ædem Dei, ecclesiam dico, admissus est.[f] Author est S. Justinus, Apol. II. pro Christianis: [g] Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι, καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα, τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὔχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνευχομένων, καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς.[g] Nec fere (ut paululum digrediamur) ut sine precibus, sic absque jejunio præclari quicquam gestum aut administratum legimus. Sub jejunii conditione humani generis salus primæva stetit; nec nisi violata legum vetustissima, *Ne comedas*, simul et semel pessundati omnes, et ab amplissimæ felicitatis fastigio in hunc infimæ miseriæ statum delapsi sumus; nec jejunio nobis jam opus esset, si Eva olim jejunasset.* Jejunii quoque impatiens Esau, "facilius ventri quam Deo cessit,"† pabulo potius quam præcepto annuit, salutem

* Εἰ ἐνήστευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἡ Εὔα, οὐκ ἂν ταύτης νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐδεόμεθα τῆς νηστείας.—Bas.

* Tert.

[f] *Vide* Cyp. Ep. vii. p. 20. † Adag.

[g] [Apol. I. 61.]

gula vendidit; et ἀντὶ βρώσεως μιᾶς ἀπέδοτο τὰ πρωτοτόκια αὐτοῦ, ut est apud authorem ad Hebræos. Quadragesimale quoddam jejunium quum observaret Moses, vidit oculis Dei gloriam, et audivit auribus Dei vocem, et corde conjecit Dei legem.[h] Æque diuturnæ inediæ patiens, legis vindex, et vatum antesignanus Elias, cum in speluncam divertisset, familiari Dei congressu et quodam Numinis quasi contubernio exceptus est. Nec in minus temporis spatium protracti jejunii armatura instructus, legis veterisque instaurator, et novæ author, Christus Diaboli insultus sustinuit, repulit, superavit, ἡμᾶς παιδεύων νηστείαις ἀλείφειν, καὶ παιδοτριβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πειρασμοῖς ἀγῶνας, ut optime inquit Basilius. Paris intervalli abstinentia Ninevitæ enormibus flagitiis suis accensam Dei iram restinguere, excidii latam in se sententiam rescindere, ipsumque Deum quasi ad palinodiam adigere potuerunt: quod exemplum intuens Patrum non nemo satis audacter dixit, "Sodoma quoque et Gomorrha evasissent, si jejunassent." Semiquadragesimali temperantia (vir desideriorum) Daniel ad visiones eximias claro intuitu conspiciendas, atque ad revelationes istas mirabiles puro animo percipiendas sese comparavit. Triduano jejunio Regina Esthera Amani perniciosas molitiones elusit ac infregit. Jejunio freti Esdras et Nehemias ad urbem sanctam extruendam, et domum Dei instaurandam, auspicato se contulerunt. Ejusdem præsidio communiti Samuel Philistæos, Josaphatus Ammonitas, et, ni fallor, Hezekias Assyrios exultantes repressit et profligavit; Achabus vero quas peccando acceleraverat pœnas, jejunando distulit, et a se penitus elongavit. Quæ ex sacra scriptura lubens commemoro, ceu non temere effusa, sed in usum et exemplum nostrum πρὸς διδασκαλίαν, πρὸς ἔλεγχον, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν, πρὸς παιδείαν τὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ,[i] tradita et consignata. Quid porro pœnitentiæ præconem referam et evangelicæ lucis phosphorum, Johannem, cujus vita, angelicæ æmula μία νηστεία ἦν, ut e Patribus aliquis dixit, continuum fuit jejunium? quid ethnici orbis magistrum apostolum, qui, seipso teste, frequentibus jejuniis corpus suum subegit et maceravit? cum nemo, opinor, usquam fuerit sanctorum, qui non ad cœlestem militiam sacra hac gymnastice se exercitarit, qui non divina hac face devotionem suam accenderit, cujusque non hac ala subvectæ preces ad cœlos evolarint. Nam ut Basilius, νηστεία προσευχὴν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπέμπει, οἱονεὶ πτερὸν αὐτῇ γινομένη πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πορείαν. Hoc autem præstat (ut tandem ex diverticulo in viam redeamus), preces, inquam, adjuvat jejunium,

1. Indigentiæ nostræ sensum imprimendo, et excitando animæ desiderium ad res necessarias appetendas. Nobis enim usu venit, ex unius rei, qua caremus, conscientia, ut ad alia, quibus pariter egemus, consideranda et expetenda erigamur; et semel excitatus affectus ad quælibet sua objecta se promptius diffundit, haud secus quam fluens aqua in quosvis sibi obvios canales facile derivatur. Terreno pabulo destitutus, cœlestis cibi memor et cupidus efficitur: corporeæ voluptatis exors ad spirituales delicias anhelat.

2. Deinde comprimendo cupiditates lascivas, impuras, supervacuas, quibus sancta animæ desideria, ceu puræ aquis superfusis flammæ, suffocantur; quibus affectuum meliorum fervor retunditur, cordis puritas inficitur, Spiritus Sanctus abigitur.

3. Item animam ad meditationem facilius, suavius et tranquillius obeundam comparando; dum multiplice sarcina prægravatum allevat, corporeos tumultus sedat, fluctuantem phantasiam componit, et phantasmata vaga, stolida, tumida, spurca fugat, crassos halitus discutit, menti nebulam offundentes, cogitandi quoque instrumenta, spiritus animales defæcatiores reddit, puriores, subtiliores, agiliores.

4. Denique animæ dispositiones istas gignendo, alendo, confortando, quibus Deus potissimum delectatur, et ad auscultandas preces disponitur. Nam,

Quarto, Jejunium ex se est exercitium multarum virtutum, quas procreare aptum natum est, productasque fovere et conservare. Omnimodæ temperantiæ directe et immediate inservit, ejusque fidissima disciplina, utilissima palæstra, tutissima est custodia. Docet enim appetitus immodicos refrænare, voluptatum illecebris obsistere, corpus subigere et δουλαγωγεῖν. Affectus carnales cohibet, voluntatem propriam subjugat, et ad ἑαυτοπαρνησίαν assuefacit. Humilitatem ac modestiam vi quadam sua peculiari parit et nutrit. De

[h] Heb. xii. 16; Tert.
[i] 2 Tim. iii. 16.

pœnitentia quid dicam, ad cujus incrementum ex primaria intentione designatur,[j] nec idcirco inepte a quodam vocatur, ἀρχὴ μετανοίας,[j] et ab eodem dicitur, μετάνοια χωρὶς νηστείας ἀργή? Paucis, ad vitiorum ferme omnium radices avellendas, nervos succidendos, alimenta subducenda, fomites restinguendos, non exilem sortitur efficaciam. Nec, si frequens ejus usus sit, si bono animo suscipiatur, et prudenti consilio administretur ullum fere habet religio omnis nobilius, potentius, accommodatius instrumentum.

Quinto, Utile est jejunium publicum præsertim ad hoc, ut dolorem nostrum significet, alienum eliciat, humilitatem privatam prodat, publicam provocet, et consequenter ut gloriæ Dei consulat, et ecclesiæ ædificationem promoveat. Nos enim peccata nostra sentire, fateri, detestari, deplorare, deprecari, divinam Majestatem vereri, potentiam expavescere, justitiam agnoscere, misericordiam implorare testatur: quam de Deo magnifice, de nobis demisse sentiamus; ut pœnis merito obnoxios, præmiis indignos, beneficiis impares, nec necessaria vitæ, nedum oblectamenta attingere promeritos nos arbitramur; quamque præ Dei cultu, favore, et obsequio reliqua omnia, utcunque suavia, vel necessaria contemnimus et posthabemus, eo palam decemus et profitemur. Omitto minores ejus usus et commoditates percensere, veluti quod satisfactionis cujusdam speciem habet, dum delicta nostra voluntariis quasi pœnis expiamus; nos ipsi judicamus, ne judicemur a Deo; Deoque illatæ injuriæ spontanea ultione divinam nemesin antevertimus, cum Augustino nimirum dicente, "Excrucio me (plane) ut ille parcat; do de me pœnas, ut ille subveniat:" quod ex eo temporis usuram lucramur, negotiis secularibus renunciantes, ut divinis vacemus; ut cœlesti pabulo reficiamur, terreno temperantes; nec digerendum stomacho cibum ministrantes, ut pia meditatione defixi divina ruminemus. Quod corporis sanitatem conservat, et infirmitati medetur, unde μήτηρ ὑγείης, εὐεξίης φυλακτήριον, σώματι σύνοικος ἀσφαλὴς dici meruit.[k] Quod denique charitati et eleemosynis suppetias fert, nostræ gulæ abstrahens, quod pauperum fami saturandæ erogemus; quod in vero jejunio requirit Esaias, cap. 58, *Nonne hoc est jejunium quod ego elegi—Ut frangas esurienti panem tuum, et paupères vagos introducas in domum*,[l] &c.

Accedunt ad laudem jejunii consummandam, Christi et apostolorum exempla, monita, consilia; piorum omni ævo consentiens praxis; sanctorum Patrum magnifica encomia, et argumentorum invictissimum, experientia utentium. Cum igitur tam graves causas, tam laudabiles scopos, tam insignes usus, tam eximios fructus, tam sanctam authoritatem habeat jejunium, quæ causa est, ut ecclesiæ adeo salutare institutum commendanti refragemur? Quid si lamentabili cum ejulatu vociferari, lachrymis coactis sinum perfundere, vestimenta discindere, pectus tundere, cilicio corpus involvere, capiti cineres inspergere, humi nos prosternere, et pulvere demersos volutare (qualia pœnitentiæ indicia, non inter Judæos modo, sed et veteres apud Christianos invaluisse, præter indubitatæ suffragium historiæ vel hujusce diei titulus abunde fidem fecerit), a nobis ecclesia postularet? Ita pauca, tam mitia, adeo facilia jubenti qui tam præfracte adversantur, quo clamore tam austeram disciplinam exciperent, quas querelas evomerent, quales tragœdias excitarent? At quibus longe graviora illi pertulerunt, cur nobis intoleranda videntur? quæ fructuosa illi experti sunt, unde nobis perniciosa evaserunt? quamobrem nos ceu superstitiosa arguimus, quæ sancta illi reputarunt? Quos prisci doctores illi, quibus religionem nostram acceptam, servatam, propagatam, nobisque in manus traditam debemus; illam qui voce professi sunt, ingenii acumine viribus propugnarunt, vitæ exemplo illustrarunt, et sanguine suo obsignarunt; quæ, inquam, illi probarunt, laudarunt, usurparunt, quare nos damnamus, rejicimus, detrectamus, nisi quod nos illis immane quantum magis delicati, morosi, refractarii sumus? Certe nondum officii nostri ratio cessavit, nec divini præcepti vigor defecit, nec ecclesiæ quasi senio confecta potestas expiravit, nec rei ipsius virtus effœta, vel abolita est efficacia. Adhuc jejunium utile, et salubre, et sanctum, et pene necessarium est; quod nemo ausit negare. Displicet vero quod tempus ei præstitutum, quod

[j] Bas. M. [k] Bas. [l] Es. lviii. 7.

crebrius usurpatur, quod præcipitur et imperatur; placiturum nempe si vagæ, indeterminatæ, et arbitrariæ observantiæ permittatur; imo vero ita placiturum ut penitus negligatur, contemnatur, in desuetudinem abeat, nisi certa illi lex figatur, et statum tempus deputeter. Quidni etiam iisdem objectiunculis freti ab oratione crebra, a Deo solenniter laudando et celebrando, a concionibus frequentandis, et ab omnibus sacris officiis pariter abhorreant? quibus etiam sua tempora assignavit, quorum frequentem usum exigit, quæque pari authoritate sanxit ecclesia? cur non et hæc libero cujusque arbitrio relinquuntur, ubi, quando, quomodo collubitum fuerit, suscipienda, vel omittenda? Annon confessio peccatorum nostrorum æque ac divinorum beneficiorum agnitio; dolor pro Deo offenso, ac lætitia in Deo propitio; contritio cordis, ac emendatio vitæ, humiliatio, sui abnegatio, abstinentia voluptatum æque ac aliæ quælibet virtutes a nobis semper exiguntur? Quidni igitur harum instrumenta, adminicula, exercitia, pariter ac illarum, in perpetuo, constante, ordinario, præfinito sint usu? Et si hæc sæpius adhibita vitæ sanctimoniam juvare queant, ædificationi communi inserviant, nec exiguas nobis utilitates afferant, quæ ingratitudo, quæ iniquitas, quæ perversitas, imo quæ insipientia est optimæ matris curam aspernari, consilia respuere, mandatis obmurmurare? Verum hisce dituius inculcandis ut abstineam, tempus admonet, ne prolixitate nimia patientiam vestram violem, vobisque quam immodice laudo, importune inducam pœnitentiam. Ad hoc igitur tantum veniæ vestræ indulgentiam aliquantisper peto, liceat ut mihi duntaxat paucis ad nos prophetæ verba adaptare, *Convertimini ad me cum toto corde vestro in jejunio, et fletu, et planctu.* Convertamur, inquam, nos ad Deum; nos vitam reformare, peccata deflere, supplicis pœnitentiæ signis conspicuis fructibusque idoneis iratum Numen mitigare, summa ope enitamur. Nos, quibus alios convertendi officium incumbit, quique ad Deum redeuntibus præire exemplo, et iter præmonstrare debemus. Nos, qui in Deum præ aliis gravissime deliquimus, contra mentis lumen clarius,et veritatem intimius perspectam, et acriores conscientiæ stimulos, et ampliora Dei beneficia, et cœlestis gratiæ uberiores influxus. Nos, inquam, in quos Deus se haud mediocri ira exarsisse, non obscuris indiciis patefecit; quos severioribus judiciis exercuit, quosque ultimo pene exitio devovisse visus est; quosque proinde liberaliore misericordia devinxit, tot ærumnis exemptos, tantis perplexitatibus extricatos, et ab impendentis ruinæ faucibus ereptos.

Enimvero, fratres, ex gravissimis malis emersimus; immania rerum discrimina effugimus; ex desperato languore in sanitatem pene integram convaluimus, magnam partem pœnarum, quas divina justitia inflixerat, supra modum, præter spem, ultra meritum nostrum clemens, divina bonitas relaxavit. At nisi pravos humores malignæ intemperiei reliquias evacuamus, nisi mores nostros nondum satis defæcatos repurgamus, ut recrudescat morbus, nosque in pejorem statum relabamur, ut consopita nemesis evigilet, et læsa Dei patientia in furorem recandescat, ingens subest periculum, imo certa necessitas. Quamobrem luctuosa experientia ad sapientiam eruditi, præcedentium malorum causas solicito studio vitemus; quibusque impegimus scopulos,cauto remigio prætervehamur. Corrupicem morum luxuriam sobrio victu castigemus. Ambitionem, ordinis nostri summum dedecus, exuamus; ejusdem præcipua ornamenta, humilitatem et modestiam induamus. Inanium titulorum ventosos strepitus, mundanæ pompæ ludicrum splendorem, popularis auræ insulsos plausus, et secularis potentiæ fallaces typhos contemnentes, ad inculpatæ vitæ solidam laudem, et veræ virtutis intaminatum honorem aspiremus. Infamis avaritiæ pestem, qua nulla clero infensius odium conciliare, aut graviorum conflare solet invidiam, cane pejus et angue, execremur. Non alienis rebus inhiemus; nec viis illicitis vel inhonestis ad opimas possessiones contendamus, nec præsentis seculi de sordidis exuviis rixas, et turbas, et controversias moveamus: virtutis potius, sapientiæ, et pietatis cœlestibus thesauris reponendis operam impendentes. Socordiæ quoque excutientes veternum, officio quisque suo gnaviter, constanter fideliter defungamur. Præcipue vero charitatis, in qua religionis nostræ summa consistit, in qua Christianæ vitæ perfectio elucet, cui salus nostra, pax, et felicitas tam æternæ, quam temporariæ innituntur; charitatis, inquam, sanctæ,

beatæ, gloriosæ divinum, qui refrixit, ardorem exsuscitemus. Nos invicem omnes sincero et fervido affectu diligamus. Injuriarum, discordiarum, simultatum, et inimicitiarum veterum memoriam deleamus novarum causas, occasiones, prætextus devitemus. Alter alterius onera portemus, infirmitates toleremus offensas condonemus. Infensa præjudicia deponamus, iniquis suspicionibus ne indulgeamus; credulitati malignæ et temerariæ censuræ temperemus; ne calumnias cuiquam struamus, nec detrahamus, nec obtrectemus; nec maledica mus, nec insultemus, nec facta in sequiorem partem detorqueamus, nec dicta duriori interpretatione perverta-mus; nec probis immeritis, imo nec meritis quempiam incessamus; in neminem satyrica petulantia invehamur, nec insolente cum ferocia detonemus; nec e sacro hoc suggestu ebullientis cerebelli spumas aut æstuantis stomachi bilem, aut exulcerati splenis virus eructemus; nec religionis fuco inveteratum odium, aut zeli pallio turpem invidiam, vel veritatis obtentu atrocem malitiam occultemus. Cum omnibus pacem, concordiam, benevolentiam colere; humanitatis, pietatis, et charitatis officia commutare parati simus. Æquos nos quibuscunque, ingenuos, beneficos, mansuetos, comes, affabiles præbeamus. Controversias, factiones, dissidia ne foveamus, nec de rebus minimi momenti tanta cum acerbitate litigemus; judiciis nostris ne nimium tribuamus, nec privatis opinionibus alii alios vexemus, torqueamus, inquietemus. Dissentientes placide feramus, non Turcas dico, vel paganos, aut hæreticorum nequissimos, quaquam humanitatis id esset, sed fratres nostros, eandem fidem profitentes, eadem spe imbutos, ejusdem in præcipuis animi; circa minutulas tantum quæstiunculas, et argutulos subtilitatum apiculos sententia discrepantes, humanæ forsitan fragilitatis vitio deceptos, aut sophismatum laqueis irretitos, aut speciosis ratiociniis illectos, vel diversæ disciplinæ præjudiciis abreptos; hos, inquam, tales ne tetrica vi, nec zelo amaro, nec furiali iracundia, nec hostili odio, nec effræni maledicentia insectemur, ast aberrantes qua licet, fideli consilio, blanda admonitione, amica suadela in viam reducamus. Nemo aspere præsit, morose, superbe, ceu impotentem dominatum affectans, sed benevoli animi signis, comitate, gravitate, prudentia subditos in obsequium trahat, tanquam illorum qui bono studeat, et commodo invigilet. Nos vero, qui subsumus, demissos nos præstemus, morigeros, tractabiles, antistitum justis mandatis alacriter obtemperantes, prudentibus consiliis prompte auscultantes, personis debitam reverentiam officiose deferentes; nec in illos immodesti, pervicaces, queruli, vel importuni simus, nedum ut eos vituperemus, infamemus, convitiis proscindamus. Invidiam denique omnem, malitiam, contumaciam, reliquosque pravos affectus seponamus. Ita quidem, contra quam plerique nunc facimus, vitam instituamus oportet, si aut ecclesiæ honori consultum cupimus, aut patriæ quietem sartam tectam conservari volumus, aut favorem propitii Numinis diuturnum retinere præoptamus. Nec ut vitæ tantum futuræ seriem juxta legis evangelicæ normam emendate transigamus; sed præteritæ errata ut serio dolore prosequamur, fateamur, detestemur, iisque debitam divinam ultionem cum jejunio, ploratu, et planctu deprecemur. Nec idcirco instantem hanc, quam ecclesiæ veteris consuetudo, præsentis consilium, legis insuper politicæ præscriptum, et reipublicæ authoritas nobis commendarunt, opportunitatem omnino negligamus. Quæ bono cum fructu et felice successu ut efficere valeamus, nos gratiæ suæ cœlestis præpotente influxu juvet, Fons ille bonitatis, et Pater misericordiarum æternus, cui cum benedicto Filio et Sancto suo Spiritu, sit omnis honos, laus et gloria in secula seculorum. *Amen.*

Pax Dei, quæ superat omnem intellectum, conservet corda vestra, et mentes vestras, in cognitione et amore Dei, et Filii ejus Jesu Christi Domini nostri; et favor omnipotentis Dei, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, vobis adsit, vobisque semper maneat.—Amen.

EPITOME FIDEI ET RELIGIONIS TURCICÆ,

A MUHAMETO KUREISCHITA,

ARABUM PROPHETA,

PRIUS IN ARABIA DESERTA, POSTEA A SUCCESSORIBUS PER TOTUM PENE ORIENTEM DIFFUSÆ.

MUHAMMED, cum quadragesimum ætatis suæ annum attigisset, sibi revelationes fieri, legemque a Deo constitutam commatim per angelum Gabrielem adferri XXIII annorum spatio apud Arabes, præcipue Meccanos et Medinenses, prædicabat. E quibus, scilicet, cœlitus demissis commatibus conflatus est liber ille, qui Alcoran (id est, Legenda) appellatur. Hic liber apud Turcas tanta cum veneratione contrectatur, ut quispiam illoto corpore et manibus non aperire aut legere solum, sed ne tangere quidem audeat, nisi forte necessitate coactus; tunc temporis panno aut sudariolo aliquo obvolutum sublevare licet: huic libro, aut suo lectori, terga vertere nefandum est. *Hitet*, id est, scriptores, qui hunc librum pulcherrime describunt, magnis præmiis decorantur; aliqui mille coronatorum pretio mercantur. *Huffar*, id est, eos qui hunc librum memoriter censervant, ceu numina quædam venerantur, et quibus facultates adsunt, ad ædes convocatos thymiamate honorant, et iiscum convivalia oblectamenta peragunt; omnes libros, paginas et schedulas, tam propriis quam exoticis literis exaratos, diligenter recondunt, ne pedibus conculcentur, aut parum pie tractentur; veriti quod versus aliquis Alcorani, aut saltem ipsum nomen Dei in ipsis notatum inveniatur: unde Christianos hostili odio et maledictionibus prosequuntur, quod (salvis auribus) charta tam scripta quam inscripta podices abstergant: versiculos exinde descriptos amuleti loco ex collo aut brachiis suspendunt, et ita se ab omnibus corporis ac animæ periculis salvos esse firmissime credunt: pro victoriæ aut aliarum divinarum gratiarum impetratione aliqua particularia Surath (id est, capita) ex expresso imperatoris edicto perlegunt: procellarum tempore ad antennas, pugnarum ad vexilla appendunt: omnes fere legunt, et quidem tam superstitiose, ut literas, accentus et periodos connumerent, ast perrari intelligunt, a concionatoribus tamen explicationem audiunt, qui nisi approbatissimi sint, concionari non permittuntur. In hoc igitur libro seculares et spirituales leges continenti præcipitur,

I. *Primo*, Ut quilibet credat unum esse Deum, non trinum; absque ullo consorte aut consimili; Creatorem, Largitorem, Præservatorem, Permutatorem omnium creaturarum, exemptum ab epitheto Patris et Filii, ut quippe qui nec natus est nec genuit; nullibi manet, et ubique existit; nullam effigiem, qualitatem, colorem, membrum possidet: est sine principio, et sine fine erit: essentia ejus ex seipso est, et non ab alio: natura ipsius semper in eodem statu est; nec ullos unquam animi affectus patitur. Si vult, omnia creata in nihilum vertet, et iterum reficiet: nemine indiget, et omnes eo egent; si omnes infideles fidem ingrediantur, et omnes impii pietatem colant, nihil ei hinc commodi; et si omnes pagani fuerint,

nec eum adoraverint, nihil damni provenire potest: vivit; scit omnia tam occulta quam manifesta; numerum foliorum et granorum, arenarum, et capillorum novit; specialia, universalia, præterita et futura, mentes et corda, præsentia et absentia ille solus, non quispiam alius, cognita habet: non obliviscitur, non errat, nec quicquam negligit: audit omnes voces tam submissas quam erectas, tacitissimos quosque susurros: videt nocte obscura quoque; nigræ formicæ gressum super nigrum lapidem cernit; et auditus et visus ejus auditui ac visui humano dissimilis est: omnia ex sua voluntate dependente, cum mala, tum bona: fidelium fidem et piorum pietatem, paganorum infidelitatem et sceleratorum scelera vult; et si nollet, nullus esset infidelis, nec ullus protervus: muscæ alas commovere nequeunt absque sua voluntate: ejus mysteria inenunciabilia sunt, nec acerrimis quibusque ingeniis investigari possunt; neque ea scrutari debemus, sed sufficit simpliciter credere talem esse qualem diximus.

II. *Secundo*, Credatur esse angelos, servos Dei obedientes; qui nec peccant, nec comedunt, nec bibunt, nec masculini, nec fœminini sexus sunt. Inter eos sunt Deo propinquati, et prophetæ etiam: quilibet suo muneri et officio præest; aliqui in terris, aliqui in cœlis, aliqui stantes, aliqui inclinati, aliqui prostrati: alii laudes canunt; alii hominibus præfecti, quo bona et mala opera recenseant; alii pro ipsorum custodia: aliqui maximi corporis sunt, et eximio robore pollent; una hora e cœlis in terras descendunt; et una alæ penna montes elevare et dissipare possunt: eorum maximus est Gabriel et potentissimus: Esrail morientium animas recipit, et angelus mortis vocatur. Israfil extremi judicii indicatricem tubam canere debet, quam semper ori appositam tenet, et jussum Dei præstolatur; jussus inflabit tubam; ejus clangore perculsi viventes omnes, sive sint animæ sive corpora, emorientur, ipsemet tibicen interibit, et totum universum XL annos vacuum permanebit; post dictos annos rursus Israfil a Deo resuscitabitur, iterumque sonare jubebitur, quo sonitu omnes animæ et angeli excitabuntur et reviviscent, ac ad tremendum judicium comparebunt. Lucifer, qui Iblis vocatur, olim fuit angelus lucis, sed quia Dei mandato (scilicet, ut ante Adamum noviter creatum simul cum aliis angelis sese prosterneret), inobsequens fuit, et se ex lumine creatum præstantiorem esse eo, qui ex limo productus erat, superbe prædicavit, e cœlis ejectus est, et usque ad diem extremum spem gratiæ expectat: hic plurimos peperit filios, cum quibus filiis hominum adversatur; hi sunt angeli mali et tentatores; in quodlibet membrum hominis ingredi possunt, seducunt et decipiunt: suggerunt tamen ad infidelitatem, sed cogere nequeunt; quilibet sibi ab ipso caveat, eumque esse inimicum humanæ naturæ pro certo sciat.

III. *Tertio*, Credatur quatuor potissimum libros, viz. Biblium Moysi, evangelium Jesu Christo, Psalmos Davidi, Alcoranum Mahumeto cœlitus demissos: omnes esse veros; tres autem anteriores, utpote a plerisque falsæ descriptos, interpretatos, falsificatos, corruptos et abolitos per Alcoranum novissime demissum abrogari: in eo enim omnia ea, quæ vere in prædictis libris continebantur, reperiuntur; et hic sufficiet usque ad diem resurrectionis; non augescet, nec diminutionem aut corruptelam patietur.

IV. *Quarto*, Credatur prophetas et evangelistas a Deo esse missos, ut prædicent veritatem. Adamum, prophetarum patrem, ex sicco cœno conflatum esse, ut suæ proli Factorem sui indicaret; hic primus propheta, uti Muhammed omnium ultimo missus in mundum: hujus anima, tam hominum quam dæmonum gratia, ab æterno creata in ardenti lampade conservabatur usque ad diem suæ nativitatis. Lex, quæ ei data est, in æternum perseverabit: ejus asseclæ omnium præstantissimi habentur apud Deum: hujus miracula erunt et post mortem, uti fuerunt in vita; ex digitis fontes manarunt; Lunam digiti signo unico in duas partes divisit, quæ e proprio orbe in sanctum venerabundæ descenderunt, ac per sinum ingressæ, et per municarum aperturas egressæ, iterum ad suum locum ascenderunt; saxa, arbores, animalia ipsum alloquebantur, verumque Prophetam Dei esse confitebantur.

V. *Quinto*, Credatur fore diem judicii, et quæ Muhametus de signis, quæ ante hunc apperere debent, nunciavit omnia esse verissima; nempe, adventum Deggiali, hoc est, antichristi; descensum Jesu Christi e cœlis, ut eum interficiat;

nativitatem Muhdi, hoc est, directoris, e stirpe Muhameti, qui cum Jesu Christo conveniet, et ei suam filiam nuptum dabit; tunc temporis XL annos una fides manebit per totum orbem, et hæc Mahumetica a Jesu Christo attestata; exitum Gog et Magog, *viz.* extremi orientis Scytharum, qui formicis minores erant; et aliorum reptilium, quæ totius mundi aquas ebibent, quapropter homines siti necabuntur: horum Gog Magog 50,000 unum humanum calceum inhabitare debebant, et admirari quod antiquitus tam magnæ aulæ fundarentur; ortum solis ab occasu, et occasum ad orientem; mortem omnium animantium; montium per aërem volatum; liquefactionem cœlorum, et post aliquod tempus eorundem instaurationem; nudorum hominum a mortuis resurrectionem; prophetis, sanctis, doctoribus, togarum cœlestium (quæ Hulet appellantur) et jumentorum coruscantium (quæ Burak vocantur) e Paradiso demissionem, quibus ii vestiti et conscensi sub obumbrantem Dei thronum migrabunt, ibique considebunt: gentes autem residuæ nudi, famelici, sitibundi, in pedibus consistentes, ac præ timore mingentes remanebunt; post aliquod tempus versus solem conducentur cui unum miliare appropinquati fervido sudore madebunt; aliqui usque ad talos, aliqui usque ad genua, aliqui usque ad renes, aliqui usque ad collum, aliqui usque ad os, aliqui usque ad verticem subdori immergentur; 50,000 annorum spatio in hoc statu perseverabunt, et pro operibus eorum mercedem intenti postulabunt; posthac bilanx accommodabitur; bona et mala opera uniuscujusque ponderabuntur; quibus bona opera præponderabunt, paradisum, quibus mala, infernum adibunt; nisi forte Deus optimus ignoscat, aut prophetarum, sanctorum, doctorum et proborum intercessione liberentur: qui tamen extra fidem morietur, intercessione fraudabitur, nec unquam a pœnis inferni absolvetur; sed si in fide morietur et peccata præponderabunt, et si condonatio et deprecatio non sequetur, pro quantitate et qualitate delictorum gehenna urentur; tandem cœlo gaudebunt. Deus quoque absque mediatore aliquo in quemlibet inquiret; a tyrannis oppressorum justa exiget; si quid bonorum operum habebunt, auferet, et injuriam passis donabit: si nihil habuerint, peccatis injuria affectorum oppressores onerabit. Pons Sirath, qui pilo tenuior et ense acutior erit, super infernum distendetur; omnes gentes hunc transire cogentur, aliqui ut fulmen, aliqui uti ventus, aliqui uti velox, aliqui uti succussator equus, et aliqui fatigatim peccatis super humeros gravati transibunt, condemnati non permeabunt, sed in infernum decident; peccatis non gravati transcurrent, et ad cœlos pervenient: quisque propheta suam habebit piscinam, ex qua, antequam cœlum adiverint, cum suis populis bibant: piscina Mahumeti major erit quam aliorum; ex uno capite in alterum unius mensis inter patebit; in viridissimis et opacis ripis appositi erunt urceoli, stellarum multitudinem excedentes; hinc semel bibens, non amplius sitiet; aqua piscinæ lacte candidior et melle suavior erit: cœlestes semel cœlum ingressi, in eo manebunt in æternum, nunquam egressuri; ibi nulla mors, nulla senectus, aut decrepita ætas; vestes non senescent, nulla excrementa aut foria, sed omnia per sudorem evacuabuntur; nullus somnus, nullus labor, nulla passio: ibidem cœlestes virgines, quæ Hur vocantur, et aliæ mulieres nulla menstrua aut puerperia patientur; non pravi mores, nullum odium, nulla invidia, sed æternus ac purus et incorruptus amor: qualemcunque cibum aut potum desiderabunt, epulis apportabuntur; hæc tamen non coquentur, sed semper parata inveniuntur: terra ex musco, super quam palatia mixtim exaureis et argenteis lateribus fabricata, auro et gemmis intextis peristromatibus strata, Phrygio opere laboratis cervicalibus instructa, sedes ex pretiosissimis lapidibus fabrefactæ; vini jucundissimi saporis a pocillatoribus pulcherrimis propinabuntur; coitus cum virgunculis et puerulis, periscelibus, torquibus, armillis, et inauribus ornatis; emissio spermatis quousque placebit. In inferno autem infideles et diabeli æterne manebunt, ii quoque immortales; his collo camelorum crassitudine similes serpentes, et mulorum magnitudine horrendi scorpiones tormenta injungent: illi ferventibus pice aquis aduri debent; combusta corpora et in carbones versa iterum novas carnes et cutes induent, pœnasque infinitas, et crudeles, ac inexplicabiles luent.

VI. *Sexto*, Credatur omnia bona et mala fieri ex decreto et providentia divina;

quodcunque fuit aut futurum est, prædestinatum est; et in *leuh* et *mahfuz* (id est, tabula adservata) rerum fata ab æterno descripta sunt; ei scripturæ nihil contrarium accidere potest; fidelium fides et devotorum devotio, aliaque bona fiunt ex scitu, voluntate, prædestinatione, consensu, complacito Dei, et dictæ tabulæ creatæ inscriptione; sic quoque infidelium infidelitas, et prævaricatorum prævaricatio, ac mala omnia fiunt quidem ex scitu, providentia, prædestinatione, et dictæ tabulæ inscriptione, sed non ex consensu et complacito Dei; hæc autem cur prædestinaverit, voluerit, noluerit, nemini indaganda sunt, prout occulta Dei mysteria, quorum ratio apud illum solum constat; imo in Deum gravissime peccabitur, si impenetrabilia et scitu impossibilia secreta Dei perscrutabuntur.

Et hi sunt VI articuli fidei Turcicæ, quæ corde credere et lingua profiteri obligantur, dicentes, Credo Deum, et angelos, et libros, et prophetas, et diem judicii, et prædestinationem boni et mali a Deo celsissimo. Fidem quoque exterioribus actionibus sustentant, nimirum, testatione, precibus, eleemosyna, jejunio mensis Ramadan, et peregrinatione ad Mecham, si viaticum suffecerit. Attestatio est formula, per quam patet transitus ad sectam Mahumetanam; nempe, Non est numen præter Deum, et Muhamed est propheta Dei. Turcarum ergo filii puberes ad hanc repetendam stimulantur; ille vero, qui ab alia fide Mahumetanam ingreditur, in conspectu imperatoris, aut alterius cujusvis præpositi pileum e capite abjicit, atque dicit se velle fieri Musulmannum, hoc est, per fidem Mahumetanam salvum; tum præsens ille magnas jubet adferri syndonem, qua caput novitii obvolvendo redimitur, ac unam sagittam, quæ in ejusdem dextram porrigitur; hanc ille erecto digito indice recipit, et præscriptam formam ab antistite dictatam repetit; tandem secedit et ab alio conclavi prioribus vestibus exuitur, aliisque pro usu Turcico induitur, ac cum assumpta sagitta ad ditiores Turcas conducitur, qui commune gaudium ostentantes noviter sectam ingresso gratificantur; aliqui vestes, aliqui nummos donant; postea deducitur ad balneum, in quo raditur et lavatur, tandem ad circumcisionem: modus autem circumcidendi hic est; ex pannis sericis et tapetibus cortina præparatur, quam præputiatus cum circumcisore et curatore ingreditur; extra cortinam tibicines tibias inflant, tympanistæ tympana ac crembala quatiunt, adstans populus, magna voce, Deus, Deus, conclamant quousque circumcisor officium suum peregerit, qui dum novacula præputium abscindit, procurator a tergo digitum melle oblinitum ori novitii, ne forte veritus vociferetur, imponit; hoc peracto, circumcisor pulveribus constringentibus (veluti arundinum cineribus, aut caprinarum pellium rasuris) inspersis sanguinem sistit, deinde spectatoribus præputium ostendit; circumcisus lecto imponitur, circumcirca mensæ extruuntur, per diem epulantur, noctem ludis ducunt, mane abeunt, circumcisus solus cum suo curatore remanet, quosque ex vulnere sanus consurgat; tum iterum in balneo abluitur. Opulentorum vero Turcarum filii, antequam dictam cortinam ineant, pretiosis vestibus ornati, instratis equis per plateas exspatiantur, quibus pauperiores filios vel servos suos circumcidendos aggregant, ut sine ullo sumptu ditioris gratia circumcidantur, quos ille libenter ex opere charitatis recipit, ac filio suo pro labantis animi confortatione socios adsciscit: sæpius quoque hanc attestationem in ore habent Turcæ, et præsertim dum suas lotiones peragunt: hoc autem fit pro fidei renovatione; leves enim ob causas fidem labefactari, infirmari, et ab ea facillime avelli posse suspicantur: aliqui ipsorum religiosi vocati Zakir (id est, Memorator, quod hanc formam semper memorat) diu et noctu sine intermissione cantitant, sed sine adjunctione, *Muhammed est propheta Dei*, tantummodo reiterant, agonizantibus clara voce in aurem inculcant, superliminaribus, vexillis, et aliis in locis spectabilibus majusculis literis exarant.

Oratio quotidie quinquies perorari debet, ante ortum solis, meridie, pomeridiano tempore, post occasum solis, et prima noctis vigilia, (id est, una hora et media noctis) tum ipso temporis momento, quod quidem melius fit, tum eorum intercapedine: ut si aliquis summo mane precibus non adfuerti, usque ad meridiem habet tempus satisfaciendi; at si meridionales preces ipsa meridie non peregerit, intercapedine, quæ inter meridiem et pomeridianum tempus est, persolvere poterit, et sic de cæteris: tempora autem a præco-

nibus ex turri aut locis editis alta voce populo his verbis indicantur:

Deus Maximus, quod quatuor repetit.
Fateor non esse numen præter Deum! hoc bis repetit.
Fateor Mahumetem esse prophetam Dei, hoc quoque bis.
Adeste ad orationem, hoc quoque bis.
Adeste ad salutem, hoc quoque bis.
Jam incipit oratio, hoc quoque bis.
Deus Maximus, Deus Maximus, non est Numen præter Deum.

Oraturi debent esse a spermate, menstruis, sanguine et aliis sordibus (inter quas vinum et porcina caro vel pinguedo immundissimæ habentur), impolluti, e quibus in balneis abluuntur, quæ lotio Gast vocatur: ante precationem autem fit lotio sacra, quæ est manuum, faciei, brachiorum, pedumque lotio; et humidæ dextræ manus per verticem capitis, et per posteriores partes colli utriusque manus ductio; hæc omnia instituto quodam ordine, et interjectis aliquibus precatiunculis perficiuntur. Si autem aqua defuerit, loco lotionis aqualis faciunt Teijmum, id est, lotionem pulveralem; accepto enim terræ pulvere, et quidem puriore, manus faciemque defricant, et sic sacram supplent lotionem: precationum aliquæ sunt Farza, id est, institutæ a Deo in Alcorano, aliquæ Sunna, institutæ a propheta Mahumeto: quæ a Deo sancitæ sunt, nunquam possunt omitti; et si intermittuntur, alio tempore omnino recoli debent; quæ vero a propheta, aliquando a parum devotis prætermittuntur, præcipue Sunna pomeridiani temporis et primæ noctis vigiliæ; Sunnæ omnes summissa voce et sine antistite singulatim peraguntur; Farzarum aliquæ clara, uti matutina, serotina, et nocturna; aliquæ tacita, uti meridionalis et pomeridiana; eædemque vel singillatim, vel cum multitudine et antistite: cum ergo precationi se accingunt, sint in templo aut quovis alio in loco, versum eam partem orientis, in qua templum Meccanum est, sese dirigunt; ea autem pars vocatur Kyber; et ad Sunnam quidem soli per se sine ordine, ad Farzam vero si sunt duo vel tres precaturi, et serie prout acies militaris se disponunt, et unus eorum qui doctior est fit antistes, alter vero præco, qui præscriptam indicationem iterum in delubro replicat, ad cujus finem omnes manus erigunt, ac pollicibus aurium molliores partes attingunt, et ita se corde velle orare intendunt: ad cujuslibet autem temporis orationem sunt præcipue intentionis formulæ, postea junctis manibus ante pectus, hanc orationem tacite proloquuntur: *Gloria sit tibi, O Deus noster, et laus; et benedicatur nomen tuum, et exaltetur dignitas tua, et magnificentur encomia tua, quia non est numen aliud præter te:* postea dicit, *Confugio ad Dominum Deum a Diabolo maledicto, in nomine Dei miseratoris et misericordis;* ac tum primam Alcorani *suratam*, quæ potissima ipsorum est oratio, recitat; illa autem vocatur *Fatihe*, initium: *Laus Deo sabaoth, misericordi et miseratori, Regi extremi judicii: te adoramus, a te auxilium postulamus; dirige nos in viam rectam, viam eorum quibus benefecisti, non eorum quibus iratus es, nec eorum qui deviant.* Amen. Post hanc orationem tres aut quatuor versus, quicunque placuerint, ex Alcorano pronunciant, et hæc omnia memoriter; nam inter precandum legere non licet: hoc quoque perlecto dicitur *Deus maximus*, et miris ceremoniis sese ad medium corpus inclinant, ac ter vel quinquies, vel alio impari numero usque ad novem dicunt, *Gloria Deo meo maximo:* post dicunt, *Deus maximus*, et iterum se erigunt; tum iterum, *Deus maximus* dicentes se inclinant; ac tandem in faciem procumbunt, et prædicto numero dicunt, *Laus Deo meo altissimo;* et sic finitur una inclinatio: pro altera iterum se erigunt, et a præscripta Fatihe, usque ad procubitum eadem ratione progrediuntur: post secundam quoque inclinationem fit Kaade, Sessio; in qua oratio peroratur; *Benedictiones sint Deo, et orationes, ac bonæ actiones: pax tibi, O propheta, et misericordia divina, ac benedictio ejusdem, et pax sit super nos, et super servos Dei probos: fateor quod non est numen præter Deum: et fateor quod Mahumet est servus Dei, et propheta:* hac oratione peracta, si preces sunt duarum solummodo inclinationum, hunc precum epilogum adjicit; *Deus meus, esto propitius Mahumeto et populo Mahumetano, uti propitius fuit Abrahamo et populo ejus, quia tu es laudatus et glorificatus:* hoc dicto, facie ad dextram, post ad sinistram inversa, angelos custodes, quos ipsi humeris suis insidere credunt, salutant, dicentes ad utrumque humerum, *Pax sit vobis et misericordia divina:* ac sic manibus

faciem detergentes dicunt; *Audivimus, et obtemperabimus tibi: parce nobis, O Deus noster, et ad te concurrimus.* Sic finiuntur preces, quæ si quatuor sint inclinationum, post priorem sessionem reservato epilogo, iterum se erigunt, et duas posteriores inclinationes, uti prius fecerant, persolvunt; (nisi quod hæc semper tacite recitantur;) tum iterum considentes sessionis orationem cum epilogo recitant et concludunt. Matutina ante Farzam habet Sunnam duarum inclinationum, et unius sessionis; post hanc sequitur Farza, eadem quoque duarum inclinationum et unius sessionis. Meridionalis ante Farzam habet Sunnam quatuor inclinationum et duarum sessionum; hanc sequitur Farza totidem inclinationum et sessionum; post Farzam fiunt duæ Sunnæ, prior quatuor inclinationum, et duarum sessionum; altera duarum inclinationum, et unius sessionis; pomeridiana ante Farzam habet Sunnam quatuor inclinationum et duarum sessionum: postea sequitur Farza similiter duarum inclinationum et sessionum; hanc subsequitur Sunna duarum inclinationum et unius sessionis. Serotina incipit a Farza, quæ est 3 incl. et 2 sess.; prior sessio fit post duas inclinationes, secunda post tertiam: hanc sequitur Sunna 2 inclin. 1 sess. Nocturna ante Farzam habet Sunnam quatuor inclinationum et duarum sessionum; post sequitur Farza totidem inclinationum et sessionum: post Farzam habet Sunnam quatuor inclinationum et duarum sessionum; sed post secundam sessionem non recitant epilogum, uti in aliis, imo se erigit, et pollicibus aures apprehendit, ac intendit se velle orare *Vitu*, id est, orationem imparem, quam incipit a Fatihe, eaque finita, recitat *Doai kun ut*, id est, orationem stationis, quæ sic se habet; *Deus noster, utique a te opem imploramus, et a te indulgentiam petimus, a te dirigi cupimus; in te credimus, ad te convertimur, tibi confidimus; tibi bona omnia imputamus, tibi gratiam agimus, et non sumus in te ingrati; repudiamus ac relinquimus eos qui in te contumaces sunt; Deus noster, te adoramus, tibi preces fundimus, et in faciem prosternimur, ad te recurrimus et properamus: speramus tuam misericordiam, et pœnam tuam timemus, quia pœna tua ad infideles pertingit:* hac oratione absoluta se inclinat, prosternit ac considet, et sessionis orationem epilogumque recitat, angelos salutat, et finit: post cujusvis autem temporis orationes fit Litania, vocata *Tesbih*, quæ sic incipit; *Deus unus est, non est aliud numen præter eum; vivus ab æterno, non corripit eum dormitatio nec somnus; quicquid in cœlis et in terra est, ab ipso creata sunt: quis ille, qui intercedere potest apud eum nisi cum ipsius permissione? scit quid ante et post ipsos est, nec illius sapientiæ quicquam comprehendere possunt, nisi quod ipse vult; nec est Deo gravis cœli et terræ conservatio; et hic est altissimus et maximus. Gloria Deo*, et hoc trigesies repetitur, et corolla precaria numeratur: trigesima vice dicitur, *Gloria Deo altissimo, maximo, et semper laus Deo;* sic trigesies, *Laus Deo:* trigesima vice dicit, *Laus Deo, Domino exercituum:* tunc, *Deus magnus;* hoc quoque trigesies: trigesima vice, *Deus maximus, sapientissimus, magnificentissimus, potentissimus; non est Deus præter eum solum, non habet consortem, ipsius est regnum et laus, hic etiam est omnipotentissimus:* tunc elatis manibus versus cœlum omnes precantes Turcæ dissonis vocibus ac magno motu tractis suspiriis ingemunt Amen septies; post septimum Amen dicunt, *O præstator rerum expetitarum, exaudi, O exauditor precum:* iterum septies Amen; et, *Sit laus Deo Sabaoth:* tandem consurgunt et ex synagoga egrediuntur.

Eleemosyna præcipua, aut contributio ex lege divina datur et consecratur; ea enim sanctificantur, augenturque opes reliquæ: ad hanc nemo constringitur, nisi Nisah hauli possideat; hæc autem est portio quarumvis opum ultra supellectilem necessariam uno anno absolute possessarum, quæ possessorem fidelem eleemosynæ dictæ obligat. Supellex neccessaria vocatur Haget astire, qua quotidie fruimur, uti vestes, domus, servi, libri, boves operarii, jumenta oneraria aut pabularia; absoluta possessione liberi potiuntur; unde servus talionatus, id est, cui summa aliqua pecunialis pro sui ipsius redemptione præscripta est, non obstringitur hac eleemosyna, quia etsi opum suarum sit possessor, non tamen ipse semet possidet: debitor quoque de tot opibus, quot pro debito persolvendo sufficiunt, nihil contribuit; nec quidquam tribuitur a bonis in fine anni perditis, aut iis quæ naufragio interierunt, aut vi

ereptis: nec ereptor testimoniis convinci potest; nec in deserto sepultis taliter ut locus ubi sepultæ sint ignoretur; nec de eo credito, quem debitor toto anno negaverat, postea in præsentia aliquorum se debere fassus est; nec ab aliquo principe usurpatis et post aliquot annos restitutis; sed de iis opibus quibus anno integro potitus est, et quas debitor non negat, et siquidem persolvere nequeat; et de iis quas negat, sed testimoniis aut judicis notitia approbantur, eleemosyne dari debet: nec de aliis opibus extra aurum argentum, camelos, boves, oves, equos, asinos eleemosyna impertitur, nisi forte sit possessoris intentio opibus iis mercaturam exercere: v. g. si quis servum emerit pro suo famulatu, de eo nihil persolvet, sed si eum vendere intendit, largitur: portio igitur dicta Nizab ex camelis est possessio V camelorum, ex bobus XXX boum, ex ovibus XL ovium, ex auro tam nativo quam cuso XX Miskal (Miskal autem est pondus 11-7 drachm.) ex argento C drachmæ, ex rebus mercatoriis quoque quæ C drachmarum argenti pretio constant: pro quotvis ergo V camelis, sint Persici aut Arabici, una ovis datur, usquequo augeatur possessio XXV camelorum, pro his tribuitur Ibn, vel Binetu Mechazin, scilicet, annum secundum agens camelus, vel camela, usque ad augmentum possessionis XXXVI, pro quibus Ibn, vel Binetu Lebun, hoc est, annum tertium agens camelus aut camela gratificatur, usque ad XLVI, pro quibus hik, vel hikkah, id est, quartum annum agens camelus, aut camela, usque ad LXXVI: pro his dantur bineta lebun, id est, duo cameli aut camelæ tertium annum agentes, usque ad XCI, post CXX, a quovis quinto una ovis et hikkatan usque ad CXLV, abhinc Ibn vel Binetu mechaz, et hikkatan usque ad CL; ab CL dantur hikak, id est, tres quartum annum agentes camelæ; postea iterum a capite, scil. a quovis quinto una ovis, et hikak usque ad XXXVI, ubi fiet summa camelorum CLXXXVI: pro his Ibn vel Binetu lebun, et hikak, usque ad XLVI, ubi erit numerus CXCVI camelorum, pro quibus dantur IV hikak usque ad CC: et sic augente numero camelorum augetur eleemosyna, inchoando a capite, uti post CL usque ad CC actum est; et sic semper a quovis L una hik, vel hikka, producitur, usque ad infinitum: de bobus ovibusque sunt certæ a certis numeris institutæ eleemosynarum proportiones, quæ in libris legum Muhamedanarum sub capite Zekiat designatæ reperiuntur, liberumque erit loco dictorum animalium æquiparabilem pecuniam impendere. Ex auro autem, argento, ac mercibus decimarum, quarta pars tribuitur, sic ut a 40 unum proveniat: hæ eleemosynæ distribuuntur inter pauperes, inopes, servos, talionatos, debitores, qui nullam ex prædictis portionibus possident, militibus, peregrinis in itinere remansis, et iis qui a suis opibus longe absunt: non possunt dari parentibus, conjugibus, mancipiis, parvulis, divitibus, nec tributariis: laudabile est donare tantum per vicem, quantum pro uno die pauperi a cibo mendicando exempto sufficere potest: et quilibet in sua urbe aut mansione habitantibus, non in alia loca transferendo partitur, nisi forte ejus loci habitatores sint suis vicinis pauperiores. Alia eleemosynæ species est Fitu, id est, jejunii solutio: hanc enim dare debent in fine Paschatis Muhammedici, succedenti jejunio mensis Ramadani summo mane; et nummi qui donantur sint impari numero, nec cui datur intente respiciendum est. Eleemosynæ exequiales pro posse cujuslibet fiunt; Oryza cum melle et croco cocta, ac eadem cum butyro spissa; carnes elixas, dulciaria coquunt, ac quadragesimo septimo die post mortem, imo et in anni exitu distribuunt.

Charitates omnes laudant et exercent: si aliquos ex agnatis aut cognitis in statu afflicto somniant, panes emunt, confringunt, ac per vicos vagis canibus projiciunt: canes præsertim catellos bidentes summopere curant; iis enim tuguriola conficiunt, scruta substernunt, ac per aliquod tempus nutriunt. Solis sine ullo hospite cibum capere grave est; quapropter cœnaculorum portas patentes sinunt, et publice aliqui ante portas edulia sumunt et transgredientes invitant: die Paschatis victimarum et aliis temporibus, si aliquod boni successerit, aut ex aliqua tribulatione elabuntur, oves immolant et carnes pauperibus dispertiuntur: aquas pro communi usu a longinquis partibus magno sumptu conducunt: aliqui se solum huic servitio devovent, ut aquas a longe humeris aut jumentis portatas populo in templis, aut militibus in castris præbeant.

Jejunium principale ab apparitione lunæ

dictæ Ramadan usque ad finem ejusdem ex decreto divino celebrant: a cibo, potu et coitu per totum diem a diluculo usque ad crepusculum abstinent; post solis occasum lampades supra turres et in synagogis quam plurimæ accenduntur; tum temporis fit jejunii solutio, quæ fit dactylis aut aliis levioribus cibis ac potu aquæ; postea serotinas preces peragunt; tandem mensæ accumbunt, usque ad primam noctis vigiliam, qua assurgunt et in templo congregantur; ubi ordinariis ejus temporis orationibus absolutis, extraordinarias et huic lunæ peculiares orationes (quæ conquiescentia nuncupantur) faciunt: hæc autem oratio est XX inclinationum; post quaslibet quatuor conquiescunt, et antiphonas variis tonis canunt; post domum redeunt, ac tota nocte edunt, bibunt, melicos audiunt, confabulantur, pætum et kahuvam pro evitando somno sumunt, interdiu dormiunt: infirmi et itinerantes a jejunio absolvuntur, alio tempore compensant; alias si aliquis data opera jejunium ruperit edendo, bibendo aut coëundo, piaculum, quo tale crimen expiatur, pensare debet; viz. pro unico die soluti jejunii servum aut servam libertate donare, et, si potis non fuerit, sexaginta dies jejunare, et si hoc quoque non poterit, pro LX pauperibus prandium conficere debebit; si autem casu, scil. si aliquis os eluendo parum aquæ absorpserit, aut vi coactus ad edendum, bibendum, vel actum libidinis fuerit, aut ore pleno vomuerit, aut putans adhuc noctem esse mane comederit, aut jam vesperam esse opinatus die claro jejunium solverit, diem pro die jejunabit. Si quis interdiu dormiens polluitur, aut oblitus comederit, biberit, aut se unxerit, vel collyrio oculos illeverit, aut osculatus fuerit, aut alicui obtrectaverit, aut parumper evomuerit, aut parum aquæ in aures illapsum fuerit, aut pulvis, fumus, vel musca in guttur inciderit, absolvitur. Si frustulum, quantum unum cicer, inter dentes remansæ carnis inglutierit, diem pro die reficiet, sin cicere minus fuerit, absolvitur, nisi forte semel ore exemptum iterum ingerat et deglutiat. Et si aliquis unum granum sesami sine masticatione comederit, jejunium solvit, si vero masticat, non: et ore pleno vomitus iterum fortuito, vel consulte deglutitus, rumpit jejunium, sed parcus vomitus nequaquam. Imam Muhamet autem dicit, si parum vomitus iterum deglutitus jejunium solvit; sin multum, non. Si decrepitus aliquis jejunium sustinere non potuerit, solvat jejunium, et pro quovis die unum pauperem saturet, aut alio tempore diem pro die jejunet: prægnans, aut nutrix, si sibi aut puerulis timent, ne ex jejunio infirmentur, edunt sine pensatione. Si aliquis a per aliquot dies hujus lunæ mente defecerit, postea sanatus, totidem dies jejunabit. Si aliquis toto mense Ramadan deliraverit, absolvitur; sed si aliquot dies tantum, pensabit. Sunt et alia quamplurima scrupula, quibus tale jejunium corrumpitur, sed quia auribus non competunt, reticeo: alia quoque jejunia ex voto et juramento observant; aliqui integro anno, sed multi tres lunas Regeb, Schaban et Ramadan, quovis anno jejunant, præsertim provecta ætate mulieres. Sunt et qui se in templis per aliquot dies et noctes continent jejunantes, nec nisi alvi inaniendi gratia prodeunt; noctu cibos capiunt, et pugnis pectora percutientes cum vehementi suspiratione *Huve! Huve!* (id est, Deus! Deus!) ingenti voce proclamant: aliqui et junctis manibus inter se choros circulares ducunt, ac assidue prædictum *Huve*, vel *lau illah illala* modulantur; hoc tale jejunium vocatur continentia.

Peregrinationem in Meccam a Deo sancitam quilibet fidelis liber, puber, sanus, videns, viaticum abundans et jumentum habens, ac familiam usque ad reditum penu bene instructam relinquens, semel in vita explere debet, si iter tutum est: mulieres quoque cum maritis aut propinquis parentibus simul, si eorum mansiones plusquam trium dierum itinere a Mecca distant, peregrinari debent. Tempus in qua hæc peregrinatio peragitur, est a luna Schawal, in cujus principio fit pascha solvendi jejunii, usque ad decimum diem lunæ Dulhaiat, qui dies, vocatur dies jugulationis, vel pascha immolationis, quæ in memoriam sacrificii patris Abraham colitur. Hujus peregrinationis Farzæ sunt tres: prima Naziratus, nempe vilioris vestis amictus, abstinentia a venatione terrestri, venere, odoribus; continentia a verbis obscœnis, jurgiis, rixis, venationis demonstratione tam actu quam dictu, tonsura barbæ, abrasione capitis et pilorum corporis, unguium sectione; ab indutu caligarum, vestium, cidaris, ocrearum, pannorum odorifero colore

imbutorum, nisi forte odor evanuerit. Secunda Farza est, statio in monte Arefat, ut infra dicetur. Tertia, processus circa templum Meccanum visitationis gratia. Loca dicta Mevakit, in quibus variarum nationum peregrini congregantur, sunt quinque: 1. Hulyfa; hic locus septem milliaribus distat a Mecca; Medinensibus est destinatus. 2. Zatark; Babyloniensibus, Basrensibus, et Cufensibus. 3. Hugefa; Damascenis. 4. Karn; Negdensibus. 5. Yelemlem; Jemaniensibus. Antequam autem hæc loca ineant, squalentes pulvere vestes deponunt, puris et insutis, quarum altera succinctorium, altera pallium, corpora tegunt, vultumque et caput aperiunt: duarum inclinationum oratione peracta singuli hanc precatiunculam recitant, *Deus, Deus, profecto ego cupio peregrinationem, proinde mihi secunda eam, et suscipe eam a me:* tum intendit se velle perficere peregrinationem, et dicit, *Ecce adsum, et obedio tibi, O Deus meus; non est tibi consors; paratus consisto ad gerendum tibi morem, quia laus et beneficentia tua est, et regnum, nec est tibi socius:* hæc verba multoties reiterantur, præsertim post quasvis orationes in ascensu montium et descensu vallium. Meccam ingressi imprimis ad templum Meccanum procedunt, quo conspecto exclamant, *Deus maximus, et non est numen aliud præter Deum:* recta lapidi nigro obviam eunt; hic est ille lapis niger, quem summa veneratione colunt Mahumetani, ob vestigia plantarum patris Abrahæ, quæ quod continue inde jumentum inequitaverat, et iterum super eum descenderat, impressa apparent: huic igitur lapidi appropinquantes manus imponunt, ac exosculantur, si in densa hominum turba sine molestia alicujus fieri potest; sin minus, aliqua alia re contingunt, atque eum osculantur: postea circum templum processionem boni adventus peragunt: hæc processio exteris nationibus Sunna est; inchoatur a dextra parte portæ pone septum quoddam imperfectum; ponentes pallium sub axillam dexteram, et projicientes partem ejus super humerum sinistrum septies obeunt; tres obitus anteriores cito quidem, sed parvis passibus, ac humeros agitantes circumcurrunt, et quavis vice petram illam nigram, ut dictum est, contingunt, ibique finiunt processionem: postea duas inclinationes in loco Abrahami, aut in quacunque parte templi placuerit, perficiunt; tum egrediuntur, et ascendunt montem Safa; ubi se templo obvertunt dicentes, *Deus maximus, et non est numen aliud præter Deum;* et erigunt manus, impetrantque quod cupiunt: postea vadunt versus montem Mervah currentes, ejusque fastigium petunt, et idem faciunt, quod in Monte Safa; et sic ab uno monte ad alterum septies contendunt; rursus revertuntur ad Meccam et pro libitu processiones peragunt. Septimo die lunæ antistes perorat, et peregrinos docet quomodo se gerere debent in Mecca; ac ceremonias, legem et ritum sacrificandi demonstrat. Octavo die redeunt in vallem Munam, et ibi commorantur usque ad diluculum nonæ diei: nona die vadunt in montem Arefat; ibi antistes iterum prædicat, et instruit populum usque ad decimum diem. Decimo die denuo adeunt vallem Munam; ibi ritum sacrum dictum Gemerat incipiunt; viz. summo mane, orato matutino, dicunt, *Deus maximus;* et lapillorum vel silicum duobus digitis prensorum jactu Satanam quasi impetentes execrantur, atque averruncant; et tum reticent illam orationem Lebbeike, ac immolant oves, camelos, boves, si volunt, capillos tondent, et radunt potius; a dicta abstinentia Nazireati, præterquam a coitu, absolvuntur: post solis ortum processionem visitationis peragunt, et tum coire cum mulieribus licet. Undecimo, duodecimo, et decimo tertio die in ea valle demorantur, ac dictos lapides projiciunt, prius ter, postea septies, hoc autem fit quotidie. Ultimo, Meccam revertuntur; ac exteri in signum valedictionis templum circumeunt: Meccani autem habitatores ad ædes tendunt; limitem templi osculantur; pectus et faciem super Multezem, locum inter portam et lapidem nigrum ponunt, tegumentum templi arripiunt ac per unam horam tenentes supplicibus verbis orant, plangunt, gemunt, retrorsumque incedentes ex templo egrediuntur: qui autem non substiterit toto die in monte Arefat, meritum peregrinationis non acquirit: propterea processione peracta exuit Ihram, ac anno venturo peregrinationem renovat.

Animas, uti et corpora, sepulchro recondi credunt Mahumetani usque ad diem extremi judicii; sepultis statim grandem et gravem clavam gerentem angelum

Munker vocatum, una cum Nekir, alio angelo advenire, et defunctos de quatuor rebus interrogare: 1. Quis est tuus Deus? 2. Quis tuus propheta? 3. Quæ tua fides? 4. Quæ est tua directio? Ad has quæstiones ii, qui constanter fidem Mahumeti professi sunt, imperterriti respondent, Deus meus est ille, qui te creavit et me; propheta Muhamed; fides mea Islam, id est, Mahumetana (quasi Salvatio;) directio, Caba, id est, templum Meccanum. Cæteri, qui extra hanc fidem sunt, ob eximiam magnitudinem angelorum summo terrore perculsi, percontatorem angelum pro Deo agnoscent; qua de causa clava percutientur, ac sepulchri compressione cruciabuntur; fideles autem placide requiescent, ac per apertam sibi in cœlis fenestellam omnia, quæ ibi aguntur, respicient, et sic extremum diem præstolabuntur. Mahumeti quoque anima sepulchro continetur; nam cœlum sibi oblatum refutavit, nolens eo sine suis fidelibus potiri; hanc animam omnes aliæ Mahumetanorum animæ uti ductricem ad cœlestem gloriam insequentur.

QUÆSTIONES ACT. MODERAT. APRIL. 1651.

Habitus humani acquisiti non sunt revera diversi a memoria hominis.
Visionem fieri posse absque specie, aut imagine sensibili, probabile est.

De priori.

1. Habituum naturam rite et distincte explicari multum interest philosophiæ. Hac etenim rite et distincte intellecta, cum res plurimæ varii et pulcherrimi usus propius est ut cognoscantur, tum etiam confido fore, ut satis fœcunda inutilium quæstionum seges hinc continuo amputetur; plurimi nodi et difficultates cum suis fundamentis et vestigiis penitus evanescant; et ipse animus noster tot entium a se invicem, non reipsa solum, verum et specie etiam diversorum, hospitio et sarcina liberetur.

2. Ut rem ipsam aggrediar, innuo imprimis me non de habitibus infusis, sed de acquisitis tantum questionem instituere, ne scilicet confidentius quam tutius extra philosophiæ pomœria evagatus, theologorum, quorum sunt partes de habitibus infusis agere, in meum caput objectiones accerserem.

3. Moneo iterum me minime paratum fore in quæstiones alias de modo memoriæ, verum etiam sensationis efficiendæ meipsum induere. Neque enim istud aut mei officii esse, aut ad præsentem causam pertinere existimo. Seu memoria nihil aliud sit, quam imaginum quarundam intentionalium capaci cerebri ceræ impressarum retentio, seu per crassiores quasdam et corporales picturas fiat, sive per membranulas illas Lucretianas—summo de corpore rerum diremptas, et in capite asservatas; seu potius memoria sit tantum motus illius, per quem sensatio facta est, vestigium in cerebro; seu alio quovis modo, aut medio existat; satis est, modo hoc constet et concedatur, actuum ex quibus habitus ponuntur generari, in apothecis cerebri manere reliquias; quas phantasiam respicere, et ab ea intellectum sumere, mallem ceu experientia cognitum supponere, quam operose ut dubium demonstrare.

4. Nihil etiam morabitur me ista Platonicorum sententia asserentium quosdam habitus, virtutes præcipue et scientias, actibus novis non acquiri, neque in recente saltem memoria consistere, quippe quas non tam de novo discimus, quam veterem de iis scientiam repetimus, pulverem et rubiginem menti obductam detergentes.

5. Neque de illa quæstione valde solicitus sum, utrum quidam habitus non tam acquirantur, quam ab ipso initio connascantur.

6. Neque ad rem nostram aliquid momenti habet, an simplex tantum, an vero (ut quidam volunt, reclamante Aristotele) duplex sit memoria, in sensitiva parte una, in intellectu altera. Et si qua sunt similia dubia τῆς ἄλλης σκέψεως, iis nos minime immiscemus. Quocunque illa modo sumantur, et constat memoriam dari, et in ea ego, vel in aliquo ipsi ἀναλόγῳ habituum, essentiam constituo.

7. His præmonitis, ea quæ ad propositæ theseos explicationem ulterius desiderantur, et paucula sunt et breviter expediantur. Supponitur enim dari habitus: id quod cum experientia satis lucu-

lenter ostendat, tum etiam obiter postea ratione probabitur. Ipsius autem habitus hoc in loco definitionem exhibere incongruum esset, quippe dum sub judice lis sit de ejus essentia. Satis vero mentem theseos intelligit, qui habitum mente conceperit esse eam rem, qualiscunque sit, quæ hominem ad aliquas actiones obeundas promptiorem reddit, ad quas alioqui non adeo facilis et idoneus erat. Penitus autem omittendum censui, si quid in vi vocabuli hujus, aut etiam Græci (ἕξεως), homonymiæ et diversæ acceptionis occurrat; quare enim opus esset hoc facere, quum quisque probe cognoscat qualis ea acceptio verbi sit, de qua agitur?

8. Quoniam vero potentiis operatricibus habitus omnes adjungunt, utile erit quædam de iis annotare, precipue ut divisiones habituum, et subjecta ipsorum, secundum aliquorum sententiam, admodum calleamus. Aristoteles in secundo Nicom. cap. 5. ea quæ in anima sunt omnia in tria genera dispescit, ἕξεις, δυνάμεις, πάθη. Τὰς δυνάμεις (quibus accedunt reliqua duo) idem et in Ethicis, et in Physicis libris sæpius ψυχῆς μόρια vocat, qua appellatione et veteres omnes gaudent. "Dividitur enim in partes anima, nunc in duas a Platone, nunc in tres a Zenone, nunc in quinque, et in sex a Panætio, in septem a Sorano, etiam in octo penes Chrysippum, etiam in novem penes Apollophanem; sed et in decem apud quosdam Stoicorum; et in duas amplius apud Posidonium, qui a duobus exorsus titulis, a principali, quod aiunt ἡγεμονικὸν, et a rationali, in duodecim exinde prosecuit." Ita et Seneca animam in membra dispertit, et partes ministras; Galenus et alii communiter μέρη, μοιρία, μοῖραις, aliquando εἴδη nuncupant. Elegantissime omnium Tertullianus noster in libro de Anima ingenia nominat; "Non membra," inquit, "sunt substantiæ animalis, sed ingenia; neque tam partes animæ habebuntur, quam vires et efficaciæ et operæ, sicut de quibusdam et Aristoteles judicavit." Sic ille exprimit ea, quæ ipse Aristoteles et sui interpretes δυνάμεις, ἰδιότητας, ἐνεργείας efferunt. Sane Aristoteli neque Anima διμερὴς est, ut Platoni, neque τριμερὴς, ut Galeno, neque ὀκταμερὴς, uti Chrysippo et Stoicis, verum ἀμερὴς potius, uti in tertio de anima disputatur. Quæ reliqui partium loco habent, τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν, et τὸ ὑπήκοον, vel τὸ θυμικὸν, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν, et τὸ λογιστικὸν, vel ut alii dividunt, τὸ ζωτικὸν, τὸ αἰσθητικὸν, τὸ κινητικὸν, τὸ νοητικὸν, τὸ ὀρεκτικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς, hæc, inquam, etsi aliis sint, et Aristoteli nomine tenus, tamen non sunt animæ revera partes philosopho. Non sunt illæ certis corporis partibus et officiis distributæ et disclusæ, sed ita singulæ in toto diffusæ, ut sunt proprietates in rebus naturalibus, quæ in his localiter disseptæ non sunt, verum qualitate tantum distinctæ, uti e. g. in igne siccum, calidum ac leve, quæ non loco distincta sunt, sed proprietate. Has igitur Aristoteles δυνάμεις, potentias, facultates appellavit, nomine aptissimo, quod etiamnum merito scholæ retinent. Harum etenim distinctiones, quæ revera prope infinitæ esse possint, pulchre ostendunt quot modis anima apta sit nata vel agere, vel pati; et vel se exercere, vel aliquid ab extrinseco recipere. Ei proculdubio hæ a natura insunt, vel ipsius potius natura et substantia sunt; et hisce instructa anima idonea censetur sua sponte, ad actiones sibi a natura concessas et debitas, modo adsint cætera requisita, in lucem proferendas.

Videntur nihilominus hæ facultates ad quædam objecta, etiam contraria, e sua indole indifferenter se habere; ad quosdam actus ἰσοῤῥόπως tendere: ad neutrum duorum se determinare, verum ex captu et ingenio suo ad utramque partem inclinare. Hinc ad ipsarum hanc ἀδιαφορίαν eximendam, alio quopiam opus esse experimur, quo quasi natura altera restrictiori agens ad unas partes alacrius, ad alias difficilius pertrahi contingat. Hoc quicquid sit isto modo facultati adjectum, ad ipsam in limites et ordinem cogendum, habitus titulo apud omnes dignoscitur.

9. Hinc facultatum multiplicem, imo infinitam divisionem esse posse perspicuum est; illa vero quæ nostræ rei præcipue conducere videtur, hæc est, qua altera animæ facultas cognoscens, altera appetens dicitur. Secundum enim hasce partes (ut distinctius agatur) utile erit et habitus dissecare. Quarum utramvis si habitus disponet secundum naturæ suæ debitam perfectionem, et ad consentaneam ejus operationem, virtus vocetur, sin aliter, vitium.

10. Illud vero ex ordine præsuppono, dum de habitu loquor, illud tantum me intelligere, quod in animo situm est. Ita

scholastici de habitibus disputant; in facultatibus animi æqualitates quasdam ex crebris actibus nasci statuunt, quas habituum nomine indigitant. Ita et ego velim. Siquid ad corpus, aut organa quævis, vel instrumenta, vel requisita pertineat, non ingreditur habitus vel naturam, vel nomen. Sed infra pauca de hac re ex altera occasione.

11. De memoria illud tantum efflagito, ut concedatur, eos nempe actus, quos in aliquo genere virtutis vel vitii, seu in mente seu in appetitu residentis, agens exerceat, alicubi ita retineri et reservari, ut eos iterum mens quasi perpetua quædam simulachra respicere, et secundum eos agere queat. Hoc facere memoriæ esse patet; et tales actus esse quasi particulares quasdam reminiscentias seu retentiones potius; in his ego habitum collocare profiteor. Quem reliqui plerique qualitatem quandam vel simplicem, vel ex pluribus conflatam, potentiæ τῇ ἐνεργητικῇ vel παθητικῇ inhærentem, et actibus frequentatis productam constituunt.

12. Quod ad Aristotelem attinet, antequam ad probationem ulterius procedam, meum esse contendo, et ex eo memoriæ terminum elucidandi occasionem desumo. Quum liceat pluribus, hisce tantum locis illud probo. Sunt in libro Περὶ μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως. Habitum etenim et memoriam ille isthic vel plane συνωνύμως vel aliam per alium effert. Semel sic loquitur, αἰσθητικοῦ μορίου ἐξ ς ἡ μνήμη, capite primo; in alio capite hæc sunt ejus verba; ὅταν γίνεται ἡ ἕξις ἢ τὸ πάθος, μνήμη ἐστι. Videte, confundit hæc nomina. Actum vero etiam scientiæ ex habitu profluentem alibi memoriæ tribuit; Οὕτω μέμνηται τὰς τοῦ τριγώνου ὅτι δυσὶν ὀρθαῖς εἰσί. Ex hisce et similibus Aristotelis verbis animadvertere mihi videor triplicem esse quasi memoriam. 1. Illa est, quæ sæpissime sub memoriæ nomine in scholis venit; scil. potentia animæ, qua illa capax est a natura speciem rei intellectæ aut sensatæ apud se retinere, ut in ejus iterum cognitionem regredi queat. 2. Ipsa retentio, et quasi habitio hujus speciei in anima, quod, &c. Hanc Aristoteles memoriam, i. e. μνήμην semper vocat: etiam dicit modo πάθος modo ἕξιν, nunquam animæ δύναμιν. Verba ejus quarto Parag. primi capitis, de M. et Remin. ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν ἡ μνήμη οὔτε αἴσθησις, οὔτε ὑπόληψις, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν τινὸς, ἡ ἕξις, ἢ πάθος, ὅταν γίνεται χρόνος· et in initio, Τινὶ ψυχῆς μορίῳ συμβαίνει τὸ πάθος. Quid sit μορίον ψυχῆς, visum est prius; facultas nimirum. Aristoteles igitur per memoriam minime designat facultatem; sed ei συμβαίνον τι, accidens ejus; habitum nempe aut passionem. Liberum mihi puto ita usurpare hoc verbum, ut ipse philosophiæ nostræ magister, ὁ πάνυ, uti voluit. Hujusmodi igitur et ego memoriam intelligo in thesi, et expresse hoc commoneo ne aliquod de terminis litigium suboriatur. 3. Ipse actus memoriæ seu recordatio, τοῖς ἔξωθεν, ut ita dicam, sæpe memoria dicta, at rarius ita in scholis. Nominari poterit forte haud inconcinne triplex hæc memoria, potentialis, habitualis et actualis, e quibus mihi cum secunda solum res esto, (quarum unaquæque priorem perficit, et habet se ad eam tanquam actus ad potentiam.)

13. Ne nimium curiosus videar, breviter hæc theseos meæ mens, hic sensus est; agens ex habitu operari, nihil aliud est (quod solam mentem, seu partem imperativam et primariam spectat; organicam et instrumentalem prius amovi) nihil inquam aliud, quam in aliqua specie actionis reminisci illorum actuum, quos prius et sæpius in ea specie ediderit; qua mera ἀναμνήσει sine aliqua alia qualitate promptius et paratius redditur ad eum actum iterum iterumque exerendum. Hæc theseos meæ est explicatio; quam, si non urgentissima brevitas me oppressisset, subtilius forte elaboratam, et variis conjecturis uberius stabilitam habuissetis; nunc satis, imo necesse fuerit dilutius et popularius, addo, parcius et desideratius currentibus quibusdam argumentis confimare. Et,

14. *Primo*, Primi vice se in conspectum sistunt ipsa experientia et inductio; per quam præcipua habituum genera diligenter excutiendo, constabit nihil eos aliud esse revera, quam quasdam memoriæ partes vel species. Pertinent habitus omnes, ut videtur, ad facultates, vel τὴν γνωστικὴν, vel τὴν ὀρεκτικήν. Eas ordine inspiciemus. Intellectivæ partis quinque esse habitus a philosopho traditos nemo ignorat; quibus et sua vitia analoga opponere facile fuerit. Enumerem hos, et videam. Quid igitur aliud est ars, quam exemplarium vel idearum quarundam opus aliquod seu ποίημα respicientium comprehensio in mente,

quæ exemplaria opifex semel vel sæpius plene ac dilucide exploravit, et in memoriam reposuit, vel suo ipse ingenio prius excogitavit, deinde perfecit, et in alta mente etiamnum ipsorum notitiam reservat? Eum qui sic fecit, etsi quidvis aliud absit, communibus omnes suffragiis in artificis censu collocamus. Quid hic a memoria nostra diversum aut alienum? Pari modo scientia habitus est mentem apposite instruens ad unam aliquam conclusionem, vel totam conclusionum molem ac compagem faciliter cognoscendam. Recte; nunc et hic habitus est tantum reminiscentia istorum principiorum, in quorum virtute hæc conclusio necessario delitescit, et e quibus eam vir sciens aliquoties elicuit, et ita se fecisse meminit; ideoque eodem iterum ordine elicere valet; quæ principia, qui actus, si e memoria dilaberentur, nonne actum esset de habitu isthoc, et de scientia? Sic et ille intelligens est et νοερὸς, cujus animus principiorum et theorematum locuplete pene instruitur; qui illa in numerato hade principia; quæ si aut minime adessent, aut aliquando effugerent, esset forte—ῥημάτων ποταμὸς, νοῦ οὐδὲ σταλαγμός. Idem in sapientia; at in prudentia adhuc clarius, nihil eam esse, præter memoriam quandam ob plurimorum annorum usum omnigenis exemplis, factis, responsis, monitis, legibusque luculenter refertam. Hinc præcipue senibus ob ævi spatium tribuitur, ut illi in secundo Odysseæ,

Ὃς δὴ γήραϊ κυφὸς ἔην καὶ μῆρα βδῆν.

methodusque illa est, qua se acquirere sapiendi habitum profitetur Telemachus,

——ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι νήπιος ἦα,
Νῶν δ' ἔτι δὴ μέγας εἰμι, καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἀκούων
Πυνθάνομαι, καὶ δή μοι ἀέξεται ἔνδοθι θυμός.

Discebat, rogabat, inspiciebat, retinebat; hæc methodus est animum præclaris habitibus imbuendi. Merito igitur Cicero memoriam enumerat inter prudentiæ partes; latius scilicet inventivam et conjectivam partes in prudentia complectens. Jure Mnemosyne mater Musarum a poëtis constituta. Non indigne Apollonius hymnum memoriæ cecinit. Hæc scilicet via est scientias comparandi; distincte intelligere, et fideliter retinere; id dum facimus, ecce, (ut Prudentius.)

——Tardis semper processibus aucta
Cresecit vita hominis, et longo proficit usu.

Eodem modo in vitiis opositis, ἄφρονες, ἄνοι, ἄτεχνοι, ἀνεπιστήμονες, Grylli, et bardi, per inopiam scilicet et incuriam memoriæ evadimus. Ad morales jam habitus recensendo devenimus. Virtutes et vitia quomodo a memoria non abludant, exemplo uno aut altero discamus. Proponitur in medium vice reliquorum temperantia. Nonne eum omnes temperantem nominamus, qui quum legis illius, qua huic vitio interdicitur, probe meminerit, simul etiam oblata luxuriæ opportunitate ab ea aliquoties temperarit? quæ abstinentia reflectentis in se animi oculo perspecta, cum grata animum oblectatione perfundit ob honestam victoriam, tum etiam docet, quomodo deinceps abstineri poterit; hinc fit continuo ut hoc actu sæpius repetito, et hac memoria firmata facilius ab illius voluptatis illecebris avertitur, et virtus illa radices in animo altiores agit.

Vice versa vitiorum instantia fit ebrietas. Ille tandem ex habitu ebriosus evadit, quem quum allectrix crapula semel et iterum ad istud τὸ ζωρότερον πίνειν impulerit, occupetque adeo sequutura occasionis vice phantasiam residens in memoria prægustata illa vini dulcedo, subit animum, quam benignis usus est sociis, quam grate et blande hilaris esse soleat,

Cum bibitur concha, cum jam vertigine tectum
Ambulat.——

Hæc memoria, sensim per renovatos actus magis magisque invalescens, ita demum totam mentem obruit, ut nihil aliud, quam fœcundos calices concipere et cogitare possit, blandæ tyrannidis vinculis irretitus. Adeo difficile est, quod subinde jactitabat lepidus ille rhetor, quorundam oblivisci. Liceret in alliis omnibus vitiis instare, quomodo hæc τελευτῶσα φύσις, et—Quam multos laqueo tenet ambitiosi consuetudo mali. Verum supersedebo hoc argumento, postquam uni objectiunculæ ex experientia desumptæ respondeatur, quæ suadere velit aliud quid præter memoriam ad habitus, puta ad artes, requiri. Supponatur enim quicunque cujuscunque artis regulas et ideas apprime callens, musicæ forte, vel scriptoriæ; neutiquam foret ut hic homo, si desit praxis, et exercitatio, tam peritus musicæ evadet, ac ille, qui aliquos citharæ pulsandæ annos impenderit; neque erit scriptor noster Ausoniano illi ταχυγράφῳ artis facili-

tate et promptitudine conferendus, de quo dicitur,

> Currant verba licet, manus est velocior illis,
> Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus,

habeat ille prius dictus quantamvis memoriam, et tantam quantam habere possit. Sic etiam fieri potest, ut ebriosus ille (de quo antea dictum) diuturno tempore Baccho sacer, etsi omnem pene memoriam immersit poculis, pergat tamen fortius genio et vitio suo indulgere, habitu ebrietatis vel ipsum corpus obsidente; ut nulla legum virtutis quanquam exactissima cognitione ad bonam frugem retrahi possit. Respondeo, 1. Quod spectat musicum et scriptorem, eos qui ideis artium harum mentem plene instructam habent, et meminere quomodo omni modo organa artis tractare et applicare debeant, æque esse, quod spectat substantiam habitus, artifices, ac quosvis alios quantalibet praxi aut usu eximios. Sin vero ita ipsam artem exercere nequeant; est quædam accidentalis, extrinseca, et minus ad rem pertinens ratio; qualis est vegetior vis imaginativæ, corporalium membrorum habilitas, organorum dispositio aptior; manus scilicet, et partium habitui inservientium torpor, firmitas, mollities, flexibilitas, robur, quibus organa artis et habitus imperatis obsequentiora redduntur. Hæc autem ex accidenti se ad habitum habere, qui in animo situs est, jam antea præmonitum est; ad mentem enim dirigentem et imperantem, non ad manum habitus pertinet, cujus facultates perficit, facilitat et determinat; corpus vero et reliqua agentia mere naturalia, quæ sub arbitrio et nutu alterius sunt, quod sua natura ad unum propendeant, et passive solum indifferentia sunt, habitus incapacia sunt, imo potius ipsa sibi habitus sunt; facile id apta nata facere, ad quod a natura diriguntur; et quod contra est tentare, inepta et inidonea. Hæ dispositiones corporales, habitus quidem exequutioni extrinsecæ multum inservientes, non tamen magis pertinent ad ipsam naturam habitus proprie et præcise dicti, quam modulatio et integritas citharæ arti citharœdi conducat. Ebriosum quod attinet, si ex vitiosorum actuum frequentia corpus suum læsum, et imminutum, et immutatum est, induitur ille nova potius substantia quam novo habitu, synerasia corporis alteratur; quicquid vero in eo proffuit ex habitu, idem etiam ex suavi memoria ebriosorum actuum. Actuum memoria, non regularis virtutis præstat homini habitum virtutis. Sed ecce secundum argumentum.

15. *Secundo*, Actuum habitum procreantium dari memoriam conceditur; hanc autem sufficere ad omnia habitus munia commode obeunda patefiet. Si hoc sufficit, notum est naturam in superfluis non redundare; et ulterius quicquam requirere, quam id quod necessarium est, curiosi esse ac satagentis animi. Non est ideo absque ratione temere nova qualitas confingenda, si hæc satis fuerit. Sufficere memoriam inde probo; quia quum hæc habitus sola sint officia, facultatem disponere et determinare ad hoc potius quam illud, promptam reddere operationibus producendis, agentis vires augere et corroborare, activitatemque ejus suo influxu promovere, et similia, hæc omnia memoria perficit, etiam sensu teste. Qui enim recordatur quomodo, quo ordine, quibus mediis et instrumentis aliquis actus edatur, modo non desint extrinseca requisita, quid illi deest quin possit quam paratissime et facillime operari? Saltem prope est, ut facile operetur; et accrescente et validius radicata illa memoria poterit adhuc facillius agere. Ego certe nihil video, nisi si hoc privilegii fictitia illa qualitas sibi proprium usurpet, ut agentis cujuslibet actioni pro sua authoritate intercedat. Sane præterea quicquam expetere videtur merus ἐξονυχισμὸς, inutiliter accurata subtilitas. Satis est artis pictoriæ perito, si simulachro semel effecto, prototypi penes se speciem et figuram retineat; ad quam se denuo convertens, simile efformare potest. Nec opus est ei veteriori qualitate. Idem est et hic; agens sæpius actus produxit; eorum reservatur in animo similitudo habitualis; ad ejus effigiem quidni agens viribus præditum alium actum procudere possit?

16. Tertio igitur probatur (idque ex ortu et interitu habituum, simul et memoriæ ex accremento et decremento, ex dependentia invicem necessaria), idem esse horum utrumque, agere ex habitu et ex memoria. Nam quis eadem esse illa non agnoscat, quæ eodem modo, iisdem vicibus, eodem semper tempore oriuntur, et occidunt, vigent, increbrescunt, minuuntur, abolentur? Nam ex

quibus signis evidentioribus aut magis authenticis rerum vel unitatem, vel identitatem concludere erit? Si hoc tam illi par et omnibus adjunctis simile, ac ὠὸν ὠῷ, ac Sosias Mercurio, quid erit in causa ut duo esse arbitremur? Videamus utriusque semina, dein funera. Aristotelis effatum est secundo Nicom. cap. 1. ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ γίνεται πᾶσα ἀρετὴ, καὶ φθείρεται· ex actuum, scil. frequenti multiplicatione generantur habitus, "Ἃ δεῖ μαθόντας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν. Similiter ex actuum cessatione denascuntur iterum; eos usus procreat, otium interimit; consuetudine comparantur, desuetudine labefactantur. Inchoantur primo, perficiuntur paullatim, postea confirmati suam ἀκμὴν et culmen obtinent, a quo eodem ordine præcipites decendunt, deficiunt. expirant. Exige ad has leges ipsam pariter memoriam. Ecce easdem observat, iisdem progreditur vestigiis, pari modo ætatem suam acquirit et retinet; indiget omnino consimili pabulo, exercitatione augetur—Et increbrescit eundo, alitur familiaritate agendi, intermissione deletur, enecatur, extinguitur. De memoria dicit Fabius,* "Omnis disciplina memoria constat; frustraque docemur, si quicquid audimus, præterfluat;" Disciplina, id est, habitus qui discuntur. Quin eadem passim utrique horum tribuuntur. Miratur Cicero, qua ratione memoria in suis thesauris tam multa tamque diversa recipiat, neque ea tamen confundat, sed discretim sincera conservat; qualia sint illi spatia, in quibus illa continet, ita suis sedibus disposita, atque etiam ordinata, ut et unumquodque separatim, et cuncta confertim, et singula ordinatim promat, statuat, digerat. Quomodo cuncta in se recipiat et recondat, ad ea recolenda, et cum opus est retractanda, gravis memoriæ recessus, commune hoc promptuarium et repositorium, disciplinarum custos et index, ut ex Platone Tertullianus noster, "sensuum omnium et intellectuum salus." Hæc mira memoria non se habet per modum actualis rei; ibi species in tenebris et silentio quodam latitant, quasi in vagina sua, aut arcula, vel in somno tranquille feriantes. Educere inde in actum, in usum, in lucem, si opus est, licet. Sane hæc ipsa est habitus effigies; est hic specialium actuum suorum quasi penu quoddam, et præsens atque mirus thesaurus. Habet sè et hic ad instar potentiæ cujusdam dormientis et ociantis, δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐνδέχεσθαι καὶ καθεύδειν ἔχοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἢ ἀπρακτεῖν διὰ βίου, in octavo ethicorum. Et Eusttathius ad sextum Eth. ἡ ἕξις πρὸς τὴν ἁπλῶς δύναμιν ἐντελέχεια λέγεται, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ προαίρεσιν, ὡς ἐν τῷ κοιμωμένῳ γεωμέτρῃ γεωμετρίᾳ.

Ut quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen, æquus
Optimus est modulator, et Alfenus vafer, omni
Abjecto instrumento artis, clausaque taberna.
Sutor erat:——— *Hor.* lib. .I Sat. 3

Ut pugnam se habere ad inducias Gellius ait; "Non pax est induciæ, bellum enim manet, pugna cessat;" ita actus habet se ad habitum; ita et memoria ad actum suum; est ille habitus quidam (ut Aristotelem vocare visum est) ὠδῖνεσ δὲ ἐνεργείαν, uterus est ex quo plerique actus nascuntur. Jam et a se invicem etiam dependent, et sibi mutuo respondent; Integra enim mente, memoriæ vel ex usu, vel ex temperamento cerebri, habitus manent et vigent; hac languente et labefactata marcescunt et decedunt. Vigent ergo in viris et habitus simul et memoria; in senibus disparent. Quum enim memoiram humiditatis modicæ alumnam, siccitatis inimicam, trudunt ἰαλεῶν παῖδες, et senibus vena omnis exaruit, et superfluus humor excoctus est, memoriam in illis debilem esse, aut nullam consequitur; pari passu et ab iis evanescere scientias et habitus compertum est, ut iterum quasi pueri videatur, tabula memoriæ derasa. Exemplo sit Hermogenes ille acutissimus juvenum, senum ex oblivione ignarissimus. Item insignis ille memoriæ rhetor, qui in libris controversiarum se duo nominum millia ordine prolata recitare potuisse tradit, cui tamen in senecta simul ars et memoria valedixere. Jam Themistolcem ita valuisse memoria, ut intra annum Persice quidem prompte loqueretur, historiis constat; detraxisset quis illi memoriæ munus, non habitum loquelæ reliquisset. Idem de Cyro, qui militum suorum nomina tenuit; de Mithridate cui duas et viginti linguas, quot imperabat nationibus, traditur notas fuisse; de Theodecte, qui semel auditos quamlibet multos versus dicitur reddidisse; de Crasso divitis etiam memoriæ viro dicendum: quippe si quis rationem horum habituum reddere e vestigio juberetur, quid aliud responderet, quam excellenti illos viros memoria valuisse,

* [Id est Fabius Quinctilianus, *Instit.* xi. 2.]

quæ si perire contigisset, et reliqui illi habitus evanuissent? Sane si qualitas illa ex actibus progenita ab ea diversa est proxime tamen illi haud dubie est *συμφυής*, et cognata; arctissimam habent *συμπάθειαν*,

—Equidem credo amborum certo (fudere)
Consentire dies, et ab uno sidere duci.

Non est igitur æquum illa iis separare naturis, quæ suis omnibus attributis tam prope cohærent et quasi coalescunt; quæ adeo a se invicem mutuo dependent. Satis superque hic versatum est.

17. *Ultimo*, A ratione brevissime defungar. Hujusmodi ea est, habitus non est qualitas aliqua, aut forma actibus crebris genita, et facultatibus operatricibus inhærens; ut communiter ponitur. Ergo non differt a memoria. Aliud ergo medium non novi. Brevissime et festinatissime hoc ostenditur. 1. Habitus ex actibus generari asseritur. Facultatem autem ipsam agendo in seipsa aliquid producere, est valde obscurum, et nescio an absonum. Facultatis est actum elicere, et in aliud plerumque quippiam agere. Quomodo igitur seipsum agendo disponit, quo pacto actus e facultate impatiens egressus in ipsam revertitur? Urgeri hoc possit. Sed, 2. Monstri simile narratur, quod una simplex qualitas tot actibus variis et centies conduplicatis generetur. Excedit hoc ipsum prodigium Bacchi *διμήτορος*, ut centum eadem res celebret natales, ut ex mille oriatur seminibus indivisæ res naturæ. Unusquisque enim e tot actibus genitoribus illi pater est; imo idem pater qui et filius. Qui enim ex habitu agit, idem habitum agendo ulterius producit, stabilit, reborat, complet. 3. Quoniam non ex uno actu producitur habitus, sed e pluribus; An primus actus aliquid producit, vel nihil? Si aliquid, num habitum? Hoc est contra hypothesin plurium actuum. Num aliquid præterea? Quid, quæso, est? Nemo, inquis, novit. At quodcunque est secundus, idem producet et tertius et deinceps; et sic qualis erit tandem lepidus ille habitus, ex tot entibus nescio quibus coagmentatus? Si dicitur primum actum nihil producere, recte, et idem secundus producet; ratio enim non obstat; et ita olim emerget nobis bonus hic habitus ex mille nihilis conflatus. Dicis hic idem evenire quod in guttis, inque lapide contuso evenire docent Aristoteles, Scaliger, alii. Multæ, scilicet, cadentes guttæ nihil auferunt de lapide, sed una tantum, puta centesima in aliarum virtute partem tollit, quæ tum tota simul aufertur, non autem particulatim; sic est de lapidis fractione per malleum, quæ fit tertio aut quarto ictu minus valido, aut ab uno valido satis. Secundum hoc ne tantillum quidem habitus a prioribus actibus producitur; verum adest tandem fortis aliquis actus, qui et suis, et reliquorum actuum vicariis operis et viribus instructus totam rem conficit; et educit in lucem habitum toties antea irrito conatu tentatum. Hoc cum intellectu perobscurum sit, ego tamen nolo in eo evertendo laborare; Sumat id sibi pensi Suarezius; qui hoc efficit in Disp. Met. prolixe quidem, sed efficaciter. 4. Datur habituum intensio, extensio, imminutio, contractio, remissio, cessatio; omnia hæc per gradus quosdam et scalas. Horum singula fieri non posse, prolix nec hujus est operæ demonstrare; etsi fieri posse non dubitaverim. Interim quis credat tot facies diversarum conditionum tot personas, tot status, tot mutationes, puram aliquam et simplicem qualitatem sustinere ac subire? Mira de horum singula instantia in pulvere scholastico occurrunt litigia, quæ sane nemo nisi bene patientis stomachi tulerit sine tædio pervolvere. 5. Dantur etiam in brutis non obscure habitus quidam. Quid enim aliud illa canis, elephanti et cæterorum animalium docilitas est? At nemo aliquid in iis idoneum habitum præter memoriam concipere potest. 6. Taceo dubium vulde esse, an hujusmodi entia a rebus diversa, quæ tamen sine aliis esse nequeant, omnino dentur; et annon hæc sint ipso sono contrandictoria. Reliqua qua erant plurima necessario dicenda (etsi et *quæ dicta sunt, remitius sunt dicta*) omittere libet; *Tu utm propriæ festinationi, tum ut auditorum patientiæ, tum ut opponentium diligentiæ consulatur*), concludo igitur, Habitum non esse a memoria diversum, &c.

IN COMITIIS 1652.

CARTESIANA HYPOTHESIS DE MATERIA ET MOTU

HAUD SATISFACIT PRÆCIPUIS NATURÆ PHÆNOMENIS.

E VETERIBUS Græcis, qui se primi omnium naturalis philosophiæ studio addixerunt, quum vellent quam libentissime omnium effectorum apparentium in natura promptam inire rationem, dedit unusquisque operam sive ingenio proprio, sive observationibus fretus, prinicipia quædam generalia et verisimilia investigare, quorum ope universam naturam et singula ejus phænomena plene et perspicue explicare posset. Ex quo instituto prolatæ sunt in medium quamplurimæ et quam diversissimæ rei naturalis hypotheses; aliæ aliis elegantiores, atque concinniores, prout quisque vel judicio magis polleret et ingenii acumine, vel feliciore experientia uteretur. Hinc Anaximander materiam infinite extensam, Anaxagoras Homoiomereias suas; Atomos Leucippus, Democritus et Epicurus; Empedocles Litem et Concordiam; Pythagoras Numeros et Symmetrias; Plato Deum, Ideam, et Materiam; demum Aristoteles Formam, Materiam, Privationem; alii alia rerum principia excogitarunt; ita tamen ut sua quisque commenta pro veris ac genuinis naturæ principiis, a quibus deduci omnium apparentiarum ratio et posset et deberet, venditare atque asserere non dubitarent. Atque ita se rem habuisse constat, intra ducentos plus minus annos ab ipsis nascentis in Græcia hujusce philosophiæ initiis. Post Aristotelem autem sive jam detrita antiqua simplicitate, sive effœta in hominibus inveniendi curiositate, et fatiscente industria, seu potius quoniam præstantissima quæque ingenia partim studia moralis philosophiæ, partim rhetoricæ, politicæque curæ ambitiosæ præoccuparent, naturalis philosophia vel penitus neglecta jacuit, vel satis habebant ejusce studiosi in Platonis, Aristotelis, Epicuri, aut cujuspiam e vetustioribus placitis et principiis hærere ac acquiescere, de ulteriori inquisitione securi: unde decursu temporis effectum est, ut apud pauculos Platonis, apud quam plurimos vero solius Aristotelis principia et dictata obtinerent; reliquorum omnium non tantum authoritas, sed et scripta interirent. Equidem hoc fluxus tenore per continua aliquot secula procedebant res philosophicæ, donec pene ad nostra usque tempora perventum est: quando quasi e somno quodam profundo aut veterno excitatis hominum animis, cum medicina, mathematicis, cæterisque artibus honestis cœperit quoque naturalis philosophia reviviscere, et in se excolenda et restauranda multos ingeniosissimos viros exercere. Cœptumque est statim deliberari de principiis, nimirum quia recepta Aristotelis non solum a rudi præcedentium seculorum sophistica corrupta viderentur, verum etiam in sua licet sinceritate atque integritate accepta, non usque adeo omnibus satisfacerent. Quare continuo aggressi sunt complures viri ingenio ac eruditione præcellentes alii veterum quorundam philosophorum principia, qua licuit resuscitare et recolere: alii nova et inaudita suo Marte comminisci. Atque isti quidem, ut nostis, Epicuream Gassendi, Magneni Democriticam, novam peripateticam Digbæanam, Aristarchi Samii, et Philolaicam philosophiam nobis pepererunt; hi vero, ne Telesium et Campanellam memorem, magneticam Gilberti, Fluddi thermometricam, denique multas easque varias chymicorum philosophias in lucem prodiderunt. At qui præsertim in hoc choro philosophantium prælucere reliquis non immerito visus est, adeoque profusissimum plausum universi orbis literarii promeruit, tandem Renatus Cartesius extitit; vir proculdubio optimus atque ingeniosissimus, ac serio philosophus, et qui videtur ad philosophiæ hujus contemplationem ea attulisse auxilia, qualia fortassis nemo unquam alius; intelligo eximiam in mathematicis peritiam; animum natura atque assuefactione meditationis patientissimum; judicium præjudiciis omnibus, et popularium errorum laqueis exutum extricatumque; quinetiam plurimis iisque non nisi certissimis et selectissimis experimentis instructum; abundans otium, ab inutilium librorum lectione, et avocamentis seculi electione propria immune; ne memorem incomparabile ingenii acumen, et facultates quibus præstabat eximiis tam clare et distincte cogitandi,

quam mentem suam paucis verbis admodum plene ac dilucide explicandi. Ab eo itaque viro recepimus philosophiæ systema, quod nollem alias commendare quam dicendo tale ipsum esse, quale possemus jure a tam consummato philosopho expectare; eaque principia naturæ, ad quæ si quis serio appellat animum attente paulo examinanda et perpendenda, nisi vel nimium abundet affectu, aut intellectu deficiat, non dubito quin ipsa omnium quæ audiverit clarissima, simplicissima, imo et verisimillima sit pronunciaturus; tanta statim in ipsis facilitas, sinceritas, atque elegantia elucebunt. Nihilominus ne aut nimia viri admiratio obsedisse animum nostrum, debitæque examinationi aditum præclusisse; et ne videamur existimare, unius cujuscunque hominis sufficere ingenium divinæ sapientiæ potestatisque vestigiis in natura persequendis ac indagandis; denique ut de ipsius rei veritate rectius conjecturam faciamus, nobis id negotii assumpsimus, eas exponere difficultates, quibus principia hæc nova obnoxia esse videntur; per quæ præcipue obstat, ne hypothesim hanc, tanquam Ariadnæum filum, quod in naturæ totius intimos et labyrinthi recessus ducat nos reducatque, admittamus: id quod conabimur hac methodo prosequi quam possumus succincte et perspicue: nempe ut primo hypothesim ipsam proponamus, ne quis forte Cartesiana principia haud inspexerit. Secundo ut rationes quasdam generales contra illam afferamus, præcipue ex singularum sectarum diversa sentientium pharetris depromptas. Tertio, quædam principalia phænomena enumeranda veniunt, quibus Cartesiana hypothesis haud faciat satis, rationes insuper cur ita suspicemur, adjungendo.

Primo itaque hypothesim ipsam quod attinet, ita se habet. Adverti potest innumera objecta externa, quæ corpora dicimus, sensus nostros variis modis afficere; atque ideo mentem nostram ipsa tanquam variis qualitatibus prædita percipere, quibus nomina imponit duri, ponderosi, colorati, aut similium. Præterea considerari debet, ea accidentia, quæ sentiuntur in materia corporea, vel singulatim omnibus corporibus non competere, vel potius omnia immutari posse, et ab ea penitus tolli; ita tamen ut ipsa non sit naturam corporis amissura, sed in sua essentia adhuc integra permaneat: at in extensione aliter se rem habere; quia nullum omnino corpus imaginari possumus, quod non extendatur in longum, latum et profundum. Unde dicitur naturam corporum a nullis reliquarum qualitatum, scilicet fluxarum et corruptibilum, sed a sola extensione dependere; et cum non detur alia notio corporis diversa ab hac, et hæc sit ab idea corporeæ materiæ omnino inseparabilis, dubitari non debet, quin natura corporis in sola extensione consistat. Ex quo supposito cum nonnulla alia facile deducuntur, scilicet quid sit spatium; non dari vacuum, vel spatium inane; neque corpora prorsus indivisibilia, et hujusmodi alia; tum præcipue illud, unum esse mundum sibi ubique cohærentem, et spatia omnia imaginabilia occupantem; cujus universa materia una et eadem existat, utpote quæ omnis per hoc unum tantum agnoscatur, quod sit extensa; atque talis est natura Cartesianæ materiæ; ex qua sic exposita, liquet ipsam in multas portiones diversæ magnitudinis ac figuræ partibilem esse. Circa quas observandum est denuo, eas in duplici modo existentiæ consistere posse, scilicet in motu, vel quiete. Motus autem nihil revera est aliud, quam translatio unius partis materiæ, sive unius corporis ex vicinia eorum corporum, quæ illud immediate contingunt et quiescentia spectantur, in viciniam aliam. Hujusque absentia est quies, quum corpus respectu aliorum omnium adjacentium eundem locum situmque retinet. Neque circa naturam motus et quietis præter hæc quidpiam subtilius notandum videtur. Tantum adhuc causas motus et quietis in corporibus considerare oportet primarias et secundarias. Deus motus et quietis primaria causa censendus est; qui materiam simul cum motu et quiete creavit in principio: ad cujus perfectionem divinam cum spectem, quod sit immutabilis, et quod modo quam maxime constanti et immutabili operetur, rationi est consentaneum putare, quod diversimode moverit partes materiæ, quum primum illas creavit; jamque totam istam materiam conservet eodem plane modo, eademque ratione qua prius creavit; eum etiam tantundem motus in ipsa semper conservare; ideoque etiam regulas quasdam legesque figi ac constitui posse, juxta quas causæ secundariæ et particulares

motus istos efficiunt, qui in singulis corporibus reperiuntur. Leges istæ generales tres sunt. Prima, unamquamque rem, quatenus est simplex et indivisa, manere quantum in se est in eodem semper statu, nec unquam mutari, nisi a causis externis. Ut si pars aliqua materiæ sit quadrata, manebit perpetuo quadrata; nisi quid aliunde adveniat, quod ejus figuram immutet. Si quiescat, neutiquam incipiet moveri, nisi ab aliqua causa ad id impellatur. Et si moveri supponatur, non unquam sua sponte et a nullo alio impedita motum illum suum intermittet. Secunda lex hujusmodi est, unamquamque partem materiæ seorsim spectatam non tendere unquam ut secundum ullas lineas obliquas pergat moveri, sed solummodo secundum rectas. Tertia lex est; Ubi corpus quod movetur alteri occurrit, si minorem habeat vim ad pergendum secundum rectam lineam, quam hoc alterum ad ei resistendum, tunc deflectitur in aliam partem, et motum suum retinendo, solam motus determinationem amittit; si vero habeat majorem, tunc alterum corpus secum movet, ac quantum cui dat, de suo tantum pendit. Et se ita Cartesiana hypothesis habet: nam ex hisce solum suppositis, materiam, sive extensionem dari, et in partes dividi; easque partes moveri vel quiscere juxta leges nominatas; his inquam solum suppositis et concessis, quæcunque in rerum natura mutationes, generationes, alterationes, et quæcunque universim naturæ phænomena observantur, satis explicari posse censet Cartesius, ita ut demum pronunciet nulla alia physicæ principia vel admittenda esse vel optanda. Quod non ita se habere, illud demum est quod mihi incumbit propositis rationibus ostendere.

Itaque cum præcipua naturæ phænomena dico, necesse est ut excipiam ea quæ corporibus cœlestibus, cometis, planetis, reliquisque conveniunt; quoniam in iis nihil fere præter motus, colores et figuras deprehendere possumus; quæ non solum Cartesius sed reliqui omnes hac aut simili via necesse habent explicare: et pari jure ea excludo, quæ in propinquo observantur directe et ad sensum, vel motus locales, vel colores, vel figuras respicientia; qualia sunt mechanica artificia; experimenta de motibus projectorum; imo et fluxus ille ac refluxus maris; quem agnosco hac via admodum eleganter declarari; et similia, colorem, lucem, phasmata, spectantia, &c.—nam neque in his aliquid peculiare erat, et in harum apparentiarum rationibus reddendis omnes philosophi simili methodo insistunt, hoc est, mathematicæ potius quam physicæ. Sed per præcipua naturæ phænomena intelligo ea, quæ naturæ penetralia propius attingunt, scilicet generationes, proprietates et operationes specificas animalium, plantarum, mineralium, lapidum, et reliquorum naturalium corporum, præcipue eorum quæ mixta vocantur. Rursus per illud, *haud satisfacere*, non intelligo, quasi quispiam caput suum torquendo, et δουλεύων τῇ ὑποθέσει quod dicitur, non possit complurium effectuum ex hisce principiis qualemcunque reddere concinnam rationem; quoniam et in hac re, et in aliis, innumeræ hypotheses confingi cudique possint, haud facile falsitatis, saltem non contradictionis alicujus arguendæ: de quibus nihilominus promptum foret dignoscere, et judicare rem juxta illas se non habere; prout etsi per Ptolemaicum systema, saltem aliquatenus emendatum, non dubium est quin ratio cœlestium apparentiarum reddi possit satis accurata ad calculos motuum, eclipsium, et reliquorum eventuum construendos; et tamen vix jam sanus quispiam hanc, quod rem ipsam spectat, tanquam veram admittet, quæ tam intricata, et minime elegans sit. Itaque hoc volo per illud, *non satisfacit;* quod hypothesis hæc multarum apparentiarum causam satis idoneam reddere non possit, cui vir philosophus acquiescat, atque existimet summe esse probabile rem juxta ipsam se habere. Non est igitur expectandum, ut contra Cartesium agam alias, quam rationes quasdam generales et probabiles sive conjecturas proponendo, quæ inferant naturam non juxta viam istam mechanicam omnino procedere; atque adeo ipsius hypothesim naturæ non usquequaque satisfacere. Id quod tentabo efficere, committendo imprimis reliquos philosophos cum Cartesio, ea tantum ex eorum ratiociniis seligendo, quæ videbuntur nonnihil ponderis atque momenti habere. Committo autem cum eo Platonem, Aristotelem, Democritum, vel Epicurum, chymicos, et magos naturales quos vocant, sive eos qui de sympathiis et antipathiis naturalibus scire profiten-

tur; at imprimis ac præ omnibus tanquam πρόμαχον hujusce prælii, Verulamium nostrum, virum magni proculdubio judicii et nominis, qui philosophiam hanc nondum natam damnavit. Is enim aliquoties in suo Organo contra hujusmodi omnes universim hypotheses admodum prudenter cavit, et præmonuit non esse magnopere ab iis principiis metuendum, quæ violenti argumentationum conatus ex singulorum hominum cerebello parturirent: nam prout super phænomena ætheris varia cœli themata construi, ita et super phænomena universi multo magis complura dogmata fundari et constitui posse; quæ tamen non nisi commenta sint; et quot hujusmodi philosophiæ extant, aut extituræ sunt, ex nuda speculatione oriundæ, tot ille reputat effectos esse mundos fictitios et scenicos. Nam licet Cartesius plerisque aliis, imo haud injurie dixero, omnibus scenam suam elegantius instruxerit, concinniusque composuerit; et forte fabulam narraverit, quam nemo prima specie non concesserit ab historiæ veritate haud multum abludere; non tamen videtur penitus eorum numero eximendus, qui in censuræ istius aciem incurrerunt. Nam exproprio ore constat, eum philosophandi ordinem, qui et utilissimus videtur et solidissimus, plane invertisse, dum non a rebus discere, sed rebus leges suas imponere ei visum est. Ita enim processit, ut primum quas proposito suo idoneas censuit metaphysicas veritates colligeret et stabiliret, nempe ex notionibus natura menti suæ insitis; deinde ab iis ad generalia principia naturæ descendit; et inde gradatim progressus est ad particularia queeque explicanda, ex principiis scilicet quæ ipse nec inconsulta natura struxerat: nempe hoc modo potius privatæ mentis ideis, quam theatri publici constitutioni attendendo; non ex singularibus exemplis, atque experimentis diligenter trutinatis axiomata colligendo; sed ipsa ex proprio discursu confingendo, iisque quod Aristoteli præsertim vitio datum est, naturæ effecta pro libitu suo accommodando: quæ ratio philosophandi a viro magno improbatur ob rationes minime contemnendas. Nimirum quia hoc destinare est nimium de viribus nativis rationis nostræ præsumere, mentemque nostram longe supra justum suum modulum mirari et extollere; subtilitas naturæ a subtilitate mentis æquari, ejusque operationes per syllogismos comprehendi existimantur. Quinimo præterea per inanem hujusmodi conatum sperare videmur, posse nos modum quo omnia quæ ubique in modo accidunt, pernoscere; id est, æque ac ipse rerum Conditor; qui nobis minime consciis illa omnia mira sapientia odinavit (nec mira tamen, si nos ipsam nostra assequi possumus): et sic idola mentis nostræ cum ideis divini intellectus conferre, quæ suas rebus signaturas impressere. Denique quia experientia compertum est, hujusmodi dogmata a metaphysicis cogitatis, caute licet et curiose conquisitis, ortum ducentia, quia experientiam semper fere negligunt, revera in medullas naturæ non intrare, ejus scopos non attingere, atque adeo phænomenis minime satisfacere; ideoque neque Cartesiana, utpote quæ plane hoc modo inventa atque exculta fuerint: et hæc est prima ratio generalis contra hanc hypothesim.

Secundo contra Cartesium confertim e specu emittam Platonem et Aristotelem, et qui cum iis in hisce rebus paria sentiunt; qui cum hypothesim hanc perspexerint, inque ea nihil prorsus de anima, nihil de seminibus aut rationibus seminariis, nihil vel de formis vel finibus rerum, aut appetitu, vel instinctu naturali contineri notaverint, atque adeo de causarum suarum quaternario fere plusquam duas excludi, credo haud facile querelas stomachumque tenebunt. Scilicet res omnes a deo conditas virtutis innatæ expertes; effectus quoscunque cum vi et luctu peragi; interna agendi principia, hactenus a philosophis magno consensu admissa, una cum intentione finium rejici; et loco horum principia mortua ac temeraria, φύσιν ἄψυχον, naturam absque anima, id est, corticem absque nucleo proponi exclamabunt subirati. Sane aliter antiquissimus ille philosophantium Thales dicitur tradidisse; cujus illud, Πάντα θεῶν εἶναι πλήρη. Longe aliter ipse Aristoteles; qui omnia fateri videtur animabus esse plena, iis verbis, capite 2. libri III. de Gener. Anim. Ἐν γῇ ὑπάρχειν ὑγρόν, ἐν δὲ ὕδατι πνεῦμα, ἐν, δὲ πνεύματι θερμότητα ψυχικήν· ὡς τρόπον τινα, πάντα ψυχῆς εἶναι πλήρη. Insuper Platonici et Stoici, videntes mundum tam pulchra partium harmonia, et quasi organizatione constare, omnia tam sapienti dispositione, quam mirabili con-

sensu et indefessa constantia in mutuum subsidium beneficiumque conspirare, et hujusmodi pleraque animadvertentes, non verebantur asserere, prout ipsorum mentem Manilius repræsentat,

> ———Vivere mundum,
> Et rationis agi motu, cum Spiritus unus
> Per cunctas habitat partes, atque irriget orbem
> Omnis pervolitans, corpusque animale figuret.

Itaque tam longe aberant illi primitivi antistites philosophiæ ab hoc, ut mundum inanimem et nullo vel principio vel intentione agendi præditum supponerent, ut contra vel animabus referta esse omnia, vel Spiritum quendam vitalem catholicum, qui per universum diffusus omnia conservaret atque foveret; qui Custos τῆς εὐταξίας, et contrariorum δεσμὸς συναγωγὸς existeret, et qui multis stupendis atque latentibus phænonemis sufficeret, comminisci et perhibere non dubitarent. Utcunque sit de communi hac anima, non per brutos et fortuitos motus confici omnia, sed speciebus singulis corporum naturalium suas inesse animas vel formas, hoc est, interna specificæ essentiæ principia, facultatibus agendi juxta fines a natura destinatos instructa, et appetitui proprio obsequentia, id est, quod non absque ratione et necessitate quadam affirmare videntur hi philosophi. Nam imprimis, videtur de supremo rerum Conditore indigne sentire, quisquis autumat, eum solummodo unam materiam homogeneam, eamque hebetem et inanimem, per tot jugera immanis spatii extensam creasse, ac cum unico præterea motus instrumento ludos hosce solennes, omnemque mundanam comœdiam dispensare; quasi fabrum, aut artificem χειρώνακτα, technam hanc suam singularem neurospasticam ad nauseam usque repetentem et ostentantem: at multo augustius de eo cogitare videtur qui credit ipsum immensa sua bonitate ac beneficentia impulsum, innumeris speciebus suam singularem essentiam communicasse; singulis peculiares appetitus, propriasque facultates agendi impertivisse, et universas apta serie ob mutuum auxilium in suos gradus classesque distribuisse, aliisque alias κατὰ μοῖραν subordinasse; nimirum videntur hæc sanctius honestiusque ab hominibus de Authore suo cogitari; sed neque minus utile et necessarium est ita sentire, phænomenis naturæ urgentibus. Nam si totius naturæ theatrum uno ictu oculi perlustremus; in eo quasi innumeras personas animadvertamus, specie, qualitate, opera valde discrepantes: singulas sibi unas et continuas, quasi se unius spiritus vinculo et regimine continentes; quin et quomodo se unumquodque tueatur et foveat, et crescendo multiplicet; non erit valde dubium quod asseritur. Nam ut ordiamur a perfectioribus, id est, ab animalibus, etiam dempto homine; annon facilis experientia commonstrat inesse illis spiritum quendam naturalem, non solum cognoscentem et sentientem, sed se sponte moventem et promoventem? qui nempe tanquam tutelaris genius corporis, cordi vel cerebro affixus, a nemine impulsus aut concitatus, æterni perpetuique motus proximam effigiem repræsentat; qui provinciam totam nutu suo moderatur, et disponit organa ad agendum; qui in primævo nexu, perseverante consensu et justa temperie partes continet et tuetur; imo qui per multos annos integram corpusculi fabricam, fluxa materiæ suæ conditione, externorumque agentium impressionibus ac violentiis non obstantibus, ab omni periculosa et lethifera vicissitudine, ab omni putrefactione usque ad terminos a Creatore designatos defendit et protegit; absque quo foret corpus bidui intervallo fœteret pessime, inque dissolutionem spontaneam ex sui corruptione festinaret. Annon hæc Cartesius præclare explicuit, dicendo corpus meram molem esse homogeneæ naturæ, in partes varia figura præditas divisam, quibus diversi motus insint sane cæca lege fluentes, nullo spiritu præside, nulla sapientia operis directrice, nulla intentione finis, aut quovis alio efficiente præter concursum Dei ordinarium interveniente? Illud vero omnium est maxime admirabile, quod cognitionem ipsam atque appetitus animales ad motus locales retulerit; quos esse omnino alterius altiorisque generis, nemo certe non imaginari potest. Si quis autem instet non constare utrum ad hæc effecta Cartesius hypothesin suam extenderit; neque enim viro acutissimo et perspicacissimo hæc tam inania et veri haud similia satisfacere potuisse; respondeo, quod Cartesius hypothesin suam generaliter proponat, quasi universis phænomenis naturæ explicandis sufficeret; istis quæ animalium sunt non exceptis: deinde manifestum est quid ille intelligat, ex verbis Regii, sequacis

sive discipuli sui; qui decimo capite suorum Fundamentorum ita expresse loquitur; "motus animalium sensitivus et locomotivus fit in animalibus eodem modo, ut automata agitantur, et moventur sine ulla cognitione vel vero appetitu." Hæc Regius, quæ hausisse ipsum ex tractatu Cartesii de animalibus hactenus inedito, ipse Cartesius author est, in præfatione sua ad secundam editionem Principiorum suorum: dein necesse est ut ita statuat, scilicet, bruta animantia nulla cognitione, imo nullo appetitu esse prædita; aliter enim de motus sui lege maxime generali erit conclamatum; quæ pronunciat tantundem motus continuari perpetuo in rebus, quantum initio fuerit; quia quantum corpus de suo motu dat, tantum perdit, et vicissim. At omnis αὐτοκινησία novos motus, eosque satis vehementes pro suo arbitrio introducit; et sane motus tot animantium multum conferet ad statum rerum, motuumque proportiones immutandas, atque adeo ad hanc hypothesin susque deque pervertendam; et nihilominus haud bene video quomodo ipsum hominem a fatali lege ignorantiæ et violentiæ hujus excipere possit, ne eadem sequantur: quo tamen nihil fingi possit vel incredibilius vel indignius. Hactenus de operationibus animalium jam in lucem editorum, organisque idoneis instructorum: at se ille spiritus, materia inerte altior ac animosior, adhuc si fieri potest clarius in generatione animalium prodit ac manifestat; dum sibi magnificum domicilium struit, pulcherrimamque corporis machinam efformat. Etenim non est perdifficile agnoscere, automaton postquam egregio artificio factum est, sua sponte mira ac stupenda rei ignaris officia obire; at nemo ideo sanus concesserit, istiusmodi machinam ullam absque ingeniosi artificis cura, aut opera manuum diligenti et prudenti, suopte arbitrio in lucem unquam emersisse: nimirum tam mirifico operi erigendo adesse debet internus aliquis architectus, vel sua intentione, vel directione divina admodum sapiens, qui tot diversas partes e rudi semine effingat, temperie exquisita donet, situ convenienti disponat, figura decenti expoliat, lineamentis bene congruis et gratis coloribus exornet, denique qui in his omnibus et reliquis optimum scopum et petat semper, et feliciter assequatur. Eoque magis hoc venit annotandum; quia hoc opus naturalium sit naturalissimum, ut aiunt; nec quod scire possumus ipsi, aliquis cognitionis explicitæ actus intercedat; quod ostendit etiam iis operibus naturæ, quæ apparent brutissima et scientiæ expertia, consilium et appetitum non abesse. Utcunque autem de cognitione, locomotiva facultate, et generatione animalium se Cartesius excusaret, tamen in plantis videtur pene eadem difficultas versari, quæ jugulum hujus controversiæ pari impetu petat. Nam inesse etiam iis quod Hippocrates appellat τὸ ἔμβιον τῆς φύσεως, hoc est, spiritum quendam et rectorem intrinsecum, energiarum vitalium præsidem, generationis fabrum, qualitatum simul et effectorum mirabilium fontem et originem, permulta ostendunt: et si quis eas plantas intueatur, quæ absque omni cura aut cultura, ἄσπαρτοι καὶ ἀνήρατοι, sua sponte proveniunt, si figuras ipsarum varie decentes, colores aspectui gratos, potestatesque opportunas contempletur, an apud se facile reputabit, effecta hæc sane stupenda ex sola divisione materiæ, et motu particularum nonnisi per generales admodum regulas determinato procedere; et non potius semina quædam, sive fermenta fuisse initio singulis soli locis ab Authore naturæ implantata; quæ cœlesti fotu evocante parata essent suæ speciei corpus prodere? juxta Virgiliana ista,

> Continuo has leges, æternaque fœdera certis
> Imposuit natura locis: et—
> Quippe solo natura subest.—

Adhuc eas plantas, quæ ex certis seminibus oriuntur, quod spectat, admodum verisimile est iis etiam seminibus inesse animam quandam seu spiritum vitalem, qui sit, non dico conscientia aliqua actionum suarum, sed utcunque imaginatione certa licet subobscura, appetitu pertinace, et potestate idonea donatus, ea quæ imaginatio et appetitus juxta Dei atque naturæ præscriptum jubent exequendi, plane prout in animalibus facultates phantasiæ et passionibus obediunt; etsi non eodem gradu neque adeo manifeste. Amat enim natura a supremo apice rerum usque ad scalæ infimum pedem apto ordine et quasi harmonicis intervallis descendere. Ex angustiis pusilli seminis quam robustæ ac proceræ arbores se explicant? quam solerte prudentia, qua apparatus curiositate necesse est ut in-

fervente ista officina omnia procurentur? Imprimis moles corporea terræ matris visceribus per radices suas innascitur, tum ut se in sinu ejus sustineret, tum etiam ut ex parentis teneræ uberibus pendens succum sibi alimentarium exugeret: dein tellure egressa pro corporis sui firmamento truncum satis crassum ac nervosum obtinet, externo cortice bene loricatam fibris spisse interius contextam; deinceps medulla centrali pervadente, quasi quodam thesauro, ex quo in membra reliqua per exiles venularum ductus necessarium alimentum depromitaret, distribuitur: proxime ex se satis numerosam ramorum ac surculorum propaginem emittit; quarum extremitates nunc floribus pictæ cernuntur speciosis ac fragrantibus; vel folia ipsis naturales arborum comæ, vel vestimenta, aut saltem fructus appendent, gustui gratissimi et aspectui, singuli in suis penetralibus spem novæ arboris gerentes, vivifica virtute inspiratam; et cætera quæ commemorari possent, omnia alia potius quam inscium et temerarium motum materiæ, nihil autem magis quam distinctam phantasiam et fortem appetitum indicantia. Nam observari potest leges motus Cartesiani adeo generales, laxas et indeterminatas esse, et tamen minime ad unum hoc vel illud producendum limitatas, ut quæcunque juxta illos eveniant, jure optimo non nisi per casum quendam et fortuito evenire putare debeamus; nam inesse illis nihil amplius quicquam consilii agnoscitur, quam quod leges istæ generales initio sancitæ sint; quod non magis fortunam aufert, quam Epicuri hypothesis, docentis mundum ex atomis certa lege fluentibus fuisse constitutum, et adhuc perseverare; qui tamen eum plane contingenter et fortuito fuisse factum, et modo perdurare, esset proculdubio concessurus. Haud injuria itaque contra hanc hypothesim, hæc quotidianæ sapientiæ et consilii singulis rebus invigilantis indicia objicio. Nam de plantis, verbi gratia, si ex motu ὡς τύχε, proveniunt, interrogo, 1. Quare tam decentes figuras, qualitates omnibus sensibus gratas, virtutes salutiferas nactæ sunt? 2. Si hoc ex motu materiæ juxta leges suas contingere possit; quare non fere omnes uniformiter se habent, cum leges paucæ et determinatæ sunt? 3. Aut si valde multæ species sua sponte hoc modo emergere possint, quare non singulis annis novæ plantarum species exoriuntur, ob variatas materiæ partes, atque ob easdem rationes, quæ faciunt ut jam tam multæ existant? et quare fixus et determinatus est plantarum numerus in mundo, quasi motus eo usque valeret, ad id quod reliquum est esset effœtus? 4. Quare non contingit plantas sæpe imperfectas et mutilas apparere, causis suis titubantibus? 5. Quare sæpe sub iisdem figuris, coloribus et complexionibus plantarum diversæ et contrariæ virtutes latent? annon forte hoc a spiritu interiori, materiæ suæ ministerio alias atque alias utenti?

Porro metallorum et mineralium eadem ratio est, etsi juxta regularem descensum naturæ id minus manifeste appareat.

Videtur enim generatio horum et constitutio nativa etiam per spiritum suum in semine, aut aliquo semine analogo residentem peragi; per quem scilicet ad suos colores specificos, proprietates ac virtutes valde uniformiter disponuntur atque determinantur: unde non sine causa dixit Severinus, non esse majus artificium in formis atque figuris animantium quam in proprietatibus et qualitatibus metallorum ac gemmarum; et æque mirandum esse colorem sapphiri, duritiem adamantis, perspicuitatem crystalli, pulchritudinem auri, ac organa vespertilionis: quo referri possunt figuræ adamantis octoëdra, hexaëdra crystalli, quæ et salis communis, notante Gassendo ad vitam Epicuri. Quinetiam tradunt metallici mineralia non solum crescere et renasci, verum et nutriri, maturari, sese purgare, atque indies in melius disponere, quod spiritus intus hospitantis præbet indicium; prout et illud, quod adamantis corpus durissimum, solidissimum, purissimumque in terræ superficie spatio biennii, imo ipsum aurum in Westphalia quadriennii intervallo nascatur et perficiatur; quæ absque interni agentis excubiis perpetrari nimium esset: itaque hæc, et quæ conformiter hisce in natura eveniunt, ita formæ necessitatem et præcellentiam ostendunt, ut præ ea dixerit magnus Verulamius efficientem ac materiam res perfunctorias esse ac superficiarias, et nihil fere conferre ad scientiam veram et activam: circa quas tamen solas hæc hypothesis versatur.

Proxime notatur hæc hypothesis a

prædictis philosophis, quod nullos fines naturalium agentium, nullos appetitus, nullos instinctus rebus ab origine insitos agnoscat; sed cunctos amores, inimicitias, contrarietates, sympathias omnes et antipathias prorsus exulare præcipiat; quum tamen liceat plurima ejusmodi appetituum, instinctuum, similiumque affectuum vestigia in rerum natura deprehendere; ex observatione, scilicet, et relatu virorum gravis simorum; inter quos Verulamius noster, ex variis motus generibus, quos existere in natura diligenter consideravit, fere omnes a varia intentione finis determinandos judicavit: alios enim motus libertatis, alios nexus, alios continuitatis, alios ad lucrum, alios fugæ, alios unionis, alios congregationis ad suum corpus dici voluit; atque ita ideo, quia viderentur naturalia corpora ex instinctu innato ad hosce status propendere, motusque suos ex intentione finis suscipere. Verbi gratia, ita ille instat in motu ad lucrum; inquiens, "Electrica operatio (de qua Gilbertus et alii post eum tantas excitarunt fabulas) non alia est quam corporis per fricationem levem excitati appetitus, qui aërem non bene tolerat, sed aliud tangibile mavult, si reperiatur in propinquo." Et liceret ex naturalis historiæ scriptoribus permulta sympathiarum ac antipathiarum exempla depromere, quæ proculdubio difficile esset ex mechanicis rationibus declarare, nisi si forte juxta istas explicandi methodos liceat quidlibet ex quolibet deducere. Qualia numerantur animalium atque plantarum ingenitæ amicitiæ, inimicitiæque; delectus, sive dijudicatio ciborum quam animantium fœtus juniores faciunt; proprietates rerum quæ magicæ, quæque magneticæ appellantur; philtra unguenti hopliatrici, sympathetici pulveris, et similia; de quibus quum non vacet luculente despicere, omittam aliquid dicere; et licet consulere quæ sparsim de iis tradunt naturæ interpretes; et quæ confertim affert Helmontius in tractatu elegante de magnetica vulnerum curatione. Hic loci etiam commemorari possent quæ de venenis, et quæ de alexipharmacis, et de medicinis purgantibus medici ab experientia edocti nos docent; venena enim in minima quantitate non quidpiam leve detrimentum aut tenuem sensum afferunt, sed plane execant; quid illud est magnæ rei quod phalangii ictus, vel infixus scorpionis aculeus demittit in corpus, ut corpus adeo ingenti atque inusitata mutatione afficeretur? cum Æliano narrante, libro de Animalibus, morsus vestigia, quæ aspis imprimit, tam obscura et parva sint, ut indicia vix acri oculorum acie deprehendantur: et exigua rabidi canis spuma diu in corpore latet, tandem quasi expergefacta vim diram et fortissimam exerit: jam si quis putet tantum non exilem atomum unicam, quæ posset facile per pori alicujus cutanei patens ostium evadere, vel inhærentem alicui membro, vel corpus rapidissime pervolantem ac pervadentem, tantas strages edere, omnem motum machinæ pervertere, ipsamque compagem dissolvere, is paria Epicuro et Asclepiadi facere videbitur, qui Galeno advertenti ejusmodi effectus et reliqua omnia ex primis qualitatibus elementorum exponere tentabant, ita ut tandem cogerentur vel rationes afferre plane ineptas et ridiculas, vel ea negare, quæ certissima experientia confirmata essent; itaque inesse venenis spiritum vitalem admodum potentem nostro spiritui vitali inimicum; ubi alexipharmacis et cardiacis amicum atque benignum satius sit ingenue confiteri, quam sapere velle per impudentiam; et manifestæ improbabilitati σοφὸν φάρμακον adhibere. Sed hactenus philosophis istis satis superque indultum est; proxime post eam nititur descendere in arenam alterum agmen sapientum, Democritus, Epicurus, Heron Pneumaticus, et similes; scilicet, ut contra nova hæc principia causam suam agant, propterea quod e rerum natura omne vacuum penitus excluserint; quod tamen videtur multis naturæ phænomenis egregie satisfacere. Nam si rebus interspersum inane concedatur, ponderis in eadem figura majoris minorisve facillime ratio redditur; et quomodo corpusculis subtilibus per meatulos inanes transitus præbeatur; et quo pacto rarefactio et condensatio fiant; et fere necessarium est ad intelligendum quomodo motus omnino dari possit, hoc supponere: ut Lucretius eleganter,

Quod si non esset (vacuum scilicet) nulla rationa moveri
Res possint; namque officium quod corporis extat
Officere, atque obstare, id in omni tempore adesset
Omnibus, haud igitur quicquam procedere possit,
Principium quoniam cedendi nulla daret res.

Nempe si universus mundus confertissima esset moles, continua materie stipata, nul-

lis spatiolis vacuis interceptis, si quodpiam corpus ex iis quæ intra hanc molem disposita sunt moveri e suo loco incipiat, locumque alterius invadere, necesse est ut id alterum corpus expellat; quod corpus quo concedet? expellet nempe aliud, atque illud itidem aliud, et continuabitur expulsio ad infinitum non solum spatii sed et temporis; quum aut nullum principium hujusce motus esse possit, aut saltem nullus finis.

Rursus finge moveri corpus per aërem, id ut contiguum aërem pellat, debet sane pilum quod aiunt sua superficie versus ipsum procedere; at tantulum spatium, quantula pili crassitudo est, occupatum est, quare se in eo sistere non potest, nisi prius aërem ex ipso depulerit. Quonam autem ipsum depellet? an per latera ad locum retrorsum? at nondum est ullus retrorsus locus, quando ipsum nondum antrorsus processit. Igitur cum tantillum spatii, quantilla est pili crassitudo, procedere non valeat, quia locus non est, quo aërem illum occupantem pretrudere possit, neque habebit consequenter unde aërem ulteriorem propellat, sed necessitate revinctum in eodem loco semper hærebit: quæ absurditates per argumenta non ἀποδεικτικὰ inductæ facile omnes a vacui positione elevantur. Quin hoc idem ostendunt experimenta trivialia æolipylæ bombardæ pneumaticæ, aliaque innumera, quæ apud Heronem in Spiritalibus, Gassendo ad Epicurum, et præcipue apud Helmontium in Discursu de Vacuo Naturæ, occurrunt sane ex iis nonnulla pulcherrima atque vividissima. Nec tam philosophi hoc eximii inane suum extrudi, quam id fieri argumento inani, seu potius metaphysica quadam subtilitate, indignantur: nempe hac; vacuum imaginamur esse extensum, at hæc materiæ proprietas est; nec vacuo, hoc est nihilo, competere potest: ergo vacuum dari repugnat. At similiter tenebræ non dantur, quia ipsas tanquam nigredinem quandam concipimus; quæ color est corpori conveniens. Et cæcitas non datur, quia necesse est ut ejus ideam ab aliquo positivo desumamus, et multa geminatis. Dein juxta hoc argumentum res suæ existentiæ veritatem a nostra phantasia petere debent, et quæ nos perperam cogitamus, ea vel non sunt, vel non aliter quam nos concipimus. Quinetiam quid si dixerim, Deum ubique esse absque vera quantitate? et animam toti corpori coëxistere absque proprie dicta extensione? quidni igitur et vacuus esse possit absque extensione raeli? denique divina potestas valet universam materiam præter eam quæ est hujus templi annihilare: id exempli causa fieri supponatur; retinebit certe templum in hoc casu fines quos jam habet: at non possemus non imaginari ultra terminos hujusce templi exporrectum aliquod spatii; igitur juxta hunc argumentandi modum revera dabitur spatium, hoc est, quantitas corporea sive materia, quæ tamen omnis jamjam annihilari dicta est: imo pariter concipimus ante conditum mundum ingens expansum extitisse; neque aliter cogitare possumus, utcunque aciem intellectus nostri intendamus. An inde sequitur revera tunc temporis immensam quandam materiam fuisse? quod nemo absque manifesta cum impietate, tum absurditate dicturus est.

Nunc ad triarios deventum est, et nostrum agmen claudant hermetici philosophi; qui sive interpretes sive tortores naturæ audire debeant, saltem semet ipsi a secretioribus consiliis, et mysteriorum omnium intime conscios esse jactitant. Ab eorum singularibus experimentis, quæ huic hypothesi manifeste refragantur, recitandis consulto me temperabo; etsi liceret fortassis ex unico authore plusquam sexcenta hujus generis depromere, cum ut meipsum ex infinitis præstantissima seligendi tædio sublevarem, tum præcipue ut patientiæ auditorum consuleretur; proponam itaque non nisi generalia quædam observata, quæ cum hisce principiis antithesim habere videntur.

Primo, Itaque observant hi philosophi omne corpus naturale mixtum, qualia sunt animantia, vegetabilia, mineralia, lapides et similia, ex duabus partibus omnino diversis atque distinctis constare; non secus ac hominem ex anima et corpore: nimirum ex spiritu subtili, puro, potentissimo, et corpore opaco, fœculento, impuro atque imbelli: atque hæc duo ignis beneficio separari, et seipsa seorsim ostentare.

Secundo, Spiritum istum ita rectificari, depurari ac perfici posse, ut nihil sordium habeat in se reliqui, neque ideo ignem sibi immerito importunum perferre amplius, sed in superna avolare; quod siquis eum apicem perfectionis

suæ adeptum, fæcibus suis, vel corpori derelicto restituere et remiscere moliatur, quasi priscum suum contubernalem impurum aspernatus, atque abominatus refugit; et vix difficili arte acmulta industria cogitur post multas prolatationes et circulationes descendere, et corpus illud suum purificare.

Tertio, Observant hosce spiritus in quantitate valde exigua, omni totorum suorum virtute esse prædita, admodum potestatibus validos esse, atque ingentia opera patrare.

Quarto, In corporibus per artem reseratis, forte singulis, si res innotesceret, at certe multis, specificas et proprias virtutes, per quas consensum suum sub rebus quibusdam aut dissensum extremum testentur, reperiri; unde et quædam medicamenti loco propinata egregiemembris vel visceribus quibusdam prodesse, quædam vero pessime officere deprehendantur.

Quinto, Compertum habent, spiritus prædictos in mole angusta alterius materiæ longe uberiori copiæ immissos, ipsam totam in suæ speciei tincturam et qualitatem convertere, et sibi ex ea quasi novum corpus efformare: ita ut seminum ratio, virtus, natura hisce spiritibus congruere videatur, dum speciem suam propagant et multiplicent; et sane hæc basis esse videtur philosophicæ fidei, et huic fundamento mysterium lapidis inniti.

Sexto, Notant res omnes vi suæ artis inaquam ultimo reduci claram et insipidam, ipsum durissimum adamantem, arenam, vitrum, terramque originalem non excipiendo; seminibus nempe omnibus, ex quibus sapores, colores et similia profluunt, quæ prius inerant, per arcanum quendam carnificem confectis ac interemptis.

Septimo, Penes se reperiri menstrua quædam, quæ vocant, potestate corpora dissolvendi, atque intimius penetrandi, quam ignis noster longe potiori instructa; quorum ope rerum nudas essentias facile inspicere licet; per quæ rerum ipsæ vitæ ac spiritus intaminati nullo negotio eruantur: et quæ præterea noxia corrigendi, et pessime venenata reddendi innocua, imo salutaria, mirifica vi pollent. Annon hæc omnia, et multo plura, et impensius miranda, quæ philosophi isti se vidisse atque expertos esse persancte affirmant, Hypothesim Cartesii prima specie reddunt suspectam? annon diserte significant inesse rerum naturæ quidpiam arcanius, divinius, ac excelsius, quam quod rudi hac methodo mechanices queat attingi? Saltem materiam diversi generis extare; corpora mixta ex suis specie discrepantibus principiis consistere, hoc est ex aqua, et spiritu aquam impregnante et coagulante; spiritus in corporibus singulis esse valde homogeneos; ideoque ignem non corpus persecando, atomosque spirituales ex materia corporis sua acie fabricando, spiritus separare; at solummodo aperiendo ostia, per quæ spiritus evadant, prout gladii acies exitum animæ præbet se in auras expiranti: dein ea corpora quibuscum nostri oculi versantur non nisi rerum cortices et operimenta esse; et nihil ad virtutes ipsarum conferre, imo istas potius impedire, diminuere, retundere et retardare. Et reliqua aliquam multa ex his consequuntur, quæ huic Hypothesi partim directe repugnare, partim ipsam transcendere videntur, et quiddam altius præ se ferre; quæ tamen particularius persequi et demonstrare non vacat: ex quibus inferri potest quod tutius atque consultius sit, potius experimentis fructiferis ac naturali historiæ diligenter incumbere, ex quibus multa effecta sat clare perspicere, et juxta eorum normam similia sperare atque dirigere licet (quod abunde ex usu humani generis erit), quam ex remotis præsumptionibus cum inani operæ dispendio, causas rerum fortassis inaccessas et sciri vetitas anxie perscrutari; atque interim pie credere ea sapientia divinam Majestatem hæc omnia condidisse, ut magis ea mirari, quam percipere possimus, ut inservirent usibus nostris, dum contemplandi vires superarent; ideoque demum ad causarum naturalium in puteo divinæ sapientiæ latentium comprehensionem nullum humani intellectus nisum aspirare posse, nisi si quam ipse, ex beneplacito suo, dignatus fuerit demisso cœlitus radio illustrare.

Restat jam ultimo, philosophorum sententiis atque argumentis adductis, ea phænomena districte indicare, quibus per Hypothesim haud fiat satis: quod cum ex magna parte in præcedentibus obiter sit factum; nec liceat absque prolixitate aliqua hac parte pro rei dignitate defungi, non par est, ut patientiæ vestræ humanissimi auditores, ulterius aliquod moles-

tiæ crearem. Quapropter concludo, Hypothesim Cartesianam de materia et motu haud satisfacere præcipuis naturæ phænomenis.

ORATIO MODERATORIA

IN AUSPICIIS TERMINI, APRIL. 30, 1651.

In vestris aspectibus omni gratia florentissimis; in vestro vultu, vivam literarum virtutisque effigiem referenti; in vestra indole ad optima quæque atque amplissima comparata, dum præsentis seculi gaudia, et triumphos, spes, atque omina posterorum lætissima studiose contemplor, erumpit e gestienti pectore, non dico invita, sed tamen præceps, et quodam quasi impetu extorta, hodierna gratulatio. Scilicet, cum ubique alias terrarum literas oppressas, virtutem dejectam, triumphantem barbariem, luxum atque ignaviam diffluentes, omnia tenebris, strepitu, sordibusque oppleta, attonita diu mente tacitaque perlustrassem; quamprimum ex isto squalore oculi in suum hoc vestræ præsentiæ elysium emergentes tam grati spectaculi avido se pastu reficerent, sensi et linguam stuporis sui vinculis vixdum liberatam, cujusdamque lasciviæ impatientia correptam, præpropero conatu in plurimam salutem vobis dicendam prosilientem. Salvere igitur vos jubeo, academici, etiam atque etiam omnes. Quæ salutatio prout e pectoris mei fundo et penetralibus, ex intimis præcordiis, e promptissimo affectu nata, atque effusa est; ita utinam nulla eam doloris mistura cum ob vestras omnium vices, tum ob meas suscepti aliqua ex parte corrumperet, ipsamque adeo e sui authoris ardentissimis votis pariter cum ispo e vestro conspectu retractaret; neque enim aut mihi ingratior necessitas, aut vobis immanius infortunium obtigisse potuerunt, quam quod iniquus nobis omnibus infestusque Apollo me vobis hodie consecivit moderatorem, vos mihi auditores; ego sane (ut mei ineptitudinem ingenii, ut peritiæ inopiam, ut cæteros meos defectus conticescam) ego, inquam, unicus vestris tot discrepantibus sententiis, tam dispari genio, tam diversæ expectationi satisfacere eadem opera possem, qua simul et semel Jovis et Momi, Ulyssis et Thersitæ, Democriti et Heracliti, partes agere; aut in eadem scena Catonis et Roscii personas sustinere. Facilis est, ô Hercules, bivii tui ingressus. In prompto tuæ literæ anxios calles dignoscere, ô Pythagora; ænigmatis tui perplexitates, sphinx versutissime, solvendo sum; at quibus ego technis, quo artificio effectum darem, ut per eundem spiritum, in eadem loquela, gravis pariter essem et lepidus, serius et facetus, dicaculus modestusque, hoc est nimirum ut vestram omnium laudem et benevolentiam promererer? Hæc est ea difficultas quæ me cruciat, haec quæ me vestræ omnium indignationi, dicteriis censurisque torquendum propinabit. Si quid enim ego, quandocunque sermones meos nostri officii et hujusce institui rationes exegerint, honesti et sobrii, bona scilicet mente, protulero; ecce tot illi famelici jocorum chamæleontes, hujusce loci, hujusce aëris parasiti, sua spe, sua præda, suo venatu multati, indignanti stomacho, latrantibusque pulmonibus! qua sunt pedum, cerebrique levitate, hinc se continuo proripiunt, obtusissimi moderatoris capiti quot imprecantes diras, quot furiarum atrocissimas vindicias illi meditantes. Revertentes autem si quos recta iter ad nos conficientes nacti fuerint, quantæ confestim bardos illos arguunt insaniæ qui proficiscantur audituri (utor eorum verbis) asinum rhetoricantem, truncum loquentem, aut ipsum potius stupidissimum moderatorem prolixe somniantem. Sin ex altera parte aliquid de severioris styli rigida gravitate relaxando, operam quis dederit oratiunculam suam amœnioribus facetiarum condimentis temperare; ilico, quæ nostra est fortuna,—ex ipso fonte leporum surgit amari aliquid—mirum ni in ridiculi hominis caput mille imputationum calami collimentur; ni tergum illud puerile inclementius vapulet; et ineptissimi humeri tot nugarum, cavillorum, stoliditatum, et universa illa levium quisquiliarum farragine degraventur. Ita me misere ambiguum conspicitis, academici, inter serium et ridiculum, inter iram et jocum, inter sacrum et saxum solicita distractione hæsitantem. Ex hujusce anxietatis æquilibrio ut me expedirem, quum ad vestri judicii aram confugio, ad vestra provoco consilia, quam belle mihi consul-

atur, quæso vos obnixe, ut animum advertatis. Nil aliud e vobis plurimi quam sales, facetias, festivitates; id est, si mentem rei scrutemini penitius, nugas, scurrilitates, ineptias; perpauci rationes honestas, serias, solidas, austeras nimirum, sordidas torpidasque, sibi et huic loco deberi vociferantur. Alius me supercilium strenue contrahere jubet, alter explicare; hic tetricæ fronti ærumnosam nubem induere; ille exporrectæ serenum. Est qui me malit esse hilarem, est etiam qui tristem; hic ad lasciviam hortatur, ille ad severitatem: ut videam clarissime, vestris modo moribus et voluntatibus obsequi velim, necesse esse, vel me puerum præstare, vel senem referre, vel plane ludere, vel disertissime insanire. Ita quum intelligam vos omnes erga me hodie esse animatos, quid mitius restat, quam ut in vos indignabundus aciem stringerem, et in hæc ingentia opprobria liberæ orationi habenas effunderem? Eone tandem evaserint res nostræ, auditores lepidissimi, ut vestris etiam suffragiis hic ludus literarius in scenicam, hæ scholæ in theatrum, hæc subsellia in tot tabernas vertantur; vos autem ipsi ex academicis in spectatores, nos omnes in mimos atque histriones transeamus? quin ego protinus togæ huic renuncio, comicum induor pallium; cucullo me exuo, recipio soccos. Huic ipsi pileo larvarum præstigias sufficio; pudet enim hujusce vultus, hujusce habitus, si me in hunc locum importuna adegerit necessitas, non ad virtutem evehendam et propagandam; non ad veritatem inquirendam et propugnandam; non ad vestras egregias laudes meritissimis encomiis celebrandas, verum ad agenda coram vobis ludicrorum propudia, ad theatralem lausum mercenario ineptiarum dedecore emendicandum. Illud si verum sit, quod fama loquitur, stomachos vestros solidi omnis cibi pertæsos, et dapium rhetoricarum nau seam et salubrioris philosophiæ gravedinem usque adeo invasiss , ut præter futilia quædam bellaria et putidissima nugarum fercula palato vestro nihil sapiat; ne ipsa sapientia, nisi insipida, neque veritas, nisi jocis condita, neque ratio, nisi ridiculo tincta; mala profecto sorte ego vobis coquus sum datus, ad illum inan um deliciarum apparatum neque ingenio factus, neque studio institutus. Si vel ipsæ serenissimæ Musæ non alio quam deformes cachinnos attollentium ritu pulchræ vobis et decoræ videantur; non ipsæ gratissimæ Gratiæ præterquam ridentes arrideant, quo suo amplius merito hic locus Musarum antrum, regnum Apollinis, domus literarum, templum virtutis, veritatis asylum, aut vos horum numinum longe amplissimorum ministri, mystæ, sacerdotes audiatis? quin potius novo numini Joco; numini inter tot Atas, Pœnas, Parcas, Vejovesque jam tandem annumerando, augustissimum hoc delubrum cum appositis sibi aris, hostiis, statuis, sacrificulisque consecrentur. Aris, dixi, hostiis, statuis, sacrificulis? Ecce quam sine ullo negotio hæc omnia (an vobis, sophistæ, architectantibus?) præsentia atque parata sunt! vestræ omnium aures sanctissima sunt joci altaria; pro molæ salsæ sacrificio plerique astantium sui medullas cerebelli, et fumigantis phantasiæ nidores certatim obtulere. Uniuscujusque vestrum huic in mente Deo mille idola et simulachra eriguntur. Sin requirantur sacerdotes, ecce pro sua in jocum devotione procedunt in medium haud pauciores sexcentis tam sacrosancti muneris candidati; in quibus tamen ego nomen non profiteor meum. Quin potius videor mihi non immerito indignari, si in hoc suo quondam imperio tam stramineo numini fasces submittat regina scientiarum, mater artium, cœlestis philosophia; cœlestis, inquam, philosophia, nostri lux ingenii, mentis ambrosia, dux et magistra vitæ, medicina morum, animi paradisus, donum deorum longe optimum; si ut huic ficto deo locus et successio præbeantur, ex hisce scholis quasi quodam ejecta ostracismo exulabit divina veritas; veritatem, dico, cœli filiam, rerum legem, deorum autographum, supremum testem, proximum mentis affinem, imo ipsius intellectus parentem, sobolem, conjugem, essentiam. Hoc nisi esset manifestum, si non ipsa res aperte pronunciaret, vix ipse mihi etiam præfracte affirmanti fidem acquirendo fuissem, apud homines eousque ingenuos aut hæc tam præclara potuisse rejici, aut illa tam indigna, tam absurda obtinere. Quæ, quæso, omnia quid aliud sunt, quam tot spurii mentis incestæ abortus, æstuantis ingenii spumæ, purgantis sese intellectus excrementa, vagabundæ errores phantasiæ, pinguioris Minervæ sudores, insulsi sales, invenustæ veneres, rusticæ urbanitates, horridæ,

barbaræque elegantiæ? In quibus nihil sancti, nihil sani, nihil solidi, nihil rari; nihil, denique, in quo aut vis ingenii, aut vigor phantasiæ, aut subtilitas acuminis, aut fides memoriæ, aut laus industriæ eluceant, reperitur; imo ne ipsius quidem aliquid inventionis; nisi hoc sit egregie invenire, sedulo nempe obsoleta jocorum scrinia excutere, sophisticorum actuum archiva recolere, sepultas excitare facetias, antiquatas interpolare, alio donatas vultu edere; saltem novas quasdam et inauditas e tot communibus locis, e tam plene instructo promptuario colligere, e tam varia materia procudere, e tam diffusis campis excerpere; e tot, demum, catenarum nodis, lancium capulis, baculorum manubriis, ipsisque ollarum auriculis, aliquas arripere jocandi ansas. Sin in hisce rebus quisquam plurimum levitatis et ineptiæ, stultitiæ et vecordiæ, flagitii, obscœnitatis, injuriæ, et ipsius (proh dolor) impietatis desideraverit, nimium (heu nimium) harum fæcium deprehendet; etiam et expertus mirabitur fuisse usquam aliquos, in hoc olim gravissimo castissimoque Musarum hospitio, nugarum institores, talem audentes et gestu et lingua profiteri immodestiam, qualem vix, aut ne vix publicorum morionum projecta licentia, neque scurrarum de trivio effrænis protervia, neque ipsa Cynicorum perfricta impudentia præ se tulissent; qualemque non dico severior aliquis Aristarchus, sed vel ipse Momus, horum licet non longissime absimilis, suo confixisset obelisco. Certe quis hisce ferat audire in locis tantam verborum turpitudinem, quantum stupendum fuerit aut castam mentem concipere, aut pudens os proferre, aut honestas aures aliquo gratulationis testimonio excipere potuisse? Quis non commotior sustinuerit aspicere eos viros, quos absque sollenni quadam reverentia cogitari non debere ipsa virtus judicaverit, vobis non quidem frementibus, verum ridentibus etiam, ac applaudentibus, totis conviciorum plaustris oneratos, immanisque petulantiæ spiculis impetitos? Etiam nos quam hic virtutem non temeratam, quam innocentiam illæsam, quem pudorem non explosum, quam sacrarum rerum majestatem illibatam quorundam facinore, omnium favore, vidimus et audivimus? Cogitate, juvenes, serio, et despicite, quam graves ex errore isto vos maneant contumeliæ; quam dura et infesta de vobis judicia apud omnes excitetis? Videamini vobis audire, id quod res est, plerosque ita de vobis statuentes, macilenta opportere esse ea ingenia, quæ tam inanibus vescantur alimentis; conspurcatissimam indolem, quæ sordes istas scurrilitatum tam avide et oblectanter deglutiat; pudendam esse illorum animorum scabiem, quos adeo infimæ stimuli voluptatis pungant titillentque; lubricum esse et inconstantem mentis habitum, quem leves adeo venti moveant et concutiant; hebetes, languidosque sensus, ad quos tam apertæ insulsitates sub ingenii sapore et coloribus veniant abeantque. Illos, demum, homines, vos, inquam, non optime esse moratos, quos ita perspicuum est a gravissimis hisce morum pestibus et certissimis pudoris corruptelis non abhorrere. Innocentes jocos, tempestivos sales, liberales facetias (ita me Musæ omnes et gratiæ ament) nemo est usquam qui me sincerius diligat; nemo qui tetricam illam et inanem plerumque austeritatem vehementius detestetur. Erat festivitatum qualecunque genus, quod neque infra suam majestatem reges gloriosissimi, neque citra suam dignitatem consules eminentissimi, neque contra suam gravitatem sapientes cordatissimi sunt arbitrati: exempla Philippi, regis fortissimi simul et lepidissimi; Cæsaris illius Octavii, augustissimi non minus jocatoris quam bellatoris; elegantiam Scipionum decantatissimam; et consularis scurræ M. Tullii tres facetiarum libros. Tot deinde Socrates, Diogenes, Zenones, Democritosque sua seria his ludis vertentes quid attinet commemorare? Res ipsa loquatur. Ecqua sit a strictioris disciplinæ, cui nos potissimum incumbimus, molestiis suavior respiratio? ecqua ab hujusce pulveris intensissimis sudoribus relaxatio utilior? ecquid a literario labore otium honestius? an aliud quippiam condimenti austerius pabulum philosophicum jucundius temperet, quam moderata festivitatum tinctura, quam honesta leporum amœnitas? Hæc nempe languentes spiritus reparat et recolligit, hæc tristes solvit affectus, hæc ab immodica animum attentione avertit; de satietate reficit, de fatigatione renovat; adimit languores, vires redintegrat: exitum, denique, hæc optatum superfluis phantasiæ fumis subministrat, quibus si non libera

concedatur expiratio, redeunt in sese, et in spissum obstipati coagulum sua animum densissima ubertate obstruunt suffocantque, ut dum induere gravitatem quandam et mœstitiam juvenes videamur, biliosa extemplo quadam insania imprudentes implicemur. Istos vapores festivitas discutit, recludit meatus, exhilarat spiritus, animum laxat et distendit, ut jam mobilior alacriorque, sibique non impar suis ipse officiis defungatur. Enimvero tumidum illud supercilium, compositos ad ærumnas vultus, Cleantheam faciem morti concolorem, verba affectatam quandam gravitatem et fastuosam prudentiam ostentantia, tragicos gestus Erynnias potius quam Musas, Eumenides quam Gratias, Rhadamanthum aliquem quam Apollinem addecentes, et nostra ætas et hujusce loci genius repudiant. Vivimus nos non in stoa, sed in academia; non in Areopago, sed in Lycæo; invita nobis ora nulla adhuc senectus corrugavit, ut urbicos potius patruos quam juvenes academicos sapiamus. Utamini igitur, si cui vestrum allubescat, per me jocis castis quidem illis, modestis ac innocentibus, reliqui modo injurii, obscœni, sacrilegi, quo digni sunt, eant ad corvos. Estis tamen monendi, ut cætera facetiis vestris loco, tempori, personis congrua adessent, modum quoque esse adhibendum: quem sane hactenus defuisse, testetur illa, quæ mentes vestras occupavit immodica nescio quæ voluptatis titillatio. Intra nullos sese terminos continebat hydropicus ridendi appetitus. Ad hunc locum frequentes confluxistis, an discendi. an audiendi, an proficiendi, imo vero sola hinc ridendi, illinc jocandi gratia? Quasi non alibi quam hic suam celebraret aulam ipsa stultitia, suas hic ageret nundinas, et universale nugarum emporium; scommata, convitia, barbarismos bibula aure sorbetis, mox evomitis rursus omnia probe in auriculis concocta, et sua plausus bene aucta Echo, quasi æra Dodonæa resonatis. Nihil est ab omni adeo levitate abludens aut sejunctum, quod vos statim, quæ vestra est alchymia, in risus et jocos non commutetis. Risit Zeuxis anum a se pictam; risit Chrysippus asinum ficis vescentem; uterque ridendo obiere. Vos etiam quotidie, omnium horarum homines, inspicere licet, anilia quædam deliramenta et ficu non digna asinos edentes, tantum non ridendo emortuos. Illa ex orationibus demantur, nihil placet: non dignitas, non concinnitas, non gravitas, non elegantia, nec pondus, nec ornamentum; neque nervi, neque aculei, neque robur deinde, neque pulchritudo. Non delicatos nares vel fragrantissimi rhetoricæ flosculi; non palatum mellitissimæ verborum illecebræ; nec oculos lumina ulla, nec pigmenta, neque lenocinia oblectarunt; ipsæ figuræ deformes erant; ipsa argumenta arguebantur, ipsæ rationes obbrutuerunt, omnia præter unicum jocum rejecta, præter unicum illum petulantem Cupidinem, qui vestra omnium corda animosque tyrannico aliquo telo fixisse, vulnerasse, domuisse videbatur. Ab indecora hac effuse ineptiendi libidine illud saltem vos coërceat, quod minime sint in illo ridendi loco res nostræ constitutæ. Et nostris suspicionibus, et plerisque aliorum calculis exitio addicti, isto modo academiæ funera curemus, ne minime alii nostram misericordia calamitatem prosequantur, dum nostris ipsi instantibus fatis Sardonio hoc risu quasi gratulari videamur.

Et jam vestra mihi vicissim, auditores humanissimi, opus est indulgentia, ne forte minus arrideat vobis hæc mea prolixa declamatio potius, quam oratio. Quin redeamus pariter in gratiam, inque illa, quæ ad nostrum omnium decus promovendum, ad illustrandam academiæ gloriam, ad eluendas præsentis infamiæ maculas, ad rei literariæ (heu jam afflictissimæ) solatium faciant, unanimi industria contendamus. Solenni vos obtestor desiderio, academici, virtutem imprimis et modestiam, integritatem vitæ, morum comitatem, animi linguæque temperantiam et castitatem amplecti, prosequi, venerari. Erigite vestros de hodierno torpore vivaces animos; turpissimum illum desidiæ somnum et veternum excutite. Peculiarem horum temporum ignaviam corruptricem morum, decoctricem ingenii, nutricem et lacunam vitiorum, magni cujusque et egregii solam pene et certissimam hostem, procul in suas regiones facessere jubeatis. Quin omnibus diligentiæ nervis, forti animo, fervido conatu, invictis studiis, sudoribus et vigiliis obite literas nobiles, eximias, immortales, mentis vestræ vitæque castissimas delicias, suavissimas epulas, ditissimum thesaurum, tutissimum præsidium, pulcherrimum ornamentum. Ameat

tua deliria, indulgeant suis somniis fanatica secula; suam ipsi lucem manibus pedibusque eant extinctum: de vita et statu innocentium literarum, acclamante et hic justitiam popello, extrema sententia statuant; absit ut vos ea contaminati insania virgineo renuncietis choro, eas desertatis literas, per quas steterunt hactenus, et in æternum stabunt sua inviolata numini reverentia, sua virtuti laus, suus veritati locus: per quas hucusque perennarunt limpidissimi hi Castalidum fontes, per quas effloruit hoc Musarum Elysium; per quas vestra academiæ præstet virtus, ut ex hoc inglorio atque infami seculo eluctetur. Harum utcunque auxilio literarum supra importunæ plebeculæ perpetuo jam vobis obstrepentis despectissimam sortem vos attollite; harum ope de popularis æstimii ingratissimo contemptu, de publici obloquii flagellis, de injuriis temporum vos vindicate; ne forte existant haud pauci faleras vestras non immerito detractas, nuperimaque ista tributorum onera vere asinis imposita asserentes. Harum, denique, præsidio freti grassantem inscitiam ejicere; succumbentem veritatem excitare; renascentiam errorum et novitatum indignissima monstra profligare; nostramque adeo academiam in sui honoris pristinum fastigium revehere connitamini: nullo non genere literarum feracissima vestra ingenia excolite; nullis circumscripta finibus, nullis inclusa angustiis, nullis emensa spatiis, nusquam aut ripas aut obices agnoscens in immensum evagetur vestra cognitio: in ardua naturæ ascendite; in abyssos veritatis vos immergite; in adyta scientiarum penetrate: suppudeat vos ulla esse omnino in scientiis arcana vestræ diligentiæ inaccessa, ullos calles vestris non impressos vestigiis, ullas tenebras vestri intellectus fulgore non illustratas, ullam aut linguam tam absonam, aut dialectum tam difficilem, ut vestri aciem captus effugiat. Nempe dum vos assidue legitis, subtiliter disseritis, facunde peroratis, quis pudor est utilissimam simul et pulcherrimam mathesin sua obscuritate quasi obsignatam intra prodigiosos characterum cortices delitescere; divinam geometriam paucos ultra superficiem attingere; in solidum, in profundum, in ipsa scientiæ intima, ubi lateant usus magis quam ostentatio, neminem descendere; quod cæcos illos et implicatos numerorum labyrinthos acuminis industrii Ariadneo filo extricare satagant vel duo vel nemo: in geographia terras incognitas, et nihil ultra relinqui; illustrem astrorum scientiam, miramque opticen irrefracto constantis animi radio perpaucos intueri; patentes et fœcundissimos Arabiami agros ignorari; sanctæ linguæ mysteria cæca devotione coli potius, quam cognosci; Græcos a Barbaris, in mediis hisce Athenis, plurimorum judicio non dissonare; relique omnia quamlibet optima, quanquam præclara, modo inesse aliquid difficultatis summa species ostentet, sicco pede præteriri? Ecce, dum hæc loquor, tacito obrepens incessu, in suos fontes labitur, in suum caput pervenit nostra parænesis; ad sacrosanctam philosophiam scientiarum parentem dixero, an deam quandam, degentem in cœlis, metientem infinita, scrutantem profundissima, contemplantem singula, complectentem universa; cujus ego nunquam fuerim confertissimas divitias, eximiam utilitatem, miros effectus, digna encomia celebrando; quo pacto nempe animum formet et fabricet, vitam disponat, actiones regat, pellat vitia, expugnet passiones, errores discutiat, liberet ab ærumnis, solicitudines detrahat; per ancipita fluctuantium dirigat cursum, agenda et omittenda demonstret; in Dei, in naturæ, in veritatis sinum perducat, det animo latius regnare, omnia possidere, et in suam originem redire; admoveat tamen ea ambigua vitæ, et secreta rerum discernantur, eaque efficiat pleraque, quæ stupor potius, quam loquela, religio, quam laudes silentium quam præconium, mens luculentius, quam lingua docebunt, et explicabunt; de quibus loqui est temeritas, et loquendo detrahere sacrilegium. Ad talis tantæque disciplinæ studium acriter capessendum me vos incitare dedecus fuerit; æquius erit sperare vestram indolem vice esse stimulorum; apud vos rei pulchritudinem pro centum precibus, necessitatem vero pro mille fore argumentis. Ducem nobis, et perpetuum in philosophia dictatorem multi tractus, et præscriptio temporis, continuæ veneratio antiquitatis tradidit nobis Aristotelem, dignum mehercle hoc principatu; acerrimi ingenii, omnigenæ doctrinæ, indefessæ industriæ virum; quem non immerito et ego dubitem cum

clarissimo rhetore an scientia rerum, an scriptorum copia, an eloquendi suavitate, an inventionum acumine, an varietate operum clariorem putem. Stet illi (per me) sua integra et inconcussa in his locis authoritas; maneat suum imperium, fruatur suis fascibus; revocetis vos modo in animum neutiquam constare, an illum unum genuerit philosophia, in quo omnes suas vires experiretur; neminem unum tot arduis, ambiguis, secretis, imo ne manifestis quidem pervidendis suffecisse; naturam in unici pectoris angustiis infinitos suos thesauros, diffusissimasque opes nunquam conclusisse; libero demum vos ortos esse judicio, intellectu sui juris, mente nulli imperio obnoxia; aptos natos vos esse tam imperare, quam subjici, tam præire, quam sequi, tam probare quam credere, tam invenire quam doceri. Solius ingenium vestrum veritatis jugo et arbitrio permittite. Exerceat illa quandam in vos, si velit, tyrannidem; ejus numen colite, ejus altaribus litate; in hunc vestros oculos scopum dirigite; in hanc iter cynosuram intendite. Sit hæc vestræ palma victoriæ, vestræ brabium certaminis, vestri trophæum prælii; eliciat nobis cœlestem hanc flammam vester disputandi conflictus; emergat hæc harmonia e vestris tot dissonantibus sententiis; in hunc vos portum contrariis hisce ventis, stabiliente cursum sinceritatis et modestiæ Saburra, tenente clavum peritia, sedulitatis remis promoventibus velificamini. Obstet veritati apud vos nullum sectæ studium, nulla sententiæ pervicacia, nullus amor novitatis, nullum vetustatis præjudicium. Quanquam nollem vos (nisi sacrilegi esse velitis) antiquitatem plane aut respuere, aut aspernari: debetur sua illi religio, sua reverentia; hæc nobis præivit; hæc faces prætulit, [hæc artes et prudentiam invenit], hæc calles scientiæ indicavit; id autem, ad quod et hæc et cætera referantur, veritas est; hæc ditat, hæc perficit, hæc nobilitat animam; hac nihil prius, nihil antiquius, nihil sanctius esse debet; vetustatem igitur oportet jure suo diligere, veritatem venerari; hanc æstimare, illam præponere; huic studere, illam sectari. Gravissime pudeat vos novitatis studio, vel quodam potius consuetæ veritatis fastidio prisca et vera contemnere, hesterna et falsa aucupari; putidæ hoc est levitatis, nefariæ injuriæ, pudendæ ingratitudinis; levitatis, inquam, veritatem agnitam, injuriæ dudum obtinentem, ingratitudinis aliorum opera inventam et traditam rejicere et abdicare. Quam etiam turpe fuerit vos, morbo quodam et fanatica ambitione agitatos, tumulata obitu feliciter errorum portenta e suis nobis cineribus resuscitare; Epicuri intermundia, Democritum inane, Deos in otio et desidia feriantes, animam Galeni aut Dicæarchi quandam e nescio quibus elementorum Suzygiis contemperatam, et consimilia his falsa, explosa, absurda et impia dogmata novo apparatu, recente pompa in has scholas postliminio reducere. Sin quis signatum præsente nota nummum nobis velit procudere, licet hoc per me, semperque licebit, modo non fictum, non fucatum, non adulterinum. Veritati enim novæ, et hactenus inauditæ primum apposuisse calculum, veritatem tot secula latentem e tenebris eruisse, laudandæ est inventionis, invidendæ libertatis, sempiternæ gloriæ. Illud autem serio vos commoneo, ne veritati sit fraudi, neutiquam eam in ornatu semper eleganti, nec perpetuo aut pexam cincinnis, aut calamistris comptam, nec unguentis delibutam, nec exoticis luminibus decoratam; nullis fucis, nullis vocum lautitiis inquinatam, non in amœnis continuo viretis, nec tam in Platonis alicujus aut Theophrasti mellitissimis sermonibus, quam in scholasticis spinis et salebris, in quadam vocabulorum barbarie horridam, incultam, invenustam versari et residere: non sunt illi e vestris manibus squalidi scholastici omnino deponendi; habent illi suum si non cultum, at fructum; utilitatem, si non concinnitatem; habent suum in pectore, si non in lingua Mercurium. Quid etiam si illi ingenio plus quam arte valuerint; si suas ipsi umbras aliquando fortiter debellarint, et larvas confoderint acuto nimium pugione; si nulli experientiæ multas scientias, exili fundamento operosas structuras inædificaverint; si denique e naturæ visceribus paucas telas, e suis ipsorum plurimas et subtilissimas confecerint? ut raro veritatem sint assequuti, fungentur saltem vobis vice cotis; proderunt si minus materia, at modo utcunque disputandi; veritatem in suo et simplice habitu dignoscere, presse stricteque disserere, sagaciter inquirere, circumspecte explorare, ambiguitates tollere, difficultates enodare,

scrupulos diluere, involuta evolvere, flexanimis syllogismis et infirmare falsa et vera confirmare, vos instruent atque edocebunt. Ulterius vos ego institutos, pluribusque admonitos voluissem; at ecce jam incipio vereri, academici, ne immodicus vestræ lasciviæ vindex nimio prolixitatis tormento patientiam vestram exercuerim; ne auditorum jam tandem plerosque probe obtusos, ipsoque adeo illepido suo moderatore reddiderim stupidiores. Retraho idcirco meipsum in salutem tam dissitis jam orationis intervallis disjunctam iterum mihi iterumque repetendum. Salvete. Valete. Dixi.

Vos autem, doctissimi, respondens pariter et opponentes, efficite, ut dum externo huic actui inesse aliquid, imo plurimum bonitatis aperte demonstretis, tu propriam ipse thesin defendendo evertas, vos arguendo id probetis, quod argumentis evincere non possitis. Vide etiam tu veritatem rerum divino conformem esse intellectui valide et perspicue astruendo, ut tua etiam sententia ipsi veritati conformis esse videatur. Ita fiet ut tuæ virtuti et diligentiæ cum veritas ipsa, tum et nos omnes plurimum debeamus; illa, quam in divinam a deo originem retulisti; nos etiam, quos ad tam excelsam et cœlestem rem ardentissimo conatu amplectandam animabis.

Unicum est, academici, quod me fugit perorantem; cujus vos etiamnum participes facere, nescio an gratum fuerit. Habituri estis propediem ex voto vestro et sententia animi moderatores duos. Unum nuperrimum tripodem vestrum, ipsas, ut probe meministis, jocorum delicias. Alterum autem, non tripodem quidem illum, verum omnium tamen (quos ego quidem cognovi unquam) bipedum lepidissimum. Quod cum ita se habeat, noluissem ego utcunque exiguis meis, si quæ adfuissent, facetiarum ferculis tantas lautitias minima ex parte antevertendo stomachum vestrum fregisse. Valete, et strenue expectate. Vos autem agite. Dixi.

ORATIO

HABITA QUINTO NOV. ANNO 1651, IN AULA S. TRIN. COLLEGII.

Reverendissime Præsul, Nobilissime Juvenis, Gravissimi Viri, Juventus Academica.

Ultimus jam tandem læti nuncii præco fores vestras pulsat, et si non intus perstrepens gaudium omnem vobis foris oberrantium ademit conscientiam, benevolarum sibi aurium introitum recludi precatur. Jamdiu est ex quo diurnæ solennitatis moram perpessa nox hæc longe augustissima suo tandem ordine succedere gestit, suasque adesse jam vices jubila vestra excipiendi sibi pariter ac vobis abunde gratulatur. Enimvero dignior haud immerito sibi visa, quæ exultationis vestræ potissimas partes sibi vindicaret, utpote quam non eousque ac hodiernam lucem tam immanis tragœdiæ designatio inquinavit; quæque infandi facinoris (horribile dictu!) peracti modo ac perpetrati funestissimis effectibus suum primo tenebrarum velum obduxisset. Fuerit certe hujusce rei fidelem memoriam in tot annorum vertentium vestigiis altius impressam, luculenta toties, hodierna præsertim, facundissimorum virorum commemoratione renovatam, vegetiores lætitiæ vestræ appetitus exsaturasse; minime tamen fastidiosa res est gaudium; dum pascit animum, irritat acrius ad recentes continuo succos e pabulo suo exugendos, et hujusce hydræ, quam excisam hodie et profligatam celebramus, illud ingenium est, ut quantumvis innumeris sui capitibus detectis et amputatis, novi tamen semper aliquid monstri subnascatur; in quod vos gaudii et gratitudinis triumphos ageretis. Declinavit jam dies, ne sinite ut vester etiam lætandi impetus consenescat. Quod restat, celebris curriculi festis tripudiis alacrius absolvite. Descendens sol vester major appareat, et fortior gaudii flamma in tenebras modo abitura. Sed quid ego frustra curiosi molior, dum illos in pectoribus vestris igniculos acrius inflammo, qui ut langueant unquam aut deficiant, non est verendum, dum id solum

fide in animo recolatis, quantum hoc sit beneficii quod accepistis, qualis illa calamitas fuerit quam evitastis? Beneficium inquam non simplex aut unicum, verum tot fœtum et prægnans beneficiis, quot poterant nobis præstare continuata pax, conservata respublica, stabilita religio, optimi principis, sobolis regiæ serenissimæ, consultissimorum procerum, universi adeo regni salus imminentis exitii faucibus erepta; quin et per ipsum, ut olim, restituta vis legibus, judiciis authoritas, rediens cultus agris, sacris honos, hominibus securitas, suo cuique rerum suarum possessio; tanta vero depulsa calamitas, quanta fuisset, tam ingentibus beneficiis semel nec opinantes excidisse. O inauspicatam miseriam, quæ tot nos tantisque bonis spoliare potuit! potuit? imo tentavit. O infaustum scelus, cujus tanta miseria effectus extitisset! scelus! imo omnium scelerum caput et fastigium, cujus respectu reliqua omnia juste et sancta admissa, et quocum collata dirissima parricidia excusanda, imo laudanda viderentur. Evolvamus monumenta temporum, fidem historiæ appellemus, archiva gentium, acta curiarum, barbarorum instituta scrutemur; prodat nobis intima veritatis conscientia, quodcunque flagitii aut foras lux protulit, aut opacæ tenebræ obruerunt; quin et in conspectu nobis statuamus exquisiti aliquam facinoris effigiem, quod nec suspicio majorum somniare, nec posterorum queat credulitas admittere; quod qui præsenti seculo intersint, non nisi stupidi et exanimes videant, videant tamen: compingatur in unum quicquid excoctæ et conquisitæ sævitiæ Thracia stabula, Tauricæ aræ, Thyestææ epulæ, Siculi cruciatus; quicquid Marianæ, Sullanæ, Antonianæ proscriptiones, denique quodcunque immanitatis exemplum aut veræ historia, aut fictæ tragœdia repræsentat. Ecce hujusce diei ingeniosam carnificinam, in qua hæc omnia cum amplo fœnore convenerint et conspiraverint. Ecce scelus, quod nullus unquam successus cohonestasset; quod illi ipsi, quorum susceptum est gratia, præ se ferunt odisse! En proditionem, quam vel neuter Philippus amasset, nec Macedo, nec Hispanus; cujus artifices primarii Loiolitæ, quum cæteros mortales pangendis technis, dolisque consuendis vincere dicantur, in hoc seipsos multis parasangis videntur superasse. Ecce vero quo me importunæ et intemperantis loquelæ præpostero ordine rapuit sceleris nondum perspecti aut explorati detestatio! Cautius vos maturiusque consiliis usi eousque vehementiores affectus protrahite et inhibete, donec extractis e suo cinere hodierni qua mali, qua emolumenti originibus, vestra haud injuria sanctissimumque gaudium gravissimaque indignatio suos impetus accipiant. Illas igitur ut et rescire queatis accuratius, et dignius æstimare, indulgete, quæso pacem vestram et patientiam, humanissimi auditores, oratori vestro, si usitati moris pomœria præsentisque officii quasi oleas transgressus, vobis ob oculos illorum temporum (quorum hæc pestis summam felicitatem oppugnatum ibat et eversum) imaginem quandam proposuerit, equidem rudem illam et imperfectam, sed quæ pulchrior longe atque augustior videretur, si nacta esset oratorem, eam non dico exornando, sed enarrando idoneum.

Agebant halcyonis dies insulæ hæ fortunatæ, iis omnibus bonis, copiisque florentes, quæ aut liberali indulgentia numinis, aut optimorum principum solertia et cura in aliquam unquam gentem exundaverint. Quæ bona plurima sane atque amplissima, altæ et diuturnæ pacis beneficio firma et quasi perpetua reddebantur. Cives omnibus amici, sibi mutuo fratres cum exteris fœdera, inter se concordiam coluerant; nec tam illa concordia fuit quam charitas, non in cessatione armorum publica, sed in intima animorum conjunctione sita. Augusti in hoc orbe altero tempora revocata aspeximus, quum solæ Jani ædes occlusæ, reliquorum numinum fores starent apertæ. Descenderat pridem e cœlo Astræa, suasque in curiis sedes fixas posuerat, certa dudum apud se nisi invita non redeundi. Hinc vis pulsa, propugnatum fas, securitate innocentia, armis imbecillitas donata est. Judicii sellas occupabant viri graves, scientia, dignitate, integritate præstantes; per quos stetit ne plus ipsa potentia posset quam jus, et ne fortunæ potius quam merito præmia cederent. Nec delinquere impune, nec immuniter mereri fuit. Etiam infimæ sortis viris per virtutis scalas gradum ad honores facere tuto licuit, et qui culmen dignitatis obtinuerant, ab invidiæ telis securi eminebant. Nec egenis ab injuria, nec locu-

pletibus a rapina periculum imminuit. Nec in foro strepitus uspiam, nec extra forum querelæ auditæ sunt. Isto pacto coeuntes inter se pax et justitia miram omnium ordinum opulentiam procreaverant. Per hanc facile, per illam tutum erat ditescere; quum in acquisitas opes nec grassare aperta vis nec occulta latrocinia auderent. Crimen videri potuit tunc temporis pauper esse, et tremendæ cujusdam ignaviæ tam facili clivo opimiorem statum non ascendere. Tutum et pervium mare mercatoribus (quod facile industria principis effecerat, nec minus exterorum propensus favor, tam beatæ genti præ pudore non adversantium) indigenas nobis Indiæ ac Arabiæ gazas comparaverat. In sinum agricolæ sursum terra uberes proventus, aureosque desuper imbres placidum cœlum fundebat. Opifici deesse citius manus, quam merces poterant, cæterique passim ordines hominum suis quisque opibus affluebat. Ita fixas pace, fultasque res æquitate Britanniæ prosperas divitæ etiam splendidas præstiterant, ac multo sanctiorem ornatum, honestiusque præsidium literæ late triumphantes contulerunt. Meminerant tunc homines Musas Jovis filias esse, suoque illas honore fraudari sacrilegii esse ducebant. Etiam qui eas ambire non possent, devote tamen colere didicerunt, inque aliis suscipiebant non inviti quas in se cum mœrore desiderarent. Nimirum artes tunc dierum certa spes aluit et impinguavit, lautisque Minervalibus cultores suos remunerando erat ipsa eruditio. Tum sapientiæ studere non erat desipere; nec ad fastigium doctrinæ aspirare, projicere se fuit in abyssum paupertatis. In hisce templis sapientiæ, quam venerabilis mystarum, quam candidatorum spectabilis frequentia versabatur? In singulis hisce orbibus literariis quam conspicuus siderum globus fulgebat? Quoties seipsam regia majestas ad aras Musarum venerabundam demisit? Quoties nostram hanc rempublicam Platonis rex philosophus invisebat, et quasi gavisa est aula se degere in academia? Quot sacris pedibus palæstra hæc terebatur? Quam tunc nituit toga, et nostrum insigniter lauretum effloruit? Felicitatis nostræ infimos gradus, et prima quasi rudimenta accepistis; qui restat apex et cumulus redundantis gloriæ excelsiori nos invidiæ subjecit, qui nostram coronando erat, imo consecrando felicitatem. Religio nem nostram dico, sanctam illam et intaminatam; puram fide, pulchram ordine, venerandis ritibus decoram, qua nulla unquam gens vel usurpare potuit vel exoptare aut veriorem aut pulchriorem. In qua vix aliquid fuit quod superbia contemnere, vix quod calumnia accusare, nihil fere quod desiderare æqua et moderata ingenia possent. Nec veteres illa corruptelas, nec hesternas ineptias admittebat. Summe simplex fuit; nec nuda tamen iis ornamentis, quibus antiqua pietas et consulta prudentia ecclesiam honestaverant. Quicquid rebus sacris spissæ caliginis præeuntium seculorum infelix ignorantia infuderat; quicquid lutulentarum sordium turpis avaritia affricuerat; si quas fraudes artesque malesanas ineffrænis quorundam hominum ambitio, aut si quid luxus perditique moris fomites gula et crapula invexerat; illa jam olim omnia rejecerat. Sacri ministerii cervicibus jugum externæ tyrannidis depulsum, publicisque officiis inutiles pompæ eliminatæ; faciem ubique erat primævi temporis agnoscere candidam et immaculatam; eosque qui a pietate olim profecti eo iterum redirent, matremque suam auctiorem redderent et fœcundiorem. Publica ecclesiæ administratio non in tali fastu aut fastigio constituta est, ut gravis aliquando principi, reipublicæ periculosa evaderet; nec tamen ita projecta repebat humi, ut impure illam inepti ac importuni homines contemnere aut proculcare possent. Dignus scilicet habitus est sacer ordo, qui dignitate aliqua præfulgeret, ad res suas tuendas simul et amplificandas. Rerum gubernacula tractabant quamplurimi præsules, Viri prudentia conspicui, doctrina eximii, pietate præcellentes, ætate venerabiles, qui tam illustri officio ipsi erant ornamento, quantumque acceperant lucis, tantum vicissim splendoris refundebant, quos vel aspexisse erat pudorem didicisse et tantum non induisse virtutem. Hæ eos præclarissimæ dotes, quum suis charos et colendos facerent, etiam alienis non ingratos, nec ipsis quidem hostibus invisos, servare debuit, quem exhiberent omnibus, modestissimus candor et pene divina animi moderatio. Aliis illi facilius quam sibi ipsis errantibus ignoscerent, nec statim quoscunque a se sententia dis-

junctos, suo exturbatos cœlo, infelici oroo addicerent; sanæ nimirum mentis virtutem, non subtilis ingenii [vires exercentes.] Quam ægre patior me a jucundissima hac materia divelli? Quam recreat me animitus et exhilaret illorum temporum recordatio? Quam illis non illibenter immorarer diutius, imo et immorerer? Sed vos, academici, adeo luxuriantis fortunæ tædium cepit; qui vestra olim bona vix audiendo estis numerata, quo modo ea ferendo fuissetis ablata? Interim id strenue incubuit optimus rex Jacobus, ut ampliora nobis hæc omnia et stabiliora retineret. Satellitem ille pacis nostræ, patronum justitiæ, opum custodem, fautorem literarum præcipuum, etiam et revera fidei defensorem egit. Princeps in ea tempora, quæ deberent esse felicia, quasi fato quodam reservatus, in quo omnes regiæ artes et virtutes, quæ reliquos sparsim acceptæ commendant principes, conjunctim elucebant. In quo pietas Numæ, sapientia Antonini, amor erga ecclesiam Constantini cujusvis, quodque in illa fortuna arduum est, ipsa Alphonsi eruditio convenirent; qui erat non magis ex vetere acclamandi formula quam reipsa "Trajano melior, Augusto felicior." At si licet dicere, cæteris ejus regiis virtutibus palmam præripuit invicta quædam animi clementia et moderatio; qua etiam infensos sibi et perduellos benigne qua licuit, tractaret, legesque in eos latas necessario parce tantum stringeret et coacte; censuit enim ille Titus oportere neminem e sua præsentia tristem discedere; maluitque Augustus ille amari, quam metui; pacis admodum studiosus, nec qui vellet inutilibus se bellis immiscendo aureo hamo piscari. Didicerat a Tiberio illud semper ducere gloriosum quod esset tutissimum, et ante conscientiæ suæ consulere, quam famæ; illud vero præsertim a Trajano, duas res aliis insociabiles creditas arcto inter se conjugio divinxisse, libertatem et principatum. Talis ille tantusque rex in eo jam erat, ut procurandæ pacis et salutis erga ordines regni universos, viros quoscunque nobilissimos, etiamque e singulis provinciis, civitatibus, municipiis, pagis deputatos ad se convocaret, Viros lectissimos, consultissimosque. Videre esset illic ex omni cœlo quacunque diffunditur Britannico in unum sidus compactas clarissimas stellas, suavi luce et benignis influxibus serena nobis omnia præsagientes. Nusquam terrarum erat spectabilior consessus, nec quem deceret magis totius orbis moderatio. In unum hunc confluentem vis se omnis et consilium regni derivaverant. Florem illic et compendium Angliæ, imo ipsam Angliam conspiceres, totiusque corpus reipublicæ. Caput illuc regni eminebat rex prudentissimus; cuiquasi facies pulchra inserebatur nobilissima regina, ex qua itidem duo oculi serenissimi prominuerant, regii liberi, Angliæ aurei partus, gentis deliciæ, Junonis pueri, spes et vota sequentis ævi [heu! dilecta olim nomina] Henricus et Carolus. Commeasset illuc quasi in unam venam sanguis regni, nobilitas purus et illibatus, illustrissimi duces et comites, barones equitesque fortissimi. Illic et Judices assidebant sensus reipublicæ acerrimi perspicacissimique, quid salutare accideret reipublicæ, quidve noxium indicare paratissimi. Penes reliquos provinciarum delegatos erant vigor strenui cordis, validæ manus, humeri onera reipublicæ portando pares, singula membra ad speciem pulchra, adque usum necessaria; quibus postremo omnibus pii et venerandi præsules ceu sanctior anima diviniorque Spiritus assistebant. Partes hæ omnes unius consilii concordisque inter se voti commissuris nectebantur; quibus cunctis id studii ac muneris unicum dabatur, vita ac salus universi.

Ædes antiqua erat præcipua veneratione sacra, Themidis vetustum sacrarium, locus habendo senatui e prisco usu destinatus. Illiciti quiddam videretur lapides ejus vel tangere per tot annos sanctorum consiliorum participes; suo vero loco quem multis seculis occupaverant movere, non injuria tantum sed sacrilegium. In eam nonis Novembris, conventui dies dictus, ille ipse hodiernus, quem quum in fatis positum prævideret fortuna fore aliquando faustissimum, diu tamen quasi ambigere se simulaverat, quo eam lapillo matrisne an novercæ numeraret, tandem evanido atri fundamento permanens album induxit, inque illam, quam conspicimus hodie et gratulamur, evexit celebritatem. Ita rebus Anglia indormiens præsentibus, nihil futuri anxia, eo potissimum intenta erat, felicitatis suæ curæ potius quam tutelæ incumbere, quæ unde amittendi periculum contingeret ignoravit. In suo rege se populus tutum,

in sua se rex innocentia incolumem arbitrabatur. Externis periculis aditum fida sanctio fœderum præclusit, ab intestinis vires regni integræ, legumque salubres cautelæ prospexerant. Quis sub hoc lapide latere scorpium suspicari potuisset? quis tam roseo vultui, tam libero et temperato cerebro, tam vegeto cordi, tam incorruptis pulmonibus, tam validæ et robustæ corporis compagi subesse virus inscrutabile, cujus maligna efficacia, unius instantis paroxysmus omnia dissolvisset? Ecce quam nihil nobis fortunæ est fidendum? Quam facile sit illius blanditiis succumbere? Amat illa ludos nos jocosque facere, gaudetque votorum apicem nactos inde præcipites deturbare. Solvet invidiæ fumus pulcherrimas quasi fortunas persequi, neque dignatur illa sua jacula nisi in altum collimare. Quæ felicitas tam est modesta, ut dentes effugiat malignitatis? Scilicet tunc oppugnamur validius, tum opprimimur facilius, quum nosmet nihil sequius timentes extra omnem aleam discriminis collocamus. Quam almam meridiem luridæ noctis confinio unicum instans disterminavit? Quam in non nubilo et serenissimo cœlo dira vis horrendæ tempestatis parabatur? quam prope erat ut ex altissimæ tranquillitatis somnio in luctuosam perniciem evigilasset Britannia? In composito æquore lascive progredientem reipublicæ ratem, ridenti cœlo, velis expansis, nautis se per fausta celeusmata cohortantibus, parvæ et paucæ remoræ, momentanea procella, quantillus scopulus evertissent et conquassissent! Proh Superos immortales! quam exigui pulveris, quam nullius sudoris res est, humana omnia quantalibet firmitate fundatissima convellere et labefactare! ecce totius regni consultissima capita unius cerebelli versutia pene elusisset, magisque hæc consulendo perdere, quam illa servare, potuisset! Tantas vires et copias innumeri militis, ducumque illustrissimorum, unica perpusilla manus facili ictu expugnasset! Tam solida ædificia, tot ingentes apparatus, tam vastas moles, adeo magnificas aularum et atriorum structuras, tenuis spiritus perexigui pulveris difflasset et diruisset! Tot denique annorum operæ curæque, constabiliendæ paci, ornandæ religioni, confirmandæ reipublicæ insumptæ, unius momenti temporis prostrata impressione succubuissent. Hactenus ambages secutum est scelus; teneræ nimirum frontis, nec sese ausum præ misero pudore in vestri conspectum proferre; nunc in apricum exeant malis avibus, nunc nefaria sua capita exerant in lucem æterni tenebrarum filii Catesbius, Percius, Fawkius, et cætera innominanda nomina, opprobria humani generis, monstra naturæ, pudor seculi, quos in æternum erubescet Anglia se in dias luminis oras protraxisse. O Anglia, cætera favore Numinis felicissima, in hoc summe misera, quod e tuis reperti fuerint, qui suam æquo animo ferendo non erant felicitatem: quod ex utero tuo illud genus viperarum prodierit, quæ absque ruina tua superesse vel non poterant, vel, quod plorabilius, non voluerant. Illi salutis tuæ domini esse malunt, quam suam non prodigere; amantque tuis malis privata vulnera operire; ut sua esses, obrutam te volunt. Satius ducunt cum publica ruina proteri quam propria, ut si forte quas votorum summas quieta republica consequi desperent, eas perturbata consequantur. Primarius hujusce nequitiæ architectus Catesbius, perniciosæ machinæ fidelis ille Dædalus, cujus turgido livore pectori patriæ suæ prosperi casus jam olim immedicabile vulnus inflixissent, certus jam diu animo erat, quocunque pretio sceleris, rerum nostrarum ita ex voto fluentium exuberantes successus interjecto obice frænandi. Quum vero ex irritis sæpenumero molitionibus animadverteret tandem, apertam vim parum proficere, etiam nunc Hercule seu Hispano humeros suos subtrahente, leoninam protinus deponere, astutæque vulpis instar dolis nos occultisque cuniculis subruere et supplantare, secum agitavit. Quum igitur profunda meditatione defixus diutius cerebro suo laborasset, aliquid videbatur egregium armatæ Palladis contra Angliam parturire. Nihil ille modici sceleris spirare, nihil quod superioribus seculis invento vel patrato facinori simile quicquam haberet, aut commune: humilis esse ingenii autumabat imitari. Illud demum sua arte dignum esse, quod absque exemplo foret, cujusque excogitati penes se solitariam laudem jure possit asserere. Quid, regem tolleret? hoc perfidiæ genus multi ante se ausi, nonnulli executi fuerunt. Perditorum hominum manum contra rempublicam armaret? obstat fre-

quentis exempli præjudicium, et forte videri hoc posset a Lentulo quopiam aut Catilina magistris hausisse; minorum se gentium proditoribus aggregare; id vero tanquam vile ac inglorium serio detestatur. Quin et operæ pretium non explere existimat lenta morte perimere Angliam, aut simplice eam plaga consauciare, unde unquam spes foret eam convalescere; maluit potius cum Domitiano non per intervalla aut spiramenta temporum, sed continuo unoque ictu rempublicam exhaurire. Postquam igitur vir ille, de quo ut de Hannibale olim nunc quoque dubitari possit, pejorne fuerit, an ingeniosior, hoc proposito fretus, subdoli capitis cellulas sæpius excussisset; postquam quascunque furias aut infra Orcus suppeditare, aut intra se accensi vindictæ cupiditate pectoris rabies colligere potuerint, in partes consilii adhibuisset, virtute talis solertiæ palmaria hæc fraus undecunque suggesta emersit, in qua sibi votorum omnium summa inesse, quoque confecto tot incassum pertentata molimina redimere, videbatur; cujus sola ope spes sibi ex imo Tartaro affulsit fore, ut regem et regnum, præsules et proceres pares communesque, pacem, justitiam, pietatem uno haustu absorberet. Quid dubito dignum perpetui silentii tenebris consilium clarius enunciare? Cogitaverat secum Catesbius (furto enim opus esse) sub domum senatoriam, eoque (quum proxime ordines considerent) ductis cuniculis magnam vim tormentarii pulveris subjicere, accenso frequentes et universos, cum rege, regina, regiisque liberis, proh lugubre nefas! unius ruinæ involvere ruderibus. Hoc mirificum inventum cum parenti suo admodum adblandiretur, quæ est pesti indoles, non diu se consilium intra privatos parietes continuit, ne violenti halitus contagio capaces quosvis, eodemque humore imbutos afflaret. Edocti igitur a Catesbio, eodem ovo exclusi nefarii homines, Percius, Winterus, Treshamus, reliquique, quid fabæ procuderet, citius promptiusque arripiunt sceleris flammam, quam aut eam pulvis suus aut sulphur concepissent. Pene prius accipitur consilium quam offertur; quid enim erga eos opus est ullis suadelæ artificiis ad inducendum facinus, cujus continuum in suopte ingenio argumentum secum gererent, ad quidlibet sequius audendum nunquam non parati homines, quorumque obtorpescens in pectore invidia sponte se in nefas, ut aqua inglaciem aut crystallum, gelatur. Alii plerique mortales ad nudam talis ausi mentionem prorsus exhorruissent; alii suggestorem ejus tanquam alienæ personæ involutum cacodæmonem fugissent; unos hosce reperiri potuisse crediderim, qui illud non audire solum, sed et aggredi sustinerent. Ergo postquam omnes consenserant, de fide secreti mutuo obliganda deliberant: timuit enim proditio ne seipsam proderet, adque fidem confugit ipsissima perfidia quo se tueretur. Juramenti solennitate sanciunt secretum, ipsumque Numen quod vindicem sceleris pertimescere deberent, ejus testem appellant, cœli lucem Tartarei arcani consciam implorantes. Admodum jam securi in cæcam fraudis officinam subterraneam pergunt, ibique improbe laboriosi totum Acherontem movent, ut fundamenta curiæ suffodiant. Subinde specie vini, quo suspicantium animi inebrientur, plusquam triginta dolia comportant et congerunt, tot Orci galeas, tot pixides omni genere mali refertissimas, novum serpentinorum dentium proseminium. Regio throno maximum et principale dolium supponunt, quo sive certius, sive augustius periret. Tunc ministras cædium immanes ferri lapidumque massas et pallia insidiarum ligneas strues injiciunt. Rebusque sic ordinatis modesti scilicet Nerones sese diversa spargunt, subtrahunt oculos, jubere cædem contenti, non spectare. Solus Fawkius relictus, illa luna ad quam botrus sua maturescere deberet; thesaurarius ille inferni, horumque Eleiusinorum sacerrimus hierophanta, qui huic ovo, quousque accresceret in partum, incubaret.

Positam dramatis scenam aspicitis, Academici, et jam videor fidem meam liberasse, qui præpropere potius quam injuste ab ingentis flagitii vituperio vocem non temperavi. An non jam videtur præsens crudelitas omnis seculi exempla, fictane sint an vera, supergressa? quid regem regni caput amputare? quid regiam prolem, oculos regni, effodere? quid proceres universos, hoc est sanguinem regni spiritusque, effundere? quid judices et præsules, sacra omnia et justa simul ac semel perimere? quid denique illud quod Caligula voverat tantum, revera effectum dare, et tot capita Angliæ una

veluti cervice nixa defalcare, reliquique corporis trunco vitam eripere? Quo fonte lacrymarum deflendum, quo expiandum odio est hoc piaculum, quo pacem nostram uno vulnere interimi, uno prælio debellari, quo ipsam Astræam quasi supplicio affectam exulem in cœlum relegari: quo religionem nostram notari carbone, contaminari pulvere, inque cineres redigi contigisset? Quid tantum in hos homines delinquere Anglia, quid committere clementissimus Jacobus? nisi forte quod erga improbos homines indulgentior quam oportuit animos iis faceret tam enormia audendi. Quid ille leges quasdam in eos latas refigeret? fixas etiamnum mitigaret? moderate semper ac comiter ingratos homines exciperet; quid in pertusa vasa gratiam suam infunderet? Illi sunt hi homines quorum invidiam auget benignitas, qui irritantur clementia ac beneficiis efferantur. Nunc in moliminis prosapiam ascendite, et oderitis eam vehementius. Facilius est vobis audire, quam credere, et credere quam non acerrime indignari: tantum suasit malorum et peperit religio: Dii boni, quam candida mater quam nigrum Æthiopem! Quid igitur non audere iniqui intemperans zelus potest et furiosa religio? quid non solet informis vultus sub tam speciosa larva delitescere? quid non intus turpissimi et detestandi tueri queat sancti veli protectio? quid cæco hoc igni urit acrius, consumit flagrantius? Ecce quo loci, in quæ itinera ignei currus præcipites abripiunt zelotas? Rapit cœlum nunc dierum altera violentia, non operum, sed facinorum, non virtutis sed vis, non precum, sed proditionum, violenta non charitas, sed crudelitas. Pium enim credebatur religionis causa adeo impium esse; pium Deo hoc scelere litare: in lucrum ecclesiæ esse sceleratum; hoc enimvero, non scelus, at meriti pondus, et instar erat. Non est illud malum quodcunque mali dictavit religio: *religio* dixi? quæ vero? non Christiana, candida, mitis, et benigna; sed Hildebrandica, sed Bonifaciana, sed Duacena; illa religio, quæ fortissimum regem Galliæ Henricum tertium manu monachi, sica parricidæ, percussit; illa quæ in cardinalium consistorio facinus tam præclarum elogio suo, auctoremque ipsius martyrii corona insignivit: illa religio, quæ Castellum primo docuit os optimi magnique Henrici (os inquam illud augustum, quo Loiolitas ipso facto damnatos placidissimus rex pronunciavit), dein feralem illum Ravilliacum cor sacrum impetere, e cujus virtute florentissimi regni salus emanasset; tua, O Mariana; tua, Becane; tua, ementite Bonarsci; tua, sancte Garnete, religio ista persuasit; illa eadem quæ mactare principes, evertere respublicas, campanam ad lanienas, ad bella classicum canere, quæ permiscere jubet omnia et perturbare. Ad aras non Dei sed omnipotentiæ papalis offerendum erat hoc holocaustum. Sacrificium hoc suum non sane incruentum Latiali Saturno perfidi hi Pœni immolassent; Laterano Jovi operati sunt hoc fulmen Cyclopes nostri in Ætna sua subterranea, quo ille summos montes, i. e. capita principum feriret. Quis proditores nostros alius per regii cruoris Stygios lacus, quam Charon ille Cisalpinus ad suum Elysium transfretasset? Quid non per hos annos turbarum in Europa, quid non cædium et priarum fraudem ab illa scaturigine profluxit? quo minus miremur nostram hanc inde originem duxisse. Constat enim a Brevibus pontificiis, et in nomine Domini omne hoc malum incepisse: constat peracute sic arguisse Catesbium, Quem papa vult excludi, extrudi etiam vult: quem non admitti, eum etiam ejici; quem nullo modo recipi, eum omni pacto expelli. Hinc telæ hujus texendæ initium, hinc illæ lachrymæ. O mores, O leges pudendi seculi! nulla jam regum vera est purpura, quam non Romanæ curiæ tinctura infecerit: principum throni consistere nequeunt, si non pontificis cathedræ innitantur: vibrare nemo justitiæ ensem debet, quam non ex Romana officina desumpserit: frustra ab illo principe regnatur, cujus non obsignatur auctoramentum sub annulo piscatoris. Cedunt nunc dierum sceptra pastorali pedo; nec nisi sub tiaræ episcopalis umbra tutæ induuntur coronæ. Illa jam authoritas est clavium claudere regna et reserare; admittere principes et excludere. Illuc evasit solvendi potestas, ut sua subjectione debita subditi liberentur; illuc ligandi, ut prætoriæ regum triremes Sancti Petri piscatoriæ scaphæ alligentur. Qui se patris papæ correctrici virgæ subducat, e gremio matris removetur, ejectus ab ecclesia, ipso facto

principatu excommunicatur. Quem papa judicaverit indignum regnare, mirum ni indignus quoque sit vivere. Ecce illos precarii dominatus gradus: si generosior quispiam nuncium remiserit, ecce statim terribili armatam sententia bullam prodeuntem; jam quid non aggredi insani zelotæ bruti hujusce fulminis afflatu siderati? Si Janus ille Italus, qui scilicet cœli foribus præsidet, cœlestes aditus mandata sua exequentibus patefecerit, quid non illi discriminis prompte subeunt, ut queant vel per montes regiorum cadaverum illuc aspirare? Quis crederet tam suum genium evilescere cuipiam, tam obesæ naris inveniri aliquem, qui se tam crassæ ambitionis præbeat satellitem: miseret pigetque homines ingenio nimis quam sæpe subtili et perspicaci prudentes sese scientesque tam infami ministerio mancipare. Quod vobis toxicum propinavit O Jesuitæ nostri, quo cerebrum vestrum evertit philtro adulatrix curia! Quam vos contigit venenatam lotum apud Læstrygonas illos devorasse, ut nec possitis meminisse amplius patriæ tot periculis expositæ, nec famæ vestræ omnium odiis ac obloquiis objectæ, nec ipsius vitæ vestræ tot quotidie discrimina incurrentis, quo pestilenti paucorum superbiæ atque enormi typho consulatis? At nimis diu, Academici, moratum est Romæ; revertamur nunc opportune in Angliam, visuri ecquid adhuc illos sanioris propositi tangat cura, an duri pectoris callum subegerit, an feros animos edomuerit pœnitentia? Minime vero, aiunt, obstat religio percepti sacramenti, pigetque tam sanctis auspiciis cœptum opus destituere: proh fidem cœli et Superum! quo non audaciæ provehere homines lippiens furor potest, quid sacræ rei non potest inconsulta temeritas in repugnantes abusus intervertere? Ecce mysteriis cœli sanctissimis arcana inferni involuta! ecce inferorum pacta sigillis Superum munita! Non sufficit parricidis præsentis conscientiam Numinis agnosci: adhibetur et testimonium, nec teste Deo satis est ni in partes quoque consilii advocetur: quasi vero secum ipsi cœlites in perniciem nostram conjurassent, et vere sacra esset hæc militia, dicitur Deo sacramentum, et se creduli volunt perfidiæ satellites sub signis et auspiciis cœli militare. Quod pacis inter suos mutuæ symbolum clementissimus Dominus instituit, fit inauditæ tessera sævitiæ: quod illæ nutriendæ animæ cœleste pabulum paraverat, fit ineundæ carnificinæ obligamentum. Fit signum charitatis, crudelitatis signaculum, et fidei vinculis nectitur proditio; quin vos ne sanctum hunc panem convertatis in lapidem, et post hunc sanguinem nostrum ne sitiatis, hujusque horrendæ Eucharistiæ loco alteram sumite, vestrum pœnitentiæ sacramentum: ita vero, nondum vos absistere! ita plenis velis scelus in exitum properare! Qua id admiratione dignum, repertos esse non solum qui hoc facere cogitarent, verum etiam tam longi temporis intervallo neutiquam a cogitatis resilirent: subiisse cito animum tale facinus, eum illius pœnitentiam nunquam subire potuisse? Non est summa criminis molitum esse hoc crimen; adjicitur crimini obstinatio; nec erant in hunc gurgitem nequitiæ præcipites devoluti, sed lentis ac libratis passibus, ac quasi difficulter, in Avernum descenderunt. O deformem fœtum, quem non in meliorem formam tam jugis meditatio lambendo redegerat! quo diutius premitur hoc ulcus, eo in saniem purulentius maturescit, ac recoctum in pectore scelus evadit obduratius. Excedit elephanti parturientis moram hic adulterinæ prolis labor, jamque in proditorum utero totos tres annos gestatum est. Proh! non venisse illis in animum, aut, si venit, non mutasse institutum quantæ artocitatis res esset quam molirentur! proh siccis oculis observari potuisse tot damna, tot ruinas, tot funera! quot illi innocentes immerito supplicio multarent! quot infantibus datam mox adeo vitam auferrent, in sui quemque sanguinis præcoci lavacro baptizantes? Quam pulchram urbem devenustarent, quot millibus hominum omnium promiscue ordinum, ætatum, sexuum, munerum, charæ lucis usuram adimerent? Non tetigisse illis animum, ut vel antiquarum ædium majestati, vel basilicarum splendori, vel sanctitati templorum parcerent? Nec cordi fuisse justitiam, cujus non solum primario ministros, verum delubra ipsa et atria funditus destruerent, ne essent aut a quo, aut ubi jus diceretur. O ferrea pectora, imo plusquam ferrea, quæ præconceptæ hæc in animo flammæ nihil emolliverant! O excisas e caute animas, quæ suam quotidie conscientiam alluentes hos sanguinis

fluctus repulerant, nec poterant toties incidentibus guttis omnino excavari! Cujus enim non expugnasset animum, cujus non perterruisset conscientiam, il lius stragis vel fictum exemplum ob oculos statuisse.

Miseri ultro paulisper esse velimus, auditores, vos audiendo, ego narrando; facite mihi nunc veniam criminis (crimen fuerit huic auso successum tribuere vel fingendo!) quo in posterum opimius sit meritum, quum ex figmento hoc miseriæ in veram felicitatem emergatis. Favente igitur Lucina, obstetricante Fawkii manu, exoneret alvum suam triennali pondere scrobs subterranea. Prodeant ex equo suo ferales . . . diræ cædis instrumenta, ferreæ massæ, in gentes petræ, ligneæ congeries. Admoto fomite, explicent sese torrente impetu in suos orbes gravidus pulvis, hactenus brevibus se arctatum spatiis indignatus. Effundant quicquid unquam conceperant irarum, suasque extento ore eructent furias sui impatientes flammæ. O tetrum spectaculum! O secundi Chaos horrorem informiorem vetere; etiamne adversus ipsam naturam conjurasse hos terræ filios, nec solum ordines regni, et etiam et rerum ordinem solicitare voluisse? En miscentur iterum omnia, dissolutis concordiæ vinculis ruunt avide in antiqua jurgia! ecce grassantur invicem totius mundi elementa. En vix suopte se pondere librata sustinens tellus ab imis usque radicibus contremiscit, propriisque emota sedibus altiores in æthere provincias affectat! En aer jam non perspicuus nec inquilinis obsessus fumis, ardentes in visceribus suis flammas cogitur comprehendere! Fit ecce æther summus Campus Martius, in quo ferri moles pugnace licentia inter se prælianturl, et modo nativi torporis obliti lapides, vigore repentino a flammis inspirati, in bella et intestinos conflictus exardescunt: en tectorum parietes olim oppositos sibi, nunc inimica vicinia collisos; et proximæ undique domi fundamentis evulsæ jubentur ipsæ exules in cœlo habitare. Cernere est illic privatas ædes seu ambulatoria incolarum vehiculæ igneis rotis sublatæ trepidos secum lares attonitosque penates abripientia. Ecce et sacros templorum lapides dempto discrimine idem sacrilegus pulvis violat; et jam non ficte transportantur sacella suis numinibus viciniora. Ipsæ ecce aræ fiunt sacrificium, ipsi foci absumuntur, tam scelerati ignis ulterius non patientes. Sentiunt hos tumultus ipsa cœmeteria, et quasi evigilant; in suis ruinis sepulchra tumulantur, in cineres redactæ urnæ suas urnas desiderant; complent suum seculum annosæ ædes, vix supersunt sibi ipsa regum monumenta, et de trophæis eorum jam triumphatur; non stare amplius statuæ, non se quævis propugnacula tueri, non hanc sibi illatam vim domicilia juris ulcisci; non omnibus undis vicina Thamesis adversas flammas restinguere valet, ne intus æstuet ac sitiat, suasque extra se aquas sursum pluat expuatque. Parcendum est vestris, Academici, tenellis auribus, quas alta solet silentii tranquillitas, saltem non alii quam novem virginum argutati cantus obsidere, nec hujusce casus asperos et inauditos plane hucusque seculorum strepitus licebit coram resonuisse; ad quos omnis civitas, quin et tota insula, imo universus orbis obsurduisset. Quis tam Pericles est, et fulminare lingua didicit, ut referendo sit confusos hujusce turbinis fremitus, mugientis cœli, ejulantis terræ, sibilantis spiritus, stridentis ferri, flammæ coruscantis, e conflictu lapidum conquassatione murorum, gemitu hominum, conflagratione omnium natos fragores? Demiratus est Jupiter æmulos sibi Salmoneos dari redivivos, sua tonitrua imitantes; fremuitque indignabundus, quod hæc novorum Caligularum profana petulantia sibi retonaret. At quid illarum rerum immoramur stragi, quæ pati possunt miseriam, non etiam sentire, quorum a seipsis indeplorata jaceret miseria, quæ suis ipsa funeribus nequeunt vel lachrymis vel dolore parentare? Per hosce gradus paulatim vobis animi ingentioribus curis præparandi fuerant; nec licuit statim puppim vestram in altissimos dolores deducere; utinam illic mitior clades stetisset: restant nobis allachrymanda funestiora funera, hominum non ædium, regum non regiarum, non templorum tantum et curiarum, sed et præsulum, judicumque. Comminisci pene nullum genus supplicii, nullum tormenti, nullum martyrii, aut justa ultio aut iniqua rabies potuerant unquam, quo non hæc clades miseros mortales affecerit. Non satis erat simplice interitu occumbere; in unos eosdemque homines multa mortis genera irruebant. Jacobus miser et densa nube

saxorum lapidatur, et suo in sanguine mergitur, suspenditur in alto, suffocatur fumo, et vivicomburio crematur, quin et varia mole premitur, inque singulas cœli plagas distractis artubus dilaniatur. Fas sit dicere, ecce Osiridis nostri sacrum corpus in tot jam dispertitum frusta quot ante provinciis imperaret! en alio caput regium recidens, alio coronam devolutam, non triplicem jam sed multiplicem! Non se ipse rex regendo est, attollitur modo, modo deponitur Jacobus, nec sceptrum habens, nec baculum suum cui innitetur. Sic Cæsar in curia, Sic Hercules in flagrante Œta, sic Phaëton noster flammarum diluvio circumseptus habenas regni cogitur dimittere. Sciscitantur statim Superi, quem diutius non inviderant terris, quicquid ad se serius avocare statuerant, cur quasi pertæsus humanæ sortis maturior hospes ad suas oras appelleret. En regiam sponsam ejusdem iniquæ fortunæ conjugem, suprema regi oscula non sponte jungentem, mox interponentibus se flammis divortio separatam, quam dum recipere in ulnas rex avolantem conatur, ecce Ixionis instar, non jam Junonem suam, sed nubes ac inania captat et amplectitur. Ecce sobolem regiam non imperii jam paterni, sed ruinæ vestigiis successive inhærentem; et sic Britannicæ spei germina intempestiva æstate adusta. Ecce habitat nunc in cœlo sine, lege ulla aut ordine utraque domus parliamentaria, dubium utra superior, quique in sublimi pares fuerint imparesque. Habent jam astrologi quo duo amplius recenseant in cœlo malæ fortunæ domicilia, auctumque jam stellarum errantium septenarium: licuisset jam indagatori Galilæi tubo plusquam quatuor circa Jovem Satellites adnotasse. Ecce consimiles majorum suorum statuis et ceris patricios, undique fumosos et semesos, quorum generosus sanguis dudum per tot discretos generis canales ductus, nunc strictioribus laxatus alveolis, in communem una amnem confunditur, ripisque nullis circumscriptus per campos ætheris liberius differtur. Prudentissimi hic consiliarii suæ saluti consulere nesciunt; nec contra suam mentem inscii plane et imprudentes sursum rapiuntur; nec jam concordibus suffragiis, in unam pedibus sententiam discedunt, in suas quisque partes seorsum abeuntes. En equites lapidis jam citati, Asturconis insidentes tergo insolitum stadium in campestribus cœlis decurrentes, et deputatos provinciarum in suum quemque comitatum impetu turbinis reductum; ecce gravissimos judices; ipsos tam insperatæ executioni addictos, qui dum . . . . . vindicem injuriæ suæ manum nituntur, ecce distracti a se invicem digiti gladium justitiæ sinunt decidere in terram; en jam divites quoque ubique jacentes, pauperesque ultra suum gradum damnoso incremento elevatos. Ne sola lueret respublica, et simplex scelus audiret hoc facinus, non etiam sacrilegium, ecce sanctos præsules corripit profanus sulphur! ex alio æstu pia pectora ardentia; en indivisi hactenus animi patres suæ quemque viæ insistentes! Emitte nunc in sublime galerum tuum ovabundus, illustrissime Bellarmine; ecce nunc vere toto errantem cœlo ecclesiam Anglicanam, disparentem prorsus et invisibilem. Ecce pseudoepiscopos nostros vere jam sua opinione falsos, vestrisque e votis suis sedibus excussos, vere saltem jam schismaticos, totque in sectas disgregatos, in quot vel olim Alani, Sanderi, Suarezii vestri fingendo, aut tunc Catesbii, Winteri, Percii spirando distrahere eos, aut dissipare potuerint. Ecce tibi, eminentissime purpurate, tot controversiis breviur et lucidius, quam in tot tuis elucubratis voluminibus, decisas atque discussas. Agnoscimus nova argumenta, quibus subinde evidentius demonstretur papæ in ordine ad spiritualia potestas; in ordine, inquam, ad nitrum, sulphurem et cætera ædes senatorias attollendi spiritu prædita. Novis, fatemur, allucet nobis hodie indiciis purgatorius ignis: quis post tot senatores combustos limbum esse patrum aut infantum, post tot innocentes ustulatos, aut etiam inferos suas in cœlum colonias emittere inficias iverit? At bene nobis succedit, O Loiolitæ nostri, quod æque hodie Vulcanus vester atque Ignatius claudicaverit: bene quod conjuratores vestri illum spiritum non excitaverint, quem nullus unquam exorcista vester e circulo abegisset pontificio.

Hactenus, Academici, sponte nostra prolixe miseri, nunc aliquando beneficio cœli felices esse velimus; hactenus conductitia face fabulosa sæviit Erynnis; jam quid sinceræ et salutaris fortunæ præsens e cœlo Numen attulerit, videamus. Hucusque ingrato hostibus, nobis

terribili somnio versamur, dent modo Superi in propitiam lucem expergisci. Ecce vero adhuc proditores nostros nihil de sententia sua retractare; quid illi ad hos horribiles strepitus, quam gratulabundas aures erigere? quid ad tam diras strages, nonne ridere potius, quam obstupescere? Interim tuta et inflatissimi successus spe turgida procedunt in Trophonii specu omnia: adesse jam libertatisæ suæ instans credulus pulvis, vix usque se continuit. In suis ad hoc insidiis prædabundus ignis præstolatur, crudis nostræ cædis epulis cupidus fore ut mox satietur. Qui magis versipelles ipsius tragœdiæ hypocritæ sibi de provecto negotio sibi congratulantur; quid submergi in vadoso portu puppim suam tantum jam secundi æquoris emensam? abortire fœtum tantum non in lucem prolatum? nunc quum in acie novaculæ res consistat, acumen suæ astutiæ obtundi, erumpere tandem in fatali puncto, quod tot annos celaverant, hoc vero ut crederent? Quin potius adesse Deum suis consiliis, seque ex hac orca ipsius Jovis lapillos emittere; quomodo enim tam feliciter cessisse et processisse facinus, ni pro se Superum providentia excubias egisset? O homines fato quodam fatuos! O oculos malitia non pulvere obcæcatos, qui latere posse scelus ad extremum sperant, cujus participem Deum effecerant, saltem cognitum Deo nefas certo ad eventum perduci posse non soliciti sint. Itane leves vobis Superos et inconstantes videri, tamque in benefaciendo maturo fatigatos, ut quam gentem ipsi tot bonorum acervo ultro cumulaverant, eam quibus ipsi condecorassent ornamentis exui a vobis tam facile et denudari paterentur? Lentos esse tardeque ad vindictam obrepentes divinæ Nemesis pedes, minantis ante quam ferientis, suggessissit pietas. Qui igitur voluisse nos eam, ne præmonitos quidem, prius percellere fulmine, quam fulgure terruisset? Equidem ille non perpetuo in suis cunis statimque ab initio serpentinos conceptus premere et strangulare amat, ut e contra miseris, cumque extrema sorte luctantibus e proximo potius quam e longinquo auxiliari videatur. Arduis interesse negotiis, pices illucessere caligini, ictumque jam inter malleum et incudem versantem intercipere Numen solet, et desperate ægris Briarei manus accersuntur. Ita nunc instanti inevitabili naufragio sacram ille admovit anchoram; solvitque Angliam digno jam se vindice nodo. Quum pauci dies restarent, postrique periculi criticum punctum tantum non impenderet, ecce suo se sorices indicio produnt: en majus suis ripis intumescens scelus, suoque e fonte ultro ebulliens arcanum! Rumpitur immodico felle repleta vesicula, nec amplius subsistere potens demersum scelus sese in summum ejaculatur. Dediscit pro nobis tacere . . . . silentium: O dilectam Superis Angliam, cui non prodesse hostes etiam inviti nequeunt; ne inopes simus, fert opem juratissima inimicitia; ne simus multis beneficiis devincti, plurimum vel adversantibus est debendum; ne ignoremus, magistram se dabit garrula contra se proditio. Ea dextra clypeum porrigit, quæ vulnus erat impactura; a virulentis livoris manibus poculum salutis propinatur: ecce, index doli inanimatus, advenit epistola, conjurati alicujus manu dixero, an digito Dei exarata? Ad Montaquilium, an ad Angliam missa? certe in eo plurima salus Angliæ discebatur. Neque illo scriba impurior aliquis, neque hoc scripto unquam sanctius extitit. Nunquam largius meruerant paucæ lineæ; O semper bonas aves anseres! O Mercurialem pennam vere deorum nunciam! plus unus calamus Angliæ profuit, quam omnis instructissimi armamentarii supellex profuisset. Quam pontificiis perpetuo scripturæ adversantur, quam hinc ipsa non traditio profuit? At ecce venit epistola, et adhuc utrum venerit dubitatur; editum hoc scriptum videtur, nec editum tamen: quis enim facile intelligat divinam hujus oraculi cryptographiam? durum opportuit esse putamen, cui adeo salubris nucleus includeretur; natatore Delio opus est, qui quod in eo latet salutis expiscetur. Videtur enim sphinx ille conjuratus inaccessi securus arcani, ænigmaticæ formæ integumento ipsum in medium proposuisse, pactus perniciem, suam si quis solveret, aliorum vero omnium, si nemo enodaret. Quo igitur feratur hic griphus nisi ad Œdipum, quo dubium nisi ad Apollinem! Non humili egemus interprete; exploratore regio hæ insidiæ nobilitandæ sunt. Conniveat in hoc palmari casu vulgaris acies prudentiæ. Quis sustinere ex aperto sensu literarum emicantes flammarum radios præter regiam Aquilam potest? quis in pauxillis atra-

menti maculis præter principes sensus subodorari pulverem pyrium valeret? Actum fuisset de Britannia, si quod Neronis votum erat, princeps noster literas nescisset. Non citius chartæ applicat oculos sagacissimus rex, quam flammas! flammas! clamat; non citius nasum, quam pulverem! pulverem! vociferatur. Sic uno ictu oculi regius hoc monstrum Basiliscus lethaliter confixit. Quæ non tunc gens Angliæ regem suum invidisset? quis non eum Deo fuisse a consiliis largiatur? Adesdum huc Epicurea natio, eque indicio isthoc disce Deum agnoscere; quid, an cæco impetu fortunæ occursantes literæ in illam sese epistolam ordinaverant? An fortuita volutatione fluctuantes atomi in Montaquilii manus eam obtulerant? An ex ejus manibus in regias incerto flumine ignavæ sortis delata est? Jam an humanæ illud prudentiæ fuit in tam abditi negotii recessus statim penetrasse, aut alius oculus scintillantem chartam percepisset quam divinæ lucis jubare illustratus? Re isto pacto patefacta, et super veteratorias artes genuina prudentia triumphante, placuit nocte mitti quis domicilium nequitiæ, suamque supellectilem excuteret. Ibi in sua provincia excubans repertus est mali omnis noctua Fawkius, ille draco harum Hesperidum vigilantissimus. Dein amotis fascibus, detractisque illis pejoris ollæ operculis, altum absconditæ patuere insidiæ. Quam puduit dolia in ea statione esse deprehensa? Et ipse pulvis licet minime inflammatus quasi erubescere videbatur: simul atque moventur loco, mutata etiam sunt ingenio, et pœnitere præ se ferunt ipsa destinati sceleris instrumenta. Liquari se in bombardas ferreæ massæ, vestræque hodie inservire lætitiæ desiderant. Amat captivus pulvis festivo nunc et innocuo strepitu vestræ ovationi accinere. Ipsi illi fasces solennitatis hodiernæ gloriæ lucem subministraturi asservantur, adeoque et lapidum istorum est . . . in felix extrui vestræ liberationis monumentum. Solus Fawkius secum immotam mentem in carceres asportavit. Reliqui perturbato sane ordine ad manifestam mortem, h. e. e cineribus in prunas se proripiunt; O ingens ausum, cujus apertum bellum exiguæ tantum reliquiæ sunt! cujus in publica vi languentes jam conatus expirent, quod qui moliti sunt non nisi victi ad arma confugiunt, tanquam extremum desperationis asylum. Nec illi facile sibi Martem conciliaverant, quos Mercurius fefellerat, qui a quo dolis adjecerant animum, virtuti prorsus renunciaverunt; a paucis igitur se opponentibus in alterius palæstræ pulvere certantes nullo negotio fusi et profligati sunt. Aliis captis res ad restim rediit, eorumque scelus diminute ut poterat pœna expiavit, non talio; par enim supplicium criminí, dempto ipsius merito, non reperisset in sua pharetra justitia, etiamsi omnibus eam telis evacuasset. Jam quis Garneti tot mendacia fando percurrat? Quis Fawkii et Winteri obstinatas mortes digne defleat? quin exitum illorum tristissimum, utinam dedisset Deus ut cum bono omine nocti et sepulchro committamus; idque nos potius quod superest cogitemus, quod sit potissimum gratitudinis suffimentum ad aras benefici Numinis adolendum. Bruta fuerit hæc nostra et insipida exultatio, nec aliud de hodierna lætitia quam dolere poterimus, ni permeans eam et pervadens gratæ agnitionis spiritus condiat et sanctificet: accendat ille luctuosus ignis, quem effugimus, præfervidum in præcordiis nostris agendi gratias zelum. Satis enim fuisset innocentes perîsse, quam ingrate salvos superesse; et exoptatius longe fuisset in illis ruderibus contumulatos esse, quam sospitatoris Dei eximiam benignitatem in turpi oblivione sepelire. Nimirum ille quamdiu in dextra sua amatam sibi tenuerat Angliam, noluit eam facile dimittere; nec passus est quamvis importuno invidentium nisu suæ beneficentiæ sibi fructus extorqueri. Recepit ab illo sua omnia Britannia, imo seipsam sibi restitutam; imprimisque optimum suum principem pariter et parentem; cujus illa erat mira et decantata politicis felicitas, regnum cum pace accepisse, at major in æternum laus acceptum in continua quiete administrasse, cujus promeruit prudentia ut felix esset, nec unquam memoria ejus sit intermoritura, donec in albo suo Britannici fasti nonas Novembres complectantur. Proximam a rege a munifica manu Numinis accepit quasi renatam sibi regiam sobolem, ne hisce primogenitis filiis misera mater orbaretur. Accepta etiam est nobilitas, atque inde præstitum Angliæ ne ignobile regnum efficeretur; ne errabunda sine ducibus, desolata absque comitibus, absque dominis, heu! libera

nimium et in licentiam soluta, absque equitibus vero abjecta humi, et cuilibet conculcanda jaceret derelicta. Dum opes nostras ad manum et ob oculos aspicimus, in iis præsentem tunc Dei opem advertamus, dum copiam rerum et affluentiam, redundantem ejus bonitatem recognoscamus. Tutæ nobis ab hac clade privatæ sedes evadant in tot templa piis laudibus et officiis consecranda; et ipsa templa in cœlos quosdam cœlestibus hymnis atque harmoniis personantes. Quid commemorem justitiam sui juris factam? Quid liberatam nobis ipsam libertatem, quid pacem nostram non inquietatam? quanquam hæc non minutula, aut aspernanda cœli munera; occupent illa suum in nostra gratitudine locum, dummodo summum facta et nobis et sibi superstes nostra religio. Hæc ille scopus erat, in quam præsertim hodierni furoris spicula collimarunt: illud vallum tutela cœli munitissimum, cui hæc invidia subruendæ concutiendæque vineas suas arietesque applicabat. Nam ut hoc scelus prosperum fuisset, quo illa locorum proscripta evolasset et vagabunda? quæ ut apud nos diutius hospitaretur, calidum nimis effecisset locum hodierna scintillatio. Quos in ejus caput sanguinis imbres roscidus ille vapor destillasset? quæ excepisset tragœdia tam minacem prologum? cui adversus pietatem in sequenti prælio hæc sæva velitatio prælusisset? Non sterile, credo, aut infrugiferum fuisset hoc facinus; et cum sui generis facile Phœnix fuerit, interque reliqua scelera familiam duxerit, vereor ut e cineribus suis execrandaque traduce longam nobis malorum propagasset seriem: an aliqua injuria timendum fuisset dixerimus habituram Angliam ex sua Elizabetha alteram Mariam; absit ut vitio suo dicam, sed tali satellitio stipatam; quando enim non Marianæ succenturiat Maria, et cœsis principibus succedunt occidendi martyres? Quid enim, qui cruentum illum Garnetum, ob hujusce facti meritum, post tot Campianos, Clementes, Guignardos inseruerat cœlo, et rubris calendarii sui literis ascripserat, quo illum in loco habiturum fuisse perfectam hanc cladem conjecturam faciamus? An non inter tot Siculas Vesperas, Parisienses Lanienas, Mariana supplicia, tot Gallicos, Anglicosque triumphos, in Constantini aula imo in suis potius Lateranis parietibus depingendos curasset, ut haberet singulo mane pontifex, quo jejunos oculos nostræ cædis spectaculo pasceret. Quo vos proprius, Academici, hoc cura pertingat, fuisset certissime ut hoc omnigenæ sapientiæ fanum in stupidæ superstitionis delubrum, ut hoc . . . . asylum in carcerem ejus et ergastulum, ut hoc antrum Musarum in Loioliticum nidum; ut hæc vestra Cantabrigia in Duacum quoddam aut monachium perverteretur: vidissetisque etiam hoc ipso die, et fortasse in hoc ipso loco extantem gloriose Jesuitam, nostræque petulanter insultantem miseriæ. Quam igitur religionem benignus Pater sartam nobis et tectam conservavit, eadem et nos hodie uti velimus in gratiis ei referendis; ne quæ ab hostibus perire non potuit, ea per nos ipsos videatur periisse; enimvero videtur jam olim quod aliquando eveniret persentiscens divina sapientia etiam nostris hisce temporibus lucidum hoc beneficii intervallum adornasse; quo nos a funestissimis temporum nostrorum casibus abducentes oculos parum respiremus, quo lapsos pene et comminutos præsentium malorum sensu animos hac præteritorum memoria erigamus aliquantum et reficiamus: ut quum nihil coram aut læti aut grati prospicere esset, non illicitum foret hac respectando caligantes oculos recreare. Levabit enim illud vix tolerabilem hanc sortem ferreorum temporum, si fuisse aliquando et reipublicæ et ecclesiæ aurea secula recordemur. Fit si præsentis imago justitiæ nimium nos perterrefaciat, hoc non adeo remotæ exempla clementiæ animorum nobis quiddam redintegrabit; quin dabit hoc tot annos ferventibus inter nos dissidiis aliquas inducias, si in reddendis Deo quam alacriter amplissimis gratiis consentiens omnes studium adhibeamus. Nec ego unquam opportunius esse putem quam in tam fausto omne desinendum.

PRÆFATIO

CUM OPPONERET DIE CINERUM. Feb. 21, 165⅔.

Utcunque in hanc aream vestram, florentissimi Academici, sterilis admodum

cogitandi, inopsque eloquendi processiosem, hæsissemque animi pendulus, quam mihi ansam sumerem dicendi, et in quem se præcipue alveolum expectati sermonis cursus derivaret; ex quo tamen in prælustrem hanc frequentiam oculos hinc inde animumque versavi, sentio tandem eos pervasisse animi mei uterum blandæ voluptatis aculeos, qui sic ipsum fœcundo onere impregnaverint, ut si quam facile hanc mentis sarcinam conceperim, tam ipsam possem tuto ac perite deponere, non vererer sane, ne in me hodie sue copiam verborum, seu vehementiam essetis desideraturi. Enimvero ea modo intumescit pectus nostrum sensuum ubertate; eo æstu concitatur fluctuantis affectus, ut quum se certo nequeat intra suas ripas coercere, dubium tamen feratur, qua porta se debeat prodere foras, et in quas potissimum partes extra se ruens in terminos vestros ebulliret. An gratulari debeam vobis hodie sospitem ab insultibus populi, infestisque rumoribus superstitem Academiam, et retinentem adhuc satis non solum ad testimonium salutis, verum etiam ad gloriæ suæ in tam celebri congressu ostentationem; an pro tutelæ hujusce fausta diuturnitate statori hujusce nostræ reipublicæ et sospitatori Deo supplicia vota nuncupare; an ut compositis verbis moneam vos abhorrere a diris infortunii vestri suspicionibus, animumque avertere; an denique expediat prius potiusque his omnibus, illius vobis qua cæteros mortales antecellitis felicitatis speciem ob oculos collocare, tum ut in hac suavi repræsentatione paulisper defixi oblectetis vos ipsos, tum ut discatis, ex tam pulchræ rei memoria, dignos vobis ipsis gerere spiritus, hoc est, excelsos et generosos, temerario contemptu ignobilis vulgi, minisque ferocis seculi superiores: et sane quem non hujusmodi admoneret cogitationum, quem non in hæc verba præcipitem impelleret, solennem hunc vestrum hujusce diei conventum suis oculis conspexisse? Cui parem vera dignitate et genuino fulgore conferendum sibi ostendere, si quis eousque esset curiosus ut universum orbem terrarum appellaret, næ ille omnis ad hanc quæstionem vel obsurdesceret ingratus, vel quasi attonitus obmutesceret. Audivimus de Græcorum virtute judicium, prolatum ore barbari hominis, revera ipso Athenarum genio et suffragio dignum, generosi in illis ingenii non aliunde petens indicia, quam inde; quod scilicet Græci inter se virtutis ineuntes certamina, non auri, argentive acervos, non aëreos dominationis titulos, non quidpiam illorum, quæ humana solet affectare cupiditas, in præmium sibi fortiter gestorum proponerent; verum exilem solummodo olivæ ramum, perenne symbolum florentis fortitudinis, aut tenue apii folium, in id tantum sufficiens, ut virtutis ei nomen inscriberetur: eadem vos, Academici, potiorque laus manet, qui in Pisæos hos agros, in palæstram hanc pulcherrimorum certaminum hodie descendistis, ad conserendas manus viresque attentandas, non corporum sed animorum; ad contorquenda argumentorum jacula; non ut motu et pernicitate pedum, verum ut discursu rationis, ingeniique agilitate contendatis; cujus præclarissimæ contentionis nec illa a vobis, quanquam summo jure debita, expectatur merces, ut triumphales capita vestra induant laureas; at suis ut sertis victrix veritas coronetur. O dignum vobis et vestris studiis, curisque vestris et consiliis accommodum! O congruum humanæ indoli, nativisque dotibus cœlestis animæ institutum! Cui simile si alibi terrarum inquirimus, ubi tandem loci reperiemus, ut reliquos cœtus mortalium, sive civium sive agrestium, non dico nundinas et emporia, negotiantium, castra militum, subsellia litigantium, quin ipsas etiam aulas principum, politicorum phrontisteria, comitia judicum, senatorum consessus, etsi qui alii famigerantur inter homines specie quadam gloriosæ majestatis, atque exteriore purpura conspicui, consulamus. Nimirum ad creandas molestias, inferendasque sibi invicem calamitates, ad decernendas Bellonæ furias, ad corroganda ex visceribus populi vectigalia, quibus ad proprium seu luxum sive fastum abutantur; ut loco alter alterum ac authoritate submoveat, et cœtera erga se mutuo patrent maleficia; et si non ferino isthoc, alio saltem pecudum ritu ut pabula sibi ac vestimenta conquirant, et universim huic pygmæo corpori inserviant, ex terrena prosapia oriundo; in hos fines cogunt se in unum, et congregant quasi agminatim reliqui confluxus mortalium. A vobis interim colitur societas, inter vos celebrantur commercia, ut summe innocua, ita minime mercenaria, neque

molesta aliis, nec vobis ipsis turbulenta; illisque Deorum Epicuri haud absimilia; quippe semoti longe a civilibus undis, rerumque humanarum anxia solicitudine sejuncti, tanquam in supercœlestis convexi aureo pavimento ociantes, ævum vestrum summa cum pace transigitis, pascentes vos continuo suavissimarum contemplationum ambrosia, inque avidas fauces nectareos divinæ veritatis latices imbibentes. Nempe de conditore universi et rectore Deo, ejusque ineffabilibus bonitate, sapientia, virtute, quas in tam variis multiformis materiæ particulis ordinandis, inque innumeris illis rerum dissonantiis in suavissimum hunc concentum redigendis, demonstravit; de inconcussis legibus atque decretis naturæ; de indefessis motibus cœlestium corporum, occultisque astrorum influxibus; de rapu ætheris, æstu maris, situ elementorum, ortu et interitu rerum sublunarium, de multiplici genere atque diversa indole animantium; de arcanis plantarum facultatibus et signaturis; de mirabili qualitate et utilitate mineralium; denique de natura hominis, usu rationis, ordine et progressu scientiarum, de vitæ tum privatæ tum communis moribus et institutis; de his, inquam, iisque omnibus, quæ aut positu sublimia, aut comprehensu ardua, aut cognitu jucunda, quæ aut animum juvant aut delectant, aut digne occupant, et disseritis in propatulo, et in secessibus vestris cogitatis; ad quas cogitationes, ad quæ colloquia nisi admitteremur, nec præoptandum fuisset nasci nec operæ pretium natos huc convenisse. Et revera videtur ad hæc natus factusque initio animus noster, ita in eorum investigationem curiose aspirat, in consideratione placide acquiescit, in comprehensione triumphaliter exultat; ita sibi obviam forte factarum veritatum, tanquam et cognitarum olim familiariter et impense desideratarum, avide in amplexus traducitur. Quo præsertim nomine debetis, Academici, summe vobis ipsis gratulari, aut potiori jure æterno Numini immortales gratias habere, cujus benigna dispositio id vobis negotii dedit; dignum ea mente quam vobis indidit, iisque sacrosanctis propensionibus, quas vestris ingeniis implantavit; cujus quasi singulari arbitratu imperturbatum hoc ocium, excolendæ bonæ menti, vestrisque affectibus supra vires suas erigendis tantum non necessarium recepistis; quo pacto videri queat divina beneficentia ut reliquis hominibus animas, ita animos etiam vobis, aut animorum saltem usum et exercitium indulsisse. Nec debent eximia hæc et selectissima in vos collata cœli munera ad vestram rem magis domesticosque usus recondi, quam in publica commoda, et universam humani generis salutem redundare; et si fideliter ingenuas artes didicisse, si rebus maximis et pulcherrimis intendisse animi aciem, tempusque impendisse, emollivit vobis animos, vestrisque ingeniis candorem, modestiam, prudentiam, benignitatem ingeneravit, non tam debent hæ sanctissimæ dotes in pabula cedere privatorum pectorum, quam in totius humanitatis condimenta. Duces vos vitæ, et magistros virtutis dedisse orbi videtur et designasse cœlestis providentia, ut vestris tam illustribus exemplis, quam fidis institutionibus caveatur, ne in reliquos homines vel ignoratio veri bonique, vel pedissequæ hujus feritas, barbaries, et omnimodo confusio, invaderent et inundarent.

Neque enim ita hactenus bene cum rebus humanis comparatum est, ut norit maxima pars mortalium suo Marte rectum iter virtutis arripere; ut queat vulgus hominum vel semper prætextibus alienis inconsulte credulum, vel propriæ cupiditati ineffrænate addictum, vera et verisimilia, sincere justa et quæsitis tantum coloribus blandientia, quæ sequenda ipsis sint, quæque evitanda internoscere; vel se a laqueis pravarum consuetudinum, et male feriatorum hominum impostura expedire. Vestra autem contra in eo se jugis exercuit diligentia, quid ab orbe condito gestum sit, a fida teste veritatis historia inquirere; fontes, principia et fines rerum omnium ac conciliorum explorare; puram ab adulterino, a specioso solidum secernere, et quid in unaquaque re sanctum vel honestum, quid vero iniquum ac perversum dispicere: quin et circa multifarias sententias ingenia vestra versando, rerumque in quascunque partes momenta expendendo, de omni proposita materia libere et sincere judicare; et sapere altius et de vobis, deque Deo Optimo Maximo melius sentire didicistis, quam ut positis facile vel judicia vestra imperitorum jugo subjicere, vel pravis secul moribus consilia mancipare: ex qua vestra nobilissima immunitate illud vob

conscivistis nullo pretio æstimandæ felicitatis, ut possitis quam paratissime et sectari ipsi optima, et viam aliis ad illa præmonstrare. Quæ omnia cum vera sint, Academici, et liquido apparentia, potestis non difficulter illorum sive infirmitati, sive invidiæ ignoscere, qui in vobis hæc bona aut non satis aut nimium animadvertentes, hinc credula simplicitate, inde præpostero livore abducti, eo non illibenter contulerunt studia, ut vos ab hoc apice felicitatis deturbarent. Equidem non indigna censuerim vestra studia, quæ magis hac splendidam sustinerent invidiam ; quæque non immerita universi orbis, siquidem ita contigisset, impeteret æmulatio. At nec illi quidpiam alienum a suis moribus perpetrarunt, qui desiderantes in seipsis ea bona, quæ in vobis nimis clare resplendent, juxta humanæ fragilitatis modulum, non potuerint vos integris oculis contueri. Nec vos etiam a dignitatis vestræ orbita ullo modo aberrabitis, si propositæ virtutis strenuo insistentes tramiti, et simul benefici Numinis præsidio innitentes, non eorum solum ingratos et imprudentes contemptus, verum et impotentes minas negligatis. Dixi.

EPISTOLA, 1655.

Reverendissimi, et ornatissimi Viri,

Ad vos tandem pervenient hæ literæ, ventis benevole aspirantibus, equidem pro officii, quo vobis obstrictus sum, magnitudine, et pro modo forsitan expectationis vestræ admodum seræ, licet si aut mittentis propensio, aut scribendi spectetur materia, nimis quam tempestivæ. Etenim si propositum hoc ad animi mei genium exegissem, eousque dum aut ipse bene scribere didicissem, aut saltem donec attentione vestra digna se obtulisset occasio, etiam scripturienti calamo ultro temperassem. Quarum rerum cum unam prorsus impossibilem, alteram magnopere incertam perspicerem, quo nisi ad Musarum præsentissimam opem confugerem, in earum licentia latebras reperire confisus, cum scriptoris imbecillitati, tum argumenti inopiis celandis idoneas. Hoc quicquid erat consilii misello embryoni originem dedit, qui hujusce chartæ quasi secundinis involutus detractis fasciis in vestram lucem prodibit. Epistolæ (ἐμμέτρου pariter ac ἀμέτρου) quoddam rudimentum est, nondum integram membrorum conformationem adeptum eorum quæ in hoc satis curti itineris decursu spectasse vobis acceptum refero, qualemcunque descriptionem fronti suæ insculptam repræsentans. Variæ viæ difficultatibus eluctatus ad Lutetiæ mænia tandem perductus est, hic viribus fatiscens seu potius rerum sibi objectarum multitudine oppressus, respirandi intervallum tantisper postulat, donec progressum suum aut vestra approbatione animatus absolvere, aut reprehensione deterritus abrumpere cogatur. Et siquidem hunc fœtum juxta ideam in sui opificis proposito præfiguratam omnibus suis numeris perfectum fuisse contigisset, ulterius oculos vestros hac agrestis styli incondita barbarie lacessere ex usu non fuisset. Nunc mutili carminis infælices abortus aliquatenus supplere, et unius epistolæ defectus altera non minus imperfecta cumulare oportet, in qua pauca illa, quæ hujus scriptionis generi maxime accommodata videntur, etsi pessimo penicillo, et satis perfunctorie delineata, bono utcunque animo accipitote. Res hic in Gallia externam rerum faciem spectanti admodum in tranquillo versantur. Pax ubique sereno vultu arridet, per universum regnum nusquam armorum strepitus auditur. Externis successibus adblanditur fortuna, intus deliciis affluunt omnia. In aula potissimum splendor et exultatio regnant, continuo tenore luditur, saltatur, festis, conviviis, commessationibus indulgetur, animo mos geritur, nihil sinistri timetur, aut expectatur. Sed quæ tantæ fælicitatis stabilitas existat, qui in penitioribus sali recessibus tempestatum æstus bulliant, et quæ in clandestinarum consultationum cavernis vis ventorum confletur, penes prudentiores esto judicium. Malorum semina, tenuis glebæ superficie tantum obducta, sua nondum germina, in apricum emiserunt, verum continuis imbribus irrigata, quas intra radices longe lateque spargunt, lynceis istis ὀξυδερκέστεροι facile deprehendunt. Nam ubi status rerum violentus est, quis durabilem spondeat? ubi avaritiæ sitis plusquam

hydropica dominatur, quis afflicti populi patientiam præstet inexpugnabilem, cujus viscera perpetuis exactionum hamis exenterantur? ubi infesti in potentes animi, præteritarum injuriarum memoria, et præsentium rerum sensu exacerbati, innumeræque suspiciones e cruentæ simultates sæviunt, adversa vota, atrocesque susurri passim audiuntur. Ubi administratio legum et justitiæ dispensandæ cura non vitæ integritati, non scientiæ juris, non famæ honestati conceduntur, sed quæ virtutis esse præmia deberent, pecuniæ præda reputantur. Ubi in præfecturis militaribus nulla fortitudinis, in politicis nulla prudentiæ, in aulicis distribuendis nulla dignitatis ratio habetur; sed salutis publicæ propugnacula quælibet venalia existunt, nec ab eo, qui plus meriti, sed maximam auri vim obtulerit, certissime reportantur. Ubi ipsis militibus, pro tutela publica vitam prodigentibus, pro stipendiis verba numerantur, agiturque cum iis bene, si miseris decima annuæ mercedis portio persolvitur: ubi denique non benevolentiæ propenso affectu, nec amoris attractrice illecebra, sed sola vi, et injecto metus fræno populus in officio continetur. Ubi hæc dedecora civium oculos incurrunt, creduntur, prædicantur, omnium animos percellunt, quæ potest esse firma pacis spes? quæ diuturna tranquillitatis possessio? Rerum potitur quidam gigantum patria oriundus; qui ex obscuræ conditionis angustiis tandem in ecclesiasticæ purpuræ amplitudinem enixus, cum principibus regio sanguine claris, fortitudine, consilio et favore populari subnixis, περὶ πρωτείων authoritatis et potentiæ certare ausus, ex impari congressu superior evasit. Mox cum adversa fortuna conflictari sustinuit, et suo culmine deturbatus, fugatus, hostis reipublicæ pronunciatus, reditum suum procurare, amissa gubernacula recuperare, adversarios successu exultantes reprimere, eorumque quosdam in ordinem redigere, alios ex arena abigere potuit. Nunc in authoritatis sedem repositus, in ea stabilius firmatus videtur; præcipuos principum et nobilium sibi affinitate et necessitudine devinxit, provinciarum rectores ab ejus nutu pendent, et limitaneis munimentis præfecit, qui cum ab eo fortunarum initia acceperint, ab eo earundem incremenum et tutelam sperant. In ejus arcas universi regni reditus confluunt, ab eo omnia officia et ministeria militaria, politica, aulica, juridica venduntur et dispensantur. Ejus verba vim legum, ejus voluntas normam obsequii, ejus mandata fatorum jussa æmulantur. Sane eum, qui e fumo et tenebris in hunc fulgorem emergere, qui hæc tanta aut animo destinare, aut destinata exequi potuit, ingenio abundare, nec aliis præclaris dotibus destitui oportet: verum hujusce auri pretium multiplicis scoriæ inquinamentis evilescit. Magnas virtutes non minora vitia corrumpunt: dum magnus, potens, felix habetur, generosi animi gloriam nondum consecutus est. Dexteritatis laudem fidei defectus obfuscat. Egregia gesta inexplebilis avaritiæ dedecus commaculat. Nec ad extremum sapere posse censetur, qui pecuniæ tam insano amore tenetur. Hæc illa machina est, quæ Marpesiam hanc rupem loco excutere, quæ Delon hanc movere ἀκίνητόν περ ἐοῦσαν, quæ fortunam tam bene fundatam, tam fortiter stabilitam labefactare queat. Scilicet dum ingruenti salo nimia moles opponitur, altius intumescunt et violentius impellunt insultantes aquæ; nec sæpius morbi, quam medicinæ violentia mortis impetus præcipitatur. Dum nervos potentiæ sua corroborandæ undique conquirit; dum populi venas sanguine exhaurit; dum omnigenis artificiis immensas opes corradit, cum auro odium in crumenam comportat, gratiæ paupertate laborat, et num sua lucra revera sint dispendia eventus indicabit. Interea conjecturam facere potestis, ex eo quod nuperrime accidit, nescio an Mercuriis vestris evulgatum. Quasi præsentibus vectigalibus cardinalitii loculi non satis turgescerent, recens pecuniæ corrogandæ commentum excogitatum est. Novum auri et argenti genus signare consilium erat. Lillia appellant. Id priori monetæ puritate impar, pondere circiter sexta parte inferius, æquum tamen valorem obtinere debuit. Huic proposito populus obmurmurare, parlamenta se opponere, mercatores contra obtestari. Curia Parisiensis (pro jure quod in stabiliendis et verificandis regiis edictis sibi asserit) assensum detrectare, et de remediis malo applicandis deliberare. Hoc cum in aula compertum esset, primo ne parlamentum se congreget, et ne de ea re sermones habeantur, edicitur. Illi nihilominus convenire, consilium capere, re-

gem ultro accedere, orare ne rem adeo omnibus ordinibus invisam ultra promoveri sinat. Rex cancellarii ore eos graviter increpare, mandare ne edictis suis refragari audeant; minari si procederent, se illos in rebellium et seditiosorum loco habiturum, velle se edicta suum effectum sortiri. Cum adhuc negotium ultra propellere non dubitarent, ex eorum numero quinque consiliarii ab urbe excedere coacti; ita impræsentiarum desistitur; sic tamen ut hæc quies quovis motu periculosior sit, nec magis ex metu, quam ab obstinatione proveniens; nam interim reliqua quæque negotia tractare recusant, et justitiæ cursus prorsus intercipitur, quæ res non exigui momenti est, et propediem nescio quid monstri paritura videtur. Nec dum in republica strepunt querimoniæ, dum curia cum aula, et leges cum arbitrio contendunt, penitus a dissidiis feriatur ecclesia, et suis quoque rixis commoventur scholæ. Quæ enim super cardinalis Restii in hac urbe authoritate recruduerant lites, vix dum bene sopitæ sunt; et etiamnum vigent, et disceptationis animosissimo ardore in Sorbona agitantur pertinaces controversiæ. Versatur in ea doctor quidam, Antonium Arnoldum vocant, nomen vestris opinor auribus non ignotum. Is libros quosdam et epistolas conscripsit (rem totam ab initio pertexere prolixissimæ esset operæ), in quibus se ab eorum partibus stare profitetur, qui Jansenistæ appellantur. Hosce libros Jesuitæ eorumque asseclæ, scriptis contrariis plerisque sermone Gallico editis, oppugnandos susceperunt. Quibus ille, nec sine plurimorum applausu, docte et eleganter reposuit. Et sæpius reciprocata est serra; tandem Antonius in Judicium adducitur, coramque Sorbona hæreseos ac pravorum dogmatum postulatur. Is se Augustini doctrinam sectari affirmans, petit diserte exprimant, quas sententias in suis scriptis reprehendunt: vix unam aut alteram indicare possunt. Has in Chrysostomo et Augustino expresse totidem verbis contineri demonstrat. Tum articulis ab Innocentio decimo damnatis adhærere clamant. Negat, locum ostendi postulat; nequeunt: tandem in eo consentiunt, temeritatis nomine incusandum esse, quod alicubi affirmavit se propositiones a papa perstrictas tanquam Jansenianas in Jansenio reperire non posse, quasi papa in dictis aut sententiis cuilibet affingendis decipi posset. Rem ridiculam! quasi vero ut Nasoni olim habuisse oculos peccatum erat, ita nunc iisdem carere in vitio ponendum sit. Si in Jansenio revera occurrunt ista, socordes, ne dicam stupidi sunt, qui locum non indicant, nec reum convincunt non tam culpæ quam cæcitatis. Si ipsi locum reperire nequeunt, aut seipsos manifesti arguere mendacii vel saltem eodem cujus Arnoldum insimulant crimine implicari, necesse habent. Utcunque magnis utrinque animis res gesta est. Ac ipse regni cancellarius per multos dies senatui Academico quotidie interfuit, ut sua præsentia Arnoldi amicis animos adimeret; tandem partim præ metu recedentibus qui ab eo stabant, partim fratrum mendicantium ingentibus catervis confluentibus, lata est sententia, Arnoldus temerarius decernitur. Is nihil moratus protestationem interponit, et sententiam nullam esse declarat hisce potissimum argumentis; quod suarum partim fautores (qui ultra sexagenos e præcipuis Sorbonæ doctoribus numerati sunt) metu ac terrore abacti; quod ex fratribus mendicantibus plures adessent, quam quos ex Academiæ instituto oportuit ad suffragia admissos esse; denique quod præter naturalis æquitatis dictamen de eo judicium ferre sinerentur, qui se causæ suæ inimicos scriptis contra illum evulgatis palam professi sint. Ita quidem qui unitatem tantopere jactant, nonnunquam ipsi levissimis de causis inacerbissimas factiones fundi non gravantur; et qui sibi solis charitatem assumunt, ipsi partium studiis vehementissimis abrepti, inter se atrocissime digladiantur. Sed securi status protestantium in hoc regno aliud indicium esse non potest eo luculentius, quod ex conclavibus regiis in medium proferemus. Archiepiscopus Tholosanus, vir eruditionis causa apud suos magni nominis, postquam nuper hanc urbem accesserat, ad reginam salutandam statim se contulit. Peractis officiis, sermonibus ultro citroque habitis, tandem adversus reformatæ religionis professores invehi cœpit, quos in provincia sua nimiam congregandi licentiam sibi arrogare conquestus, contra eorum molimina reginæ opem imploravit, subinde hæreticos et seditiosos appellitans. Quæ ingerentem excipiens regina se illorum fidem expertam affirmavit, et fideliores subditos comperisse, quam qui seditionis ipsos in-

simularent. Idem qui reginæ astabat, Franciæ quidam mareschallus, sustinuit. Tandem ipse rex interveniens, et argumentum disquisitionis edoctus, se in eadem esse sententia, et velle libertatem antecessorum suorun edictis concessam ipsis præstare significavit. Tale pro suis elogium meruit illustris ille Franciæ, qui coronæ intestinis tumultibus pene attritæ, exiguis copiis instructus pugnas artificiose detractando, rem restituit, eandemque jam inde ab aliquot annis eadem arte conservat; militaris militiæ summus magister, daturusque e sua schola quod tota forsan posteritas admirabitur. Sed quam initio causabar rerum inopiam, nunc præsertim sentio, cum qui in hac insigni Academia literarum gloria celebres viri versantur recensere velim. Arnoldum prius laudavi: alium, si in mathematicis eximium Robervallum excipiam, anxia inquisitio nullum invenerit. Nulli hic amplius Petavii, nulli Sirmondi, nulli Mersenni, nulli jam, proh dolor! Gassendi comparent. Numerosa collegia pedibus peragranti, oculisque perlustranti præter tecta nihil eminens, præter parietes nihil conspicuum se objecerit. Quanquam hisce, si oculi mei æqui sint arbitri, Cantabrigia non invidcrit. Nec si Sorbonæ ipsi, una cum collegio Navarreno, in unum conjiciatur Claromontanum Jesuitarum hospitium, totus ille acervus unicam S. Trinitati dicatam ædem, vel amplitudine vel magnificentia exæquare, nedum excedere queat. Immo nec si quascunque quotidianis oculis sol aspicit regiones perambularem, tuæ pulchritudinis (charissima mater) simile aliquid aut æquale reperire sperem. In tua memoria quam recreatur animus? quam exhilaratur cor? quam exultat mihi spiritus? Præ vestra conversatione, dulcissimæ animæ, mel omne prorsus insuave est, cujus desiderium e præcordiis meis nulla Lethe excutiet, etiamsi ipsos Lotophagos accessero. Vester ille candor, vestra innocentia, libertas, moderatio, eruditio, virtus, millies animo, centies ore repetitæ, quam semper impense placuerunt? a vobis corpore diremptus, mente quoties interfui? et colloquiis istis lepidis, ingeniosis, proficuis quoties me immiscui? quoties foco vestro assidere visus sermonibus vestris avidus inhiavi, nec non ipse pro more meo raras voces, plerumque ad rem parum spectantes interserui? si alicubi gentium qui tot probos ac ingenuos viros calore suo foveat focum aliquem investigare potero, næ haud infelix viator fuero. Præ isthoc spectaculo, pontes quivis natatiles, portentosæ campanæ, statuæ immensæ, quæcunque monumenta antiquitatis et recentis magnificentiæ ostenta omnino sordescunt. Quam ægre a vobis divellor! quam difficile jam alienas cogitationes admitto! cras Italiam, postridie Germaniam cogitem, hodie vestræ soli recordationi defixus immorabor, a vobis auspicatus sum, in vobis desinam. Suo præsidio cœleste Numen vos protegat, inque sinus vestros, copiam, concordiam, virtutem, sapientiam liberaliter infundat. Valete.

Vobis in æternum devotissimus,

I. B.

Parisiis, Feb. 9, 1655.

PRO

LECTORE HUMAN. ORATIO.

Ingens onus, dignissimi viri, humeris meis incumbere sentio, debiti vobis hodie persolvendi reus et veri et magni. Onus eo magis suo pondere me premens, quod jam primum gratitudinis tyrocinium ineam, nec vires habeam ad id sustinendum usu aliquo aut exercitio firmatas. Adeo ut quod hactenus in felicitatis meæ aliqua parte ponendum censui, illa omnia hujus generis officia declinasse, quæ nonnulli beneficia dicere solent, sed revera nemo non onera ac impedimenta reputaret, jam tandem ignorem an improspero cuidam fato imputare debeam, quo scilicet factum est, ut grandis hujus ac improvisi beneficii collatio me accipiendi imperitum inveniat; quodque nondum vitulis istis ferendis sensim assuefactus, necesse habeam indocta cervice ingentem hunc taurum suscipere. Nimium gravis mihi militia contigit jam primum bellanti, et vos artis meæ rudimenta non in figulino vase, sed in pura argenti massa experiri voluistis. Perite igitur quum nequeam, saltem cordate exequar id quod est hodierni muneris, et quam sincere agnoscam beneficium vestrum, patefaciam profitendo quanti æstimem. Quotusquisque vero est prælectorum, qui, licet multa salute atque officiosa verborum co-

mitate vos exceperit, quam tamen vos ei sortem dedistis, illa contentus legit? Adeo male curant plerique se primum ex dulci somno excitari, deinde de calentium stratorum blando circumplexu educi in apricas tenebras, cum horrido frigore, fœtentibus nebulis, et mox cum pingui lucernarum fumo ac fulgine pugnaturos, quo apud nondum bene expergefactos, atque ab insomniorum placida perturbatione sibi redditos auditores, super ægroti alicujus vetuli alternis somniis nescio quid sibi ipsis ridiculi edisserant. Contra plerique hunc locum tacitis desideriis expertere; quidam ultro ambire; nemo fere (pene dixissem, nemo) contemnere aut repudiare solet; quem quisquis acceperit, is non tantum vobis gratias, sed et sibi quoque ipsi gratulationem præstare potest; debere existimat. Enimvero demandastis mihi provinciam, non inter siccas sterilesque arenas, non inter frigora sitam plagæ borealis, non ubi cum barbaris gentibus de salute et tranquillitate est contendendum; sed in ditissimo solo, in florentissima regione universæ literaturæ; in iis locis, ubi temperati cœli almæque telluris conspirante opera, placide omnia nec invita proveniunt. Hortum non immerito quis dixerit omnifariæ doctrinæ, pulcherrimis rhetoricæ flosculis depictium, linguarum vernantem lætis herbis atque radicibus, jucundaque et salutari fruge historiarum refertum, quin et ubique antiquitatis venerabili umbra interspersum, perfusumque limpidissimis amnibus, deductis e perenni scaturigine Musarum, atque a poëtici Heliconis sacro jugo derivatis. Adeo ut quicquid in omni eruditione amœnum, quicquid lepidum, quicquid venustum, quicquid humanum, hoc est, homini aut utile aut delectabile, aut humano dignum sit ingenio; quicquid suo ambitu excelsi atque divini potentissima scientiarum latifundia complectuntur, id fere omne hoc munus suum sibi vendicet. Ut prætereamprovinciæ hujus satis ampla esse vectigalia, quæ cum in reliquis vix suis publicanis alendis sufficiant, in hac abunde suppetant etiam prætori suo splendide ornando. Denique humanitas vestra Spartam mihi assignavit curæ omnis et periculi immunem, nec corpori nec animo ingratam; uberrimis proventibus locupletem; eam obtinenti nec indecoram, nec inhonestam; et reipsa talem, qualem quis legendi cupidus sibi voto ac imagine concepisset.

Hæc non ideo assevero, quasi ipse ex hac re multum oblectamenti caperem; aut quasi officium mihi commendatum valde menti meæ arrideret; aliter enim ego curas animi mei, aliter vitæ rationes disposui, quam ut Musarum hasce delicias admodum persentiscam. Multo minus spes sordida, aut cupiditas lucelli alicujus pectus meum valido unquam verbere pulsavit; præcipue infamis illius, quod tanquam herba succrescens e stercore, visu spectabilis, sed odori ingrata, e pœnis et mulctis nocentium quærentiumque corrogatur. Equidem re ipsa tam parum acceptum est mihi hoc officium, quam parum ipsum concupivi, quam parum expectavi, quam minime de eo antehac cogitavi; aut si forte cogitassem, quam minime mihi debitum censuissem. Verum ea solum de causa quam non vilipendi, imo quam magni fieri dignum arbitrer, significare volui quo cum amplitudinem favoris vestri, tum mentis meæ sensum affectumque cordis non ingratum indicarem. Alioqui nec horum aliquid dicere aut agnoscere voluissem, si non persuasum fuisset mihi, omne illud apparentis beneficii præter spem et vota in me collati ex bona vestra in me voluntate profluxisse. Quid plura? Quicunque est e vobis (gravissimi charissimique viri) qui mihi aut in hac re, aut in quavis alia bene voluit, aut bene optavit, ei ex animo publice et sincere gratias ago, si facultas et opportunitas non deesset, acturus plusquam gratias, imo acturus quidvis, quod penes me fuerit, quo ostendam bonæ vestræ erga me voluntati, bonam erga vos gratamque in me voluntatem respondere.

Et jam præcipua parte orationis meæ defunctus videor. Nam dum vos, præclari adolescentes, prout hujus muneris institutum postulat, potentiusque ea ipsa, quam profitemur, humanitas nos invitat, alloquar et compellem, equidem non multa uti ambage verborum satius duco. Quid enim? an officium vestrum, quo venire, quando audire, quid scribere, quid componere, vos edocerem, quæ omnia, opinor, unius aut alterius anni præterlapsi usu et consuetudine probe didicistis? an ut ista vobis bene perspecta diligenter exequi velitis, multo suadelæ artificio provocarem, etiamnum ex nativa indole et propensione spontanea ad id agendum promptos paratosque; ut qui-

dem sperare fas est de ingenua juventute, liberaliter nata et educata; versanti in hac luce præstantium exemplorum; et quasi in sinu tenero Musarum rerum optimarum studiis innutrita, quorumque ipse vultus adhuc primævo pudore rubens virtutem ac modestiam spondet et promittit? Condonate igitur mihi hunc laborem vos quod spectat forte supervacuum, mihi ex usu necessarium, non aut solicite aut prolixe urgenti et inculcanti; verum tenui solummodo et quasi nuda enumeratione, quæ a vobis petam, quæque expectem recensenti. Lectiones quotidianas ut frequentetis, non est quod vos stimulem. Ad eas lux clara, aer compurgatus, vegetus corporum habitus, mentes bene præparatæ, et præcipue genus negotii nec inficetum, nec ab indole vestra abhorrens, vos commovebit abunde et proritabit. Siquidem non ad nectendos inutilium argutiarum laqueos; non ad nodosas perplexitates Aristotelicarum subtilitatum, quæ tenera vestra torqueant et excruciant cerebella, extricandas, vos evocamus: non istas vobis adhuc jejunis apponemus duras atque acerbas dapes, quæ dentes frangant manducantium, stomachos fatigent concoquentium. Sed quas humanior literatura subministrat ciborum delicias; mel Atticum ex variorum scriptorum floreis apicibus collectum; suave lac distillans e turgentibus mammis Musarum; generosum nectar veteris Œnotriæ; et quos exprimere est e semper virenti Minervæ oliva sapientiæ salubres succos, eos vobis pro matutina refectione degustandos propinabimus. Ex omni choro authorum, quem una legeremus, segregavi Ovidium. Torvum enim illud et morosum Virgilianæ majestatis reveriti, incertum et intricatum Papiniani tumoris abominati sumus; et Horatium sæpe suaviter nequam, dictisque elegantibus et præceptis non raro lasciviæ, ac intemperantiæ virus admiscentem respuimus. Quin et ipsum præterire ausi sumus Ciceronem, subinde dum largo flumine verborum exundat, rebus et sensibus parcum. Quidni igitur Ovidium in manus sumerem? Ovidium dixi, imo potius Genium quendam ingenii ac eloquentiæ in humana specie ludentem. Cujus versiculos nec mortalis aliqua cura finxisse; nec studium expressisse; neque ars concinnasse; sed vel natura ipsa sponte effudisse, aut divinior quædam Musa dictasse videatur. Ovidium, lactea ubertate eloquii, facili proprietate verborum, sincera puritate sermonis, sententiarum apposito lepore, utilique acumine; æquali calore, et continuo styli spiritu cuivis conferendum; cæterum inexhausta inventionis copia, candida sensuum perspicuitate, lauta supellectile historiarum, varietate ac divitiis omnigenæ doctrinæ, et mirifice suavi, facili, lævi, ac rotunda compositione carminum cuivis longe præferendum veterum poëtarum. Cui nihil unquam aliud vitio datum est, quam quod intemperantis ingenii fuerit, quodque vir amoribus alioqui nimium deditus, sui quoque ingenii nimius amator extiterit. Ex Ovidii tot libris ejusdem genii, etsi disparis materiæ omnibus, eum secrevimus, quem enucleatum dare potissimum operæ pretium censebamus; in quo nihil ad historias, nihil ad antiquitatem, nihil ad philologiam omnem, imo fere nihil ad philosophiam, omnesque scientias liberales pertinens desideremus; quem dum legimus, juvenes, non nisi ferias agemus, nullusque nobis occurret dies non inter fastos annumerandus.

Themata vestra quod attinet, præcipue flagito ut ea argumentum suum, tanquam fidelem Cynosuram, perpetuo respiciant. Quorsum enim mihi illa scopum præfigendi cura, nisi vobis altera incumbat ad eam exquisite collimandi?

Nempe is haud immerito tanquam erro ac vagabundus tractari debet, qui extra oleas sibi præfinitas in alteras materias excurrit; nec debet aliquo jure id hodierni thematis vice censeri, quod poterit crastino argumento æque adaptari. Bonam mentem sensumque rei propositæ congruum, puro et proprio, nec non si fieri potest, compto ac eleganti sermone vestiendi, proximus conatus esto. Turpe enim fuerit pulchros conceptus sordido habitu tectos incedere; et magnopere injustum bene natas cogitationes plebeio amictu dehonestare. Sententias gravitate et acumine temperatas vellem; easque nec raras in vasto gurgite natantes, nec importune densas, alteramque alterius vestigia nimis arcte prementes; sed tanquam stellas eo intervallorum ordine dispositas, ut hujus lumen illius radiis minime confundatur. Totam orationis seriem apta methodus connectat, pulchræ

similitudines illustrent, apposita exempla confirment, casti lepores condiant; molles ac modestæ metaphoræ exornent; nullique non flosculi et colores rhetoricæ pingant, condecorent, perficiant. Absint obsoleta vocabula, phrases alienæ atque absurdæ; duri ac audaces tropi; sensus obscuritas infelictur surgentis; et præcipue ineptorum salium insula et inverecunda affectatio; suumque unusquisque proferat, acpropriæ inventionis penu depromptum; ne forte furtivis coloribus nudatus, seipsum prorsus inplumem ac inopertum plectendum præbeat et deridendum. Eandem legem carminibus vestris dictam volo, eoque impensius; quod ista horum indoles existat, in quibus mediocritas ipsa vitium sit, idemque jure habeatur deflectere a summo, atque ad imum devergere. Ne memorem ideo poeticam artem vobis magis cordi esse debere; quoniam hæc ætatis vestræ propria reputatur; siquidem in flore isto crescentis adolescentiæ agilitas phantasiæ, sublimitas spiritus, validus calor, impetusque ingenii, motus animorum acer et promptus, affectuumque viget atque exultat vehementia: adeo ut qui hac ætate Musarum ineptum se prodat, eadem opera palam faciat, aut sibi nunquam affuisse ingenium, aut si quod affuit, præmaturo fato consenuisse. Quinetiam vos attendere oportet epigrammata esse quæ scribitis; nec sufficere quod sensus quadrat, quod proprietas vocabulorum respondeat, quod carminis ratio et metri leges accurate observentur; nisi insit etiam quiddam salsi et lepidi, aliquisque aculeus qui mentes legentium grata voluptate pungat titilletque; et quandoquidem aures prius suavis symphoniæ placido ictu ferire, quam animos, quibus natum est juvandis, inventionis deliciis afficere solet poëticum modulamen, id tale exigo, quod composito amne fluvii instar nullo obice interrupti decurrat. Ea enim carmina, quæ aut testudineo gradu incedunt, aut crebris cæsuris claudicant et cæspitant, Vulcania rectius quam Apollinea, et vetulis nescio quibus potius quam semper virginibus Musis videntur ascribenda. Absit vero ut suspicer quemvis vestrum in syllabarum quantitate peccaturum. Frustra enim is se putat versiculos condere, illa in re, quæ a prosa versum dirimit, aberrantem. Saltem peccator iste, qui syllabarum natura aut usu brevium quantitates producit, prælectori ne obmurmuret, si etiam quantum suum in promptuario invenerit prolongatum; ut et ille dignus est longas corripiens, qui alteram ipse ferat correptionem. Denique, ingenui juvenes, e carminibus vestris demonstratum date, vos quibus Minerva nascentibus favit, quantum ars perficere, vos quibus illa minus propitia fuit, quantum solertia naturam possit superare. Unum aut alterum superest, quod vos insuper moneam, et peroravi unum, ut iis buæ componitis nitide ac distincte scribendis curæ aliquid adhibeatis. Bene moratorum hominum est hoc præstare. Nam cui quis chartam offert male depictam, is illam palam præ se fert contemnere. Nec sua aut legi, aut intelligi, aut probari cupit, qui fœda maculis et lectu difficilia objicit. Sane dum facile et prompte legimus, dum scripti nitor speciosus oculis legentium adblanditur, nescio quo pacto, sensus ipse tanquam minime molestus hospes in pronas mentes illabitur: contra difficultas et deformitas scripti et tædium et præjudicium pariunt; ut necessitas sit quod vel scriptor aliquatenus, vel lector non ita fiat industrius.

Alterum est quod admonitos vos velim, nempe, ut scriptis et sententiis vestris suas periodos, sua cola, sua commata caute et curiose affigatis. Quæ omittere semper incuriam, plerumque imperitiam arguit; quorum utrumque æque vobis indignum. Et nescio an alio indicio satis innotescat, utrum quis ea quæ scripsit, aut fecerit ipse, aut intellexerit. Sane cum debita punctatio desideratur, non tam scribentis est sensus qui elicitur quam legentis; ut dum e tripode ambiguæ voces funduntur, sæpe dubium est, an eadem oraculi mens sit, quæ interpretis. Nam ut vocabulorum intra certas septi alicujus angustias constrictorum facilis est comprehensio, ita si non irrita, saltem haud expedita est venatio intellectus, in campestrium spatiorum indiscretam libertatem evagantis; utque is pessime exercitum instruxerit, qui nullo signorum discrimine turmas a turmis, cohortes a cohortibus disterminaverit; ita non melius disponitur oratio, sic nullis periodis definita, ut verborum omnium soluta congeries unius sententiæ speciem repræsentet; atque assequi difficile evadat, an singula vocabula ad præcedentium seriem, an potius ad subse-

quentium ordinem sint referenda. Huic igitur monito obsequium præstabit, qui in iis quæ conscribit, omne punctum ferre desiderat.

Ultimo vos hortor, ne nimium curti, neve admodum prolixi sitis; qua in re ne ipse exemplo noceam, propriumque præceptum primus violem, valete.

ORATIO

CUM

GRÆCÆ LINGUÆ CATHEDRAM ASCENDERIT.

A. D. 1660.

Provinciam aliquam qui suscipiunt aut munus auspicantur (spectatissima corona) cirumspicere solent, illustre quodvis argumentum si aliunde compareat, in quo dum vim ingenii sui ostentant, et facultatem explicant dicendi, bonam spem de se, reique in posterum bene gerendæ felix augurium imprimunt auditoribus; gnari scilicet, auribus tanquam ansis arripi animos hominum, neque ullo ipsos apparatu vel invitari facilius, aut lautius excipi, quam disertæ linguæ opiparis deliciis, et suavi nectare profluentis eloquentiæ. Inde fit ut pars illorum, professionis quisque suæ, fundatores atque fautores præcipuos, quorum illa aut instituta cœpit auspiciis, aut opibus sublevata stetit, aut aucta crevit beneficiis, enixe studeant cum in solenne gratitudinis testimonium commemorare, tum honestis encomiis insignire. Alii in eodem stadio præcursores, viros eruditione conspicuos, et fama celebres, officio suo functos egregie, deque republica literaria præclare, meritos, explorata seculorum ultima conscientia, ab oblivionis tumulo exsuscitatos, uberrimis laudibus cumulant, amplissimis decorant elogiis.

Reliqui fere artis, quam colere et pertractare præ se ferunt, ut necessitatem exponant, utilitatem inculcent, dignitatem prædicent, hisque quasi subditis stimulis ad illi strenue incumbendum auditores provocent et cohortentur, id sibi potissimum negotii datum credunt: ut præterea singulares rerum, temporum, locorumque circumstantias, quas ut flamma stipulas, sic in fomitem orationis arripere soleat dicentium aut avidus fervor, vel sedula circumspectio.

Mihi quin hæc omnia contigerint dicendi argumenta, in suo genere egregia, et plane summa, ut diffiteri non ausim, ita nec fateri ut non magnopere erubescam, adeo imparem me sentio tam excelsis rebus vel enarrandis apte, nedum digne exornandis. Siquidem instituti nostri auctores habeam percensendos, non tantum fortitudine, sapientia, pietate, et omnigena virtute inclytos proceres, sed et maximos principes, ac reges gloriosos, qui licet majestate imperii, et rerum gestarum magnitudine tantopere excellerent, non alienum tamen a se, nec suo fastigio indecorum sunt arbitrati, bonas literas dum honore debito prosequerentur, et literarum cultores subsidiis foverent, humani generis sibi vota gratesque obstringere. Quorum ego nescio an debeam magis eximiam munificentiam, et præclaram erga studia voluntatem encomiis celebrare, an vero potius temporum infelicitatem dicam, vel hominum iniquitatem increpare, unde factum est, ut vix alendo homini, neque ad necessarios sumptus sufficiat, quo generosæ illæ animæ non solum idoneo commeatu abunde instructos, sed et splendide ornatos voluerunt. Utcunque non est mei aut rudis styli, aut humilis ingenii, tantorum heroum melioris historiæ utramque paginam implentia persequi ἀνδραγαθήματα, nedum virtutes tantas graphice depingere, quarum immortalis famæ sublimibus alis evecta gloria tam infimi despicit atque dedignatur præconium oratoris. Nec si recluso temporis thesauro, illorum qui hanc Spartam excolentes claruerunt, exinde memoriam extrahamus, sese unquam dicturo obtulerunt materia justior laudum aut copia uberior. Attestor tum omni laude majus, omni luce clarius, omni encomio celebratius nomen, qui literatorum olim per universum orbem antesignanus, etiam nunc Græcorum in tabulis nostris agmen ducis prælectorum, prodigum illud, atque dæmonium hominis, ingenio, doctrina, judicio, facundia, ter maxime Erasme! Tu qui collapsas literas felicibus auspiciis instaurasti, sepultas excitasti, profugas reduxisti: qui sordido seculo obsoletam barbariem eloquii tui purissimo flumine eluisti: qui ineptia

putrescentem mundum salibus tuis condivisti: qui sub cucullorum dolosis tegumentis latitantes tenebras inscitiæ protulisti in apricum, tuæque multiplicis literaturæ radianti fulgore dissipasti: qui superbæ ignaviæ superciliis incedentem fastum, ceu alieno tecto inauspicatam avem, mordacium joculorum faceta petulantia absteruisti; inque validis erroribus profligandis plus unus potuisti ridendo, quam mille alii (serii, scilicet, et solidi homines) disputando, pugnando, sæviendo valuerunt. Tu Latine loqui, Græce legere, prompte, proprie, nitide scribere a mille annis primus, vel certe præcipuus, humanum genus docuisti. Quinimo tua in posteritatem ampliora fuerunt merita, quam ut illa unquam agnoscendo, nedum ut ego exprimendo sim. Tuum etiam appello, consultissime Faber, fatale nomen literis demerendis, cui nescio an Græcia tuis laboribus exculta, an Anglia tibi eleganti penecillo descripta, utrum scholæ plus debeant eruditis prælectionibus illustratæ, an prudentibus consiliis adjuta respublica. Nec minor hunc doctrina vel dignitate excepit amplissimus Cheekus, optimi regis Edvardi ad tantam spem institutor; vir pro ratione suorum temporum prodigiose doctus, cui præter tot libros antiquos mirabili industria enarratos, emendatos, traductos, totque eximia proprii ingenii monumenta, etiam nobis Anglis peculiarem debemus pronunciandi morem, laudatissimum proculdubio, et antiquitati maximopere conformem; quodque sermonem Atticum ore efferamus non barbaro, sed eodem illo, quo Periclea olim vox Græciam pertonuit, ex quo Platonica mella destillarunt, quo Cecropidarum animos Demosthenica suada delinivit. Cui sane viro, ut merita sua postulant, digne celebrando, disertiore lingua opus est, quam mea esse possit, et oratione, quam nostra esse debeat, prolixiore. Quid alios, dum vita suppeteret, florentes fama, nunc placide quiescentes, ab umbrarum tranquillo hospitio producere in scenam? quos certe omnino tacitos præstat, quam male tractatos inficeta concione, et mutila cum laude memoratos. Te saltem, fato licet defunctum, penitus tacere nequeo, clarissime Dunæe, quem adistis forsitan, ornatissimi auditores, qui Oratores Græcos maxima sui cum gloria et vestro fructu audivistis explicantem: quemque non alia accepimus contrahere pacta, alloqui hospites, consalutare dominam, ancillas objurgare solitum, quam Attica dialecto, adeo hæc illi fuit, vel citra metaphoram, familiaris. Quin vivit adhuc, et suo utriusque linguæ perfundit orbem diluvio rapidissimo ille torrens facundiæ Crichtonus, de quo merito dubitari potest, an linguas calleat doctius, vel eloquatur uberius; quem proinde ac vos immani injuria afficerem, si arentis styli inopia ipsum collaudando aures vestras læderem, quas ille toties melliflua oblectavit atque permulsit eloquentia.

Et causa consimilis ni obstaret, etiam multis veniret prædicandus, doctissimus ille et disertissimus vir, professor simul nuperrimus, atque orator academicus, quem una sua vobis, etiam de se quæ nihil dicat, quam mille meæ, plus commendaverit oratio, quo certe haud alius quisquam de hoc loco, deque hisce literis præclarius meruisset, si quam bene legit, tam legisset et sæpe, atque illi per valetudinem aut saltem per graviora negotia id licuisset. Illustre vero agmen claudat haud postremus merito, quin ausim dicere primus, ut qui nemo hanc cathedram aut tenuit tamdiu, aut tantopere decoravit, mihi perpetuo obsequio colendus, nec vobis minus omni honore suspiciendus, vir optimus, et oculorum licet judicio renuenti, etiam maximus Duportus. Exiguo quippe cortice obvolutus omnigenæ eruditionis nucleus, angusta capsula inclusus ingens thesaurus literarius; volumine parvo comprehensum quotquot sunt linguarum, artium et scientiarum compendium; tot Erasmorum, Budæorum, Stephanorum accurata epitome; cujus in modico corpore immensus animus habitat, giganteum versatur ingenium, omnes Athenæ hospitantur, tota quanta quanta est Græcia diversatur: qui a nostra plerorumque ultima memoria Atlantem agens Græcarum literarum, Academiæ decus humeris non magnis adeo quam validis sustentavit, et velut stella mole aucta, virtute diffusissima lucidissimis radiis universum mundum circumfulsit; a quo habet Anglia nostra, ne aliis gentibus literarum gloria cedat, nec suos Galliæ Scaligeros, Salmasios, Petavios, suosve Belgio Heinsios, Grotios, Vossios quod invideat. Quis enim Græcas literas perspexit intimius? quis Latinas extulit purius vel

copiosius? quis poëticam facultatem felicius coluit, et cœlestis Musæ diviniores raptus heroici carminis majestate propius adæquavit? quis tot unquam orationes habuit concinnas, lepidas, eruditas? aut dum tot annos, imo tot lustra juventutem academicam instituit, adeo grammaticam austeritatem critica varietate condivit, rhetorica venustate expolivit, amœna urbanitate temperavit? Quis denique tam fideli opera, tam indefesso labore, tam assidua diligentia susceptam provinciam administravit? adeo quidem ut successoribus suis tam insigne exemplar sequi difficile fecerit, assequendi vero spem omnem præciderit, et ademerit potestatem. At quid ego loquacis linguæ insulsa temeritate tantas dotes minuo, tantis virtutibus detero, tanta merita obfusco, quæ (nisi loci hujus et temporis ratio silentium damnaret, nisi illius in vos magna merita, in literas eximia, in meipsum infinita, etiam invito mihi verba extorsissent) satius erat tacita admiratione fuisse veneratum? Quin vos evolvite scripta, recolite dicta, quæ authores interpretanti, elucidanti, conferenti, quæ prælegenti et peroranti exciderunt, in memoriam revocate, ut ex profectu vestro magis discatis quam ab elogio meo tantum virum æstimare, cui similem professorem multa vobis non dabunt, parem paucissima invenient, majorem nulla unquam secula parient, nulla pepererunt. Hosce viros cum cogito, antecessores meos, eruditione consummatos, operibus insignes, sempiterna fama coronatos, inde in meipsum oculos retorquens, tenuitatem ingenii mei, memoriæ debilitatem, studiorum diuturnam quasi desuetudinem squalidam rubiginem styli, et quæ mecum habitat literaturæ omnis curtam supellectilem contueor, tum vero horribilis me consternatio incessit, desperatio animum obruit vario affectu discolorem vultum pallidus rubor suffundit, reputanti quod facinus aggressus sim, quale onus humeris meis sustulerim, quanto discrimini caput meum objecerim; tum præceps consilium damnare, et audacis incœpti me pœnitere, pennis cereis, iisque male compactis qui ausus fuerim in tantum fastigium assurgere; qui quantumvis aspera repulsa confusam juvenilis impetus ferociam nondum edomuerim, adversosque ventos et repugnantes æstus jam ante expertam, jactatam fluctibus, conquassatam tempestatibus, et allisam scopulis, rursus irato pelago naufragam ratem committere non dubitarem, infausti ominis præsagium aspernatus, nec indignantis fortunæ tam acerbum præjudicium reveritus. At quanto consultius fecissem pristinæ sortis memor, si intra propriam pellem continuissem me, nec velut asinum Cumanum iterato risu excipiendum, calumniarum fustibus cædendum, et obtrectationum aculeis dilacerandum propinassem? aut si tam inquieti ingenii sum, adeoque otii impatiens, ut ne aliquid moliar, mihi nequeam imperare, quanto sapuissem magis Homerici Patrocli prudentem modestiam æmulatus, de quo princeps poëtarum in prælium exeunte,

Εἵλετο ἄλκιμα δουρὰ, τὰ οἱ παλάμῃφιν ἀρήρει,
Ἔγχος δ' οὐκ ἔλετ' οἷον ἀμύμονος Αἰακίδαο.

Quid enim? ego Achilleam hastam invalidis brachiis vibrandam attrectarem? Herculeæ dextræ quasi clavam extorquerem ego, imbellis pumilio? Ego cicadis vespa accinerem? cycnei carminis suavitatem anserino stridore exciperem? post tot philomelas Atticas ineptula pica Græcanicæ elegantiæ delicatos modos attentarem? Ego denique Phœbeo curru conscenso imperitis manibus tanti muneris habenas moderarer, tot summos viros, tot magnos Apollines hactenus improbo nisu quod exercuit? qui plures authores legerint, quam ego viderim; plura scripta ediderint, quam ego intellexerim, plures in memoria libros circumtulerint, quam ego unquam in musæolo asservarim? quibuscum ego neque ingenio, neque doctrina, neque facundia ullatenus comparandus, neque cum illis eodem die (quod aiunt) sum nominandus. Neque illorum fulgor duntaxat luminibus meis officit, qui me antegressi, vel potius supergressi sunt, at vel magis prælustris ille cœtus doctissimorum hominum et juvenum eximia indole præditorum præstringit atque percellit, quos subinde dicendorum perspicaces arbitros, acresque Aristarchos sum habiturus, quale opinor non alibi extat terrarum, tam venerabile dicam, an terribile auditorum? Est enim jam terrori magno recordari, quod olim observare summæ voluptati fuit, fortunæ impetu abreptus dum varias regiones oberrarem, ut nullibi gentium tam magnifica conspici et splendida Musarum domicilia, ita nusquam literis æque fidelem operam dari, ac fervidos conatus impendi,

non alibi genus studendi adeo virile, liberum atque animosum vigere, nusquam tantum cum acumine leporem, cum doctrina ingenium conjungi, neque cum multijuga eruditione mores, ut probos, temperatos, ingenuos, ita salsos, amœnos, atque festivos conspirare. Equidem apud Germanorum hesterna crapula obnubilata cerebella, in Batavas aures pingui Minerva obstipatas, coram desultoriis Gallis, aut ad Italos ultra vernaculum idioma parum sapientes, nihil admodum morarer verba facturus. Nunc velut in Martio pago reus capitis causam acturus, aut tanquam ad Lugdunensem aram rhetor constitutus, illorum judicia experiri debeo, qui curioso examine singula perpendere, et exquisita censura notare solent, castigare falsa, fastidire inepta, absurda exsibilare; Græcarum præsertim literarum qui tanta notitia pollent, ut mihi in solo antiquo, Ionios inter Ægeosque fluctus diu multumque quæsita nec inventa Græcia periisse prorsus, nisi quod tanto trajecto terrarum intervallo huc commigrasse, apud vos sedem refixisse videretur. Ego igitur a vobis, hoc est, ab omnibus bonis literis qui tamdiu exulavi, qui tot annos extra patriam, nunc in ipsa videor peregrinus, qui a Græcis procul, apud Barbaros plurimum versatus fui, cui peragranti terras, trajicienti æquora, cum utriusque elementi periculis atque procellis conflictanti, tantum temporis detritum est, tantumque defluxit studiis horridis, agrestibus, incultis, nec ab eloquio minus quam ab usu communi alienis occupato; ideoque cui mentis aciem difficiles nugæ obtuderunt, phantasiæ calorem frigidulæ speculationes suffocarunt; cui siquis unquam fuit aut alacer impetus animi, aut vigor fervidus ingenii, diuturno neglectu deferbuit omnis, aut otio contabuit; fortunæ angustiis elisus concidit, aut rerum fastidio expiravit; cui denique neuter unquam favit Mercurius, nec qui facundos præstat, nec qui opulentos, utpote qui a libris, a facultatibus, ab omnibus studiorum adminiculis, nedum oblectamentis, improvisus, inops, destitutus, pauperior Iro, nudior sum leberide; Ego, inquam, talis vos aliquid docere profiteor, a vobis qui omnia discam paratior? ego cathedram occupem, haud dignus qui in communibus vobiscum subselliis consistam? nec in tam erudita frequentia qui sim

——————οὔτε τρίτος, οὔτε τέταρτος,
Οὐδὲ δυωδέκατος, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ, οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

Hoc nempe est quod aiunt, ἅμαξα βοῦν, hoc incongruum πρωθύστερον, ut ego viam præmonstrem, facem præferam vobis, quos duces sequi, et directrices aspicere Cynosuras, dictasset prudentia mihi, a me modestia exegisset. Enimvero ex hoc arduo loco in tam augustum consessum pudibundos oculos demittere nequeo, ne tremula caput meum vertigo coripiat, ne immane periculum perhorrescam, ne illius, quæ me huc evexit, incredibilis audaciæ conscientia stupeam. Quanquam audaciam meam non est, quam facilitatem nimiam quod tantopere insimulem, qui nulla gloriolæ ambitione inflatus, nulla lucelli cupiditate accensus (quibus eheu! vitiis hic locus exilia subministrat irritamenta) imo timidus atque invitus, refugiente simul ac reluctante genio huic meipsum negotio implicui, nec tam animo meo morem gerens, quam aliorum qui apud me amicitia, et beneficiis, et dignitate plurimum potuerunt, quorumque ego nec benevolentiam erga me ignorare, nec authoritatem aspernari, nec voluntatem negligere debui; consiliis, hortatibus, imperiis obsecutus. Neque esset profecto honori vestro ita pessime prospectum, si ego apud duros quidem et præfractæ obstinationis homines, sed doctiores multo, et huic muneri aptiores precibus, jurgiis, aut minis quicquam profecissem: utcunque de illo quod meo mihi jumento accersiverim, ἐπισπάσιῳ κακῷ ut queri vanum, ita nec resipiscere opportunum fuerit, eatenus progresso, unde pedem referre pudor vetat—Nec deferendum est tam solenni arbitrio præstitutum vadimonium; jacta est alea, transivimus Rubiconem,

Credidimus fatis, utendum est judice ferro;

ingresso pugnam jam nec receptui canendum, nec ab assignata statione recedendum est. Quin potius cum hostibus fortiter conserendæ manus, abjicienda desperatio, propulsandus timor, spiritus confirmandi, nervi intendendi, omni ope enitendum est mihi, acceptis partibus ut defungar strenue. Studio supplendus est defectus ingenii; quod ab usu deest, cura compensandum est. Litandum est audentium adjutrici fortunæ, et contrahendum cum superis, siquidem vera aiunt,

omnia labori vendentibus. Subsidio denique mihi comparanda est diligentia, vestro quatenus in me est decori ut consulam, vestris studiis inserviam, meo officio satisfaciam; præcipue vero, consultissimorum virorum, quorum consentientibus suffragiis huic provinciæ obeundæ delectus ac deputatus sum, ne de me conceptam spem omnino deludam, aut prolatum judicium dehonestem; quorum proinde amplissimum favorem quam verbis nunc parce agnoscam, tam animo imperpetuum vehementer abunde persentiscam, hanc saltem quoad potero factis gratiam relaturus, ut officio præstando dum graviter et pro virili incumbo, efficiam aliquatenus, ne videantur ipsi de me aut sperasse temere, aut perperam statuisse. Quin omnes Pierii chori cultum profitentes ut erigamus animos, acerba calamitate temporum depressos jamdiu atque dejectos, et acri protinus alacrique studio Musarum sacris operemur, in feliciorem statum conversæ reipublicæ invitat et allicit nos sereniori vultu arridens facies; compressa scilicet rabie literis infensæ plebeculæ, obturato ore indignis conviciis, improperiis, et minis nos lacessentium; detectis fraudibus, frustratis consiliis, et attrita potentia improborum hominum nostris redituum sacrorum miseris reliquiis inhiantium; debellata licentia militari et populari barbarie triumphata, sub auspiciis optimi regis, quem ut libertatis publicæ vindicem, legum assertorem, authorem pacis, tutorem fidei, et ecclesiæ instauratorem ex boni Numinis mirabili beneficio, quasi cœlitus delapsum, accepimus, ita literarum patronum summum atque fautorem futurum, est quod speremus et spondeamus nobis; veram quippe et vivam effigiem magni patris, eique ut jure ditionum, sic et indole virtutum hæredem, quo principe nullus unquam literas aut dilexit impensius, aut constantius propugnavit; a cujus proinde genuina sobole quidni prospera omnia honestis studiis atque propitia ariolemur? Saltem transierunt illa nubila, tetrica, et inimica Musis tempora, quibus si unquam ullis apprime convenerunt ista, quo horridius inculta, eo magis apposita, Enniana carmina,

Spernitur Orator bonus, horridu' miles amatur.
Bellipotentes sunt magis quam sapientipotentes.

Non erit, ut nuperrime, quo doctior quis, quoque honestior, eo magis suspectus atque obnoxius, per omnes alias quam bonas artes, ad immodicas vires opesque illi citas grassanti nequitiæ. Non amplius ut abjecta fæx populi impune insultet nobis, famam nostram laceret, jura violet, bona diripiat, professionem temnat, conculcet, ludibrio habeat; neque quo minus frigore opprimamur, aut inedia nos perimat, ut ab illorum instabili nutu ac arbitrio insolenti pendeamus, qui cum moribus priscis, et legibus patriis, etiam scientiis liberalibus inexpiabile bellum indixerant, genus hominum cædibus, rapinis et violentiæ penitus addictum, Cessabit ille tubarum clangor, studiorum placidæ tranquillitati obstrepentium; a sago ad togam redibit sanguineo dudum murice nimis inquinata purpura, plus poterit subinde acumen ingenii quam gladii, vim ratio compescet, mens brachiis, robori sapientia antecellet. Emarcida diu laurus Apollinea lætius reflorescet, et amœno virore Martiam superabit. Eluctata angustiis eruditio latius se diffundet, et tanquam disrupta nube clarioribus radiis emicabit. Nec incolumitas tantum bonis artibus et justa securitas præstabitur, sed quasi a postliminio restituta solatia, et debita legibus præmia persolventur. Erit aliqua merces industriæ, virtutem dignitas compensabit, authoritate meritum fulcietur. Quod si aliqua sunt, ingenui juvenes, digna indole tanta, et florem industriæ vestraæ quæ jure sibi vindicent, illa profecto Græcæ linguæ sunt studia, de quibus ut merentur copiose dicere, non fert ratio temporis, non instituti, sed nec facultatis meæ; ast omnino intacta præterire, ut officio meo minime consentaneum, ita forsan expectationi vestræ injurium fuerit. Scilicet, ad sapientiam comparandam quam utilis, imo quam necessaria sit linguarum cognitio, præter infantes neminem, nedum vos latere potest. Siquidem hæ interpretes et quasi claves animæ sunt, quibus enunciantur consilia mentis, et arcana reserantur, quibusque doctrinæ omnis et disciplinæ commercium stabilitur. Ostia sunt, per quæ in adyta penitioris literaturæ unicus ingressus patet. Cortices quibus sensuum medullæ obducuntur, vehicula veritatis iter ad aures capessentis; vestes, quibus amictæ res se sistunt oculis percipiendas, quibus nudæ aciem fugiunt intellectus: fundamenta denique, quæ

substernat oportet, solidæ eruditionis structuram quisquis molitur; in eo divinæ dispensationis methodum imitatus, qui primum hoc apostolis cœlestis doctrinæ magistris tanto muneri adimplendo necessarium donum impertivit. Quanto magis incumbendum Græcæ linguarum principi, reliquas omnimodæ excellentia quæ tanto superat intervallo? si ætatem ejus spectamus, præter unam humanæ loquelæ coævam Hebraicam, antiquissima est, imo scientia omni non aliter quam parens sobole, radix surculis vetustior. Si usum, is amplissimus est, ad omnis sapientiæ studium, ad omnem ingenii cultum se exporrigens; si commoditatem, vim aut gratiam respicimus, nullam arbitror extitisse unquam mortali spiritu modulatam, hac quæ fuerit aut explicandis sensibus aptior, aut demulcendis auribus gratior, aut affectibus commovendis efficacior. Hanc heroum ora protulerunt. Musarum hæc et charitum, sophiæ pariter ac suadæ, vernacula dialectus fuit. Hanc in lucis oras emergentium disciplinarum infantia balbutivit, adultarum provectior ætas elocuta est. Hæc historiæ veteris prima nobis monumenta consignavit, priscæ virtutis exempla tradidit, et veteris ævi illustria facta ab oblivionis injuria vindicavit. Eloquentiæ hæc nativos fontes aperuit, ejusque in omnem posteritatem limpidissimos amnes derivavit. Hujus in utero conceptus est, hujus uberibus lactatus adolevit poëticus lepos, ille dulcis magister, ac fortis victor animorum. Hæc superum laudes lyrica suavitate concinere, epica grandiloquentia res gestas regumque ducumque et martia bella ebuccinare; tragica gravitate humanæ sortis affectus, casus, ærumnas depingere, et comico sale vitia docuit perfricare. Hæc ducem vitæ, pabulum animæ, solamen curæ, et medelam ægritudinis philosophiam cœlo devocatam gremio suo excepit; illam, quæ rationem nostram subtilibus artificiis format, disserendi methodum edocet, argumentorum nodos nectit, dissolvitque; illam quæ mores instruit, officia distribuit, fines commonstrat, actiones disponit, affectus moderatur, nosque fati immunes, et a fortunæ insultibus tutos in supremum apicem felicitatis evehere pollicetur. Illam denique philosophiam, quæ naturales effectus observat, causas perscrutatur, facultates dispescit, quæ elementorum qualitates, vires, misturas expendit, quæque totius mundi originem, ordinem, harmoniam contemplata in summi Numinis notitiam enititur atque assurgit: hæc societates publicas fœderum vinculis copulavit, legum authoritate sanxit, pœnarum ac præmiorum dispensatione munivit, humani corporis fabricam inspexit, organorum usus et temperamenta perquisivit, sanitatem tuendi, morbosque depellendi facultatem procudit, juris celebres pandectas condidit, et salutares medicinæ aphorismos definivit. Eadem numeris leges præscripsit, sonorum discrepantias ordinavit, figurarum proprietates indagavit, momenta ponderum libravit, temporis fluxam seriem digessit, radiorum subtilem efficaciam explicuit, terreni orbis faciem delineavit; quin derelicta humo adivit Deos, et per æthereas regiones spatiata syderum vagos circuitus certis periodis circumscripsit, sphærarum ingentes machinas conflavit, detornavit eccentricos, epicyclos edolavit, totque indo nobis scientias subtilissimas, utilissimas, pulcherrimas incredibili solertia, mirifico acumine concinnavit: ne enumerando molestior sim, illa scientiæ omnis et sapientiæ humanæ fundamenta stravit, principia elicuit, regulas adaptavit, methodum contexuit; illa artes et disciplinas omnes quas colimus, invenit, auxit, perfecit et propagavit. Quid enim morer illorum hominum nullo fultum probabili argumento superstitiosum commentum, qui Ægyptiis et Chaldæis, nescio quibus, artium inventionem ascribunt? non habentes interim unicum vel philosophicum axioma, vel theorema mathematicum, ab illis magistris quod acceperint, obtendere; saltem præstigias magicas, et vanitates astrologicas, incertas quasdam traditiones et vagas observatiunculas si excipiant; quum e contra Græci nostri quibus temporum intervallis gradatim singula repererint, in prompto est unde irrefragabilis historiæ luculentis indiciis comprobemus. Quid enim an Homero, Pindaro, Æschylo poësim; Hippocrati medicinam; Pythagoræ, Platoni, Euclidi, Archimedi arithmeticam et geometriam; Eratostheni, Hipparcho, Ptolemæo astronomiam et geographiam; Empedocli, Anaxagoræ, Democrito physicam, Aristotelis divino ingenio Dialecticam, Rhetoricam, Ethi-

cam, Politicam, et disciplinas propemodum omnes repertas, ampliatas, ornatas, aut in ordinem redactas abjudicare ausit quispiam sanus cerebri, et qui nolit tantis beneficiis ingratum, tantis meritis injurium sese profiteri? Anne magis quicquam liquidis constet indiciis quam hos Græci oris, si minus stirpis, omnes, scientiarum fabricam ab imo quasi solo ad tantum fastigium evexisse; neque ab Euphrate, nec a Nili incompertis fontibus, sed ab Heliconis pellucida scaturigine ipsas promanasse? Testor illa tot quæ nec irrumpentium barbarorum diluvio absorpta, nec voracis ævi maligno dente absumpta etiamnum supersunt in omni genere scientiæ præclara inventa, gravissima scripta, monumenta veneranda, quorum nullum fere extat insulsum, vel inutile, aut indignum animis vestris concipi, manibus teri, memoriis insculpi; saltem si vobis potius est, doctrinæ incorruptos latices a puris fontibus imbibere, quam longo decursu contaminatos rivulos et lutulentas lacunas ingurgitare. Et sane nisi his literis perspectis, nullius artis ut non origo investigari, ita nec nomen ipsum intelligi, nec termini innotescere possunt, adeo impares fuerunt alii homines non tantum inveniendis artibus, sed et exprimendis: addere licet, nec sine hujus subsidio ullius alterius linguæ exquisitam notitiam obtineri: ne Latine quidem, quæ ab hoc penu ornatum petit, ab hoc thesauro opes suas mutuatur. Etenim quis ignorat Romani eloquii parentem Tullium, quantus vir fuit, dum Græcos rhetores et philosophos legit, excussit, imitando expressit, seipso fatente tantum evasisse? Quis Latinæ Musæ caput, Mantuanum vatem, ex Graiis lauretis sibi triplicem corollam decerpsisse; a Siculo pastore Bucolicas nequitias hausisse, *quid faciat lætas segetes* ab Ascræo sene canendum didicisse, eque filis Homericis præcipue divinæ Æneidos telam pertexuisse? Quis Terentium a Menandro, quos gessit, politulos soccos, aut Senecam ab Euripide sublimes cothurnos furto abstulisse dicam, an mutuo accepisse? Quis vero Catonem negat meritas pœnas dedisse, Græcæ linguæ elementa dum sexagenarius disceret, maximus ille quidem imperator, senator, orator, sed major futurus, si quibus studiis languentis senii curam adhibuit, iisdem juvenilis ingenii impendisset ardorem, et meliorem ætatem imbuisset? quid quod florente cum imperio lingua, etiam a cunis medio Latio innutriti, et a Romanis parentibus oriundi summi viri egregia sensa animi Græce protulerint, et exscripta posteris commendarint, patrii præ illo sermonis sterilitatem atque inopiam confitentes? e quibus conticendos non existimo, par nobile Cæsarum, M. Antoninum, et Julianum, imperatorum ingeniosissimum hunc, illum sapientissimum. Nec immerito illi, quando hujus linguæ tam locuples varietas, diffusa copia, immensa amplitudo sit, quam nulla inventionis fœcunditas exhaurire, nulla difficultas torquere, nulla novitas eludere queat, felicissimæ compositionis facilitate crescentem semper, et ultra omnes terminos se protendentem; tanta autem vis et efficacia significandi, affectuum vehementissimo ardori accendendo simul et sopiendo, mentis concitatissimis motibus effundendis, conceptuum altissimæ sublimitati exæquandæ quæ omnino par atque idonea existat, eaque in alium sermonem, nisi ut robur suum amittat, ac genuinum imminuat vigorem, nulla transfundenda versione, nulla simulatione detorquenda. Quibus autem aliis coloribus quam suis, eloquii Attici nitida munditiés, venusta gratia, dilucidus splendor rite adumbrentur, quibus orationem luminibus collustret, flosculis pingat, aculeis infigat, quam candida ubertate dilatet, quam arguta brevitate astringat? Ut necesse habeam præterire non alio ore effingendum pronunciandi magnificum decus, augustique soni cum incredibili suavitate conjunctam ineffabilem majestatem, auscultantis aures quæ grato horrore feriat, incantet dulci harmonia, et quodam quasi tonitru percellat; ut quod invidiæ œstro percitus Æschines Demostheni olim objecit, non minus idem in Græcos omnes quadraverit, nimirum loqui illos, οὐ ῥήματα, ἀλλὰ θαύματα. Verum hujusce linguæ præstantissima laus est, eaque extra omnis controversiæ jactum posita quam longissime, quæque sola sufficiat affectibus erga illam vestris conciliandis, et acerrimis studiis asserendis, quod quæ semper nobilissima, pulcherrima, utilissima erat, ea jamdudum linguarum sanctissima quoque fuerit, utpote quæ divinioris scientiæ cimelia conservarit, sublimioris veritatis oracula fuderit, sanctioris sapientiæ mys-

teria recluserit, et illud humano generi gratissimum salutis æternæ præconium evulgarit, ut quam antea nescire stolidum et absurdum fuit, eam modo ferme profanum, et pene impium sit negligere. At quid operam meam frustra abutor, et vestram lacesso patientiam, humanissimi auditores, rei præstantiam dum deprædico, vobis usu, familiaritate, peritia abunde cognitæ et exploratæ?

Quin potius supplicibus votis divinam benignitatem imploro, mihi ut suscepto muneri exequendo promptum animum, idoneas vires, propitiam valetudinem indulgeat, vobis faventes aures, et candidam judicii æquitatem præstet, conatus meos qualescunque ut boni consulatis, nobisque omnibus hanc mentem indat, hæc et reliqua studia nostra ad suum honorem amplificandum, et nostram salutem promovendam, ut serio ac sedulo conferamus. Dixi.

ORATIO

AD ACADEMICOS IN COMITIIS.

Quod faustum felixque sit, Academici, anno in se redeunti, mensibusque circumvolutis, cum serpente isto Ægyptio, veteri pelle deposita, viridem resumit, et quasi renovari se sentit academia. Rursus in hanc quasi Jovis Ægyptii ædem solennes ludos acturi confluxistis. Adhuc a bellorum rabie incolumes, et a tot mutationibus reipublicæ inconcussi, adhuc ab importunis querelis et convitiis ingrate contra vos lascivientis populi superstites persistitis. Nondum aut fortunæ fluxa instabilitas, aut oppugnationes publicæ, aut clandestinæ molitiones improborum hominum, saluti vestræ insidiantium, efficere potuerunt, ne etiamnum applaudere vigentibus et florentibus literis, et ne divino favori almo nostræ academiæ statori et protectori gratiarum anniversarium debitum persolvere possimus. Enimvero quasi inesset periculis vis quædam salutaris, nunquam magis quam per has tempestates et lubricas rerum fluctuationes, bonarum literarum omne genus crescere et germinare videbatur: de qua re præcipue opportunum fuerit vobis impense gratulari; nec quidvis succurrit cogitanti, et sanctitate hujusce loci, et temporis solennitate, et meo genio, et vestra omnium illustri frequentia gravissimaque expectatione dignius dicendi argumentum: ex quo et Dei Opt. Max. præstantissima dona et beneficia agnoscere, et vos ad ulteriorem studiorum profectum excitare, et clarissimos hospites vobis benevole omnia prospera optantes felicitatis vestræ qualicunque amœna repræsentatione recreare valeamus. Unde autem vobis gratulari incipiam potius quam ab iis, per quas loqui concessum est, linguis, istis totius literaturæ quasi stabilibus fundamentis, et nucibus quas frangere oportet quemvis nucleum intimioris doctrinæ devorare cupientem? quarum singulari gloria, sive peritiam sive varietatem spectemus, nulla academiæ tempora cum nostris fuerint conferenda: adeo ut quas antiquior academia vix intellexit, nostra expedite loquatur, et quarum illa famam vix audivit, hæc mentem familiariter intelligat: imo et quas grande aliquid fuit, provectiorem aliquem magistrum doctoremve mediocriter callere, eas nos vixdum egressos e matrice academica inque suis cunis vagientes infantulos distincte pronunciantes audiamus. Græcos authores omne genus, poëtas, philosophos, historicos, scholiastas, quos non ita pridem tanquam barbaros majorum inscitia verita est attingere, jam matris nostræ etiam juniores filii intrepide pervolvunt, ipsorum lectionem in levis negotii censu reputantes; nec minus prompte Lyceum aut academiam adeunt, quam si remeantibus seculis cum Platone et Aristotele in mediis Athenis versarentur. Te appello, chori hujus Attici præsultorem, eximias virtutis ac eruditionis delicias, grande columen literarum, nostræque non tantum academiæ, sed et præsentis seculi lumen et ornamentum, parvum hominem, sed magnum professorem: cui nempe debemus, ne frustra tuis Anglis suos Itali Politianos et Hermolaos Barbaros, suos Galli Budæos et Stephanos, suosque Belgæ Erasmos, Grotios Heinsiosque exprobrare possint. Enimvero jam viginti plus minus anni fluxerunt, ex quo tuis unius, tanquam proceri Atlantis humeris innititur Græca eruditio; quos si te meritissimæ tuæ celebritatis saturum, et quasi supervacuæ ingrato seculo benefaciendi curæ pertæsum, subducere con-

tingat, rem literariam quam irreparabiles invasuræ sint ruinæ, haud facile est ariolari: quem enim reperire erit qui tibi in hoc arduo munere succedere audeat? et quem non pudebit, tuis vestigiis insistentem, cathedram istam tui nominis claritate nobilitatam conscendere? cujus promptissimam ingenii facilitatem, felicitatem memoriæ, peritiam omnigenæ humanioris literaturæ, indefessam diligentiam et inexpugnabilem constantiam, tam imitari fuerit arduum, quam assequi et exæquare omnino impossibile. Macte consiliis tuis, optime et doctissime vir, sive te adhuc cupidæ juventuti inclytam facem præferre, seu tanquam emeritum ducem in tibi non ingloriam quietem secedere juvet, te immortalis honos, te indulgentia Numinis, te propensa benevolentia bonorum omnium, te profusissimus plausus tibi grates meritissimas exolventis academiæ, perpetuo consequantur; et præcipue oratoris tui, quem dicentem in tam augusto loco et te celebrandum suscepisse, ingentis audaciæ fuit, et illaudatum præteriisse improbæ fuisset ingratitudinis; utpote qui se totum, quantus, quantus est, tuæ institutioni debere agnoscat, et qui in tuis alumnis nomen suum posse profiteri summa cum animi alacritate glorietur.

Quid Hebræas literas commemorem, reliquarum parentes, quarum intellectum adipisci, olim supra humanam sortem, et non nisi dæmonum ope attentandum videbatur? Jam vero multus apud vos etiam tyrones invenire est, quasi idoneos qui in primæva paradiso versarentur; et qui primum omnium parentem sua rebus universis indentem nomina fuissent intellecturi.

Nimirum tam insigne beneficium priori academiæ obsignatos divinorum oraculorum fontes vobis reseravit, quin et arcanos cabalisticæ doctrinæ recessus, et si qua a venerabili antiquitate tradita extant sinceræ sapientiæ monumenta, et mysteria, vobis patefecit.

Nec desunt inter vos, qui Arabicæ linguæ præclaram operam impenderunt, nec indigna vestro genio diligentia, nec ingrato erga istos homines consilio, penes quos aliquando,diluvio barbarorum orbem terrarum inundanti, rei literariæ imperium stetit; et qui veterum scientias, librosque alias forsan temporum injuria perituros, sua industria qualitercunque conservatos posteris transmiserunt. Qua in re tamen adversa nobis fata caussari possumus, quæ intempestiva crudelitate virum in his rebus industriæ ac peritiæ laude eminentissimum nobis præripuerunt. Nec tamen omnino desperandum, ne vestræ indolis vivida agilitate, tanquam solis orientis almo calore obstetricanti, e demortui phœnicis Arabici cineribus novus aliquis professor linguarum orientalium nobis repullulet; cujus præclaris auspiciis ductuque, divitem, non magis gemmarum et aromatum, quam, ut nonnulli perhibent, sapientiæ et arcanæ eruditionis orientem, tuto peragrare et penetrare possimus. Ut prætereamus exterarum linguarum, Gallicæ præsertim, Italicæ et Hispanicæ, leve quidem sed non inutile studium, jam apud vos magnopere gliscens et grandescens. Quarum beneficio non tantum cum nostræ nimis angustæ regionis hominibus colloqui potestis, sed reliquos omnes mortales ubivis gentium sapientiæ laude florentes, viros optimos et doctissimos vobiscum disserentes, suasque vobis cogitationes lectissimas communicantes exauditis; eoque pacto sua sapientia, suisque inventis reliquas gentes spoliatis, quibus Britanniam vestram, tanquam alienis divitiis vestrum ærarium, et alieno melle vestra alvearia, locupletetis. Jam eloquentiam vestram, Academici, prædicarem, si id possem præstare eloquenter; nec vererer affirmare nullibi gentium in quovis literarum phrontisterio, rhetoricam aut frequentius aut splendidius triumphare, nisi id absonum foret, me orationum academicarum facundiam ac elegantiam laudare, etiam nunc temporis coram vobis tam indiserte et parum eleganter perorantem. Quanquam, quod mea imperitia gloriæ detrimentum vobis attulit, id omne aliorum ornatissimorum virorum per hos dies rhetoricantium luculentæ orationes resarcient, et vobis tam eximiæ arti debitam laudem abunde vindicabunt: qua nempe loquelam dirigente et mens rationis lumine illustratur, et cor ineluctabili violentia ad assensum pertrahitur, et affectus mellitissimæ cujusdam voluptatis blanditiis demulcentur; et aures gratissima quadam harmonia oblectantur; et universus homo in facile obsequium, et sibi ipsi non ingratam servitutem subjugatur: ne dicam inesse eloquentiæ occul-

tam quandam et quasi magicam potestatem elimandi hominum mores, ipsorumque animis dulcissimam quandam comitatem et exoptatissimam civili societati urbanitatem instillandi; ita ut nulla unquam gens fuisse memoretur, in qua non una cam facundiæ studio et morum elegantiæ et sapientiæ gloria elucescerent. Quo magis vos amplissimis laudibus atque elogiis estis decorandi, qui divinam hanc et flexanimam facultatem usurpatis, non ad promovenda insanæ ambitionis studia, non ad seditiones in republica commovendas, non ad imponendum credulitati vulgari, ac idiotarum simplicitati fucum faciendum; sed quo animos hominum, salutari sane suadela, a putidissimis vanitatibus et a sordidarum voluptatum illecebris ad veræ virtutis et sapientiæ studium abducatis. Sed non magnum, Academici, neque decorum fortassis fuerit, iis de rebus felicitati vestræ gratulari, in quibus etiam improbi stolidique homines plurimum excellere possunt; quibus nonnunquam tenacem memoriam, qua multas linguas addiscere, et dexteritatem ingenii, quo concinne et copiose eloqui possent, liberalis natura impertivit: at sincero ardore ingenuarum artium, et excellentium scientiarum aviditate inflammari, divinissimas philosophiæ contemplationes deperire, atque adeo bonæ menti acquirendæ sedulo incumbere, id non nisi bonorum et sapientum virorum fuerit, non tantum egregiis dotibus a natura instructorum, sed propria indole ac judicio spontaneo ad res optimas contendentium. Atque illam esse præclaram indolem hodiernæ Academiæ nostræ, non pauca aut obscura indicia contestantur: siquidem quæ majores nostros nimium sane et fere omnino occupabat, futilium nugarum infelix curiositas, ea apud vos magnopere declinare et defervescere cœpit: quibus scil. jam non admodum allubescit, in nescio qua de entibus rationis, de materia prima et consimilibus chimæris scholasticis, otiosa et puerili contemplatione, divinam aciem ingenii obtundere, bonasque horas male collocare in ea philosophia prolixe consideranda, cujus nulla sunt principia certa et evidentia, nullæ conclusiones firmo fundamento innixæ, nulli effectus ratiociniis respondentes; in qua nihil solidum, nihil perspicuum, nihil volupe, aut ingeniosum, nihil non aërea subtilitate et sophistica vanitate corruptum ac contaminatum. Est vero quod vobis gratulemur, Academici, sublimiorem genium, et favente Minerva, nobilius sanctiusque studendi institutum; ad scopum hunc nobilissimum collineatis, ut quicquid verum sit, quicquid pulchrum et elegans, quicquid humanæ mentis consideratione dignum, quod intellectum vel utiliter instruat, vel fideliter exerceat, vel sincero ornatu condecoret, vel pura voluptate oblectet, id omne ut flagranti opera discatis, in id assiduam meditationem impendatis. Gratulor, inquam, vobis sique hic adestis, adestis autem ut sperare fas est, complures excelsæ et liberales animæ, præclarum hoc vestrum propositum. Gratulor vobis justam illam et generosam judicii libertatem, vestris conatibus, vestroque exemplo nobis et posteritati assertam. Gratulor excussam vestris cervicibus stultam illam et sordidam superstitionem, scientiarum validissimum obicem, et fidissimam nutricem ignorantiæ et improbitatis: quæ dum ingeniis hominum methodos quasdam angustas, et certos quasi sententiarum cancellos præfigit, ut ea, nullo habito discrimine, quæ a majoribus nostris tradita sunt, et quæ e non nisi levibus præjudiciis hausimus, obfirmate credere debeamus; prout usum rationis a divina bonitate nobis indultæ aut valde imminuit, aut plane aufert; ut purissimam voluptatem, si qua inest liberalibus disciplinis, polluit et subducit; ut sapientiæ profectus et scientiarum impedit augmenta; prout efficit ut nos eo pacto docti, quo Hispani et Itali religiosi sunt, hoc est, non nisi memoriter et perfunctorie evadamus; ita ingenii obstinati, pervicacis et arrogantis invictissimum est argumentum: quam potius hæc genuina sit et laudabilis modestia, quæ erectum ac generosum animum decet, se unius veritatis justo imperio subjicere, eam ardentissimis votis expetere, et ubivis latentem, quovis pacto, sive scrutinio experientiæ, seu rationis indagine expiscari. Erga hanc Dei Opt. Max. pulcherrimam filiam quam sincere vos sitis animati, vel propensus iste affectus indicare potest, quo nuperrime mathematicas, scientias veritati unice charas dilectasque colere cœpistis. Macti estote, Academici, tam insigni et laudabili studio. Jam tandem vos serio philosophiæ operam daturos bona spes est, veritatis inquisitionem non tantum a dia-

lecticis argutiis, sed quod antiquis philosophis solenne erat, ab iis nobilissimis scientiis auspicantes: quibus discendis et percipiendis dum attente invigilatis, non tantum multifariæ cognitionis uberrima supellectile mentes vestras ditatis et exornatis, nec solummodo inexplebilem sciendi appetitum, sane ingeneratum omnium hominum animis, at in vestris potentius ardentem, variorum subtilissimorum theorematum non fluxo et imaginario, sed solido et durabili pabulo satiatis; verum etiam, quod maximum est, ingenia vestra hac dura quidem sed minime aspera cote acuitis, quin et illa in tam illustri palæstra agitantes, sincero usui fidelis ratiocinii assuefacitis; adeoque et phantasias vestras ad res quaslibet etiam abstrusas et intricatas facile ac distincte concipiendas, nec non et intellectus vestros ad altissimarum rerum diuturnam contemplationem patienter perferendam præparatis. Enimvero indignum, et vestris auribus proculdubio ingratissimum auditu fuit opprobrium, suavissimas illas, ac omni elogio potiores disciplinas, quibus reperiendis a majoribus nostris tam portentosa sedulitate ac mirabili felicitate insudatum est; quas divinus Plato, et magnus vester Aristoteles, et subtilissimus Democritus, et veterum sapientum chorus universus tanti fecit; per quas potissimum quantum a brutis animantibus distemus, et quam mirificæ sint vires rationis humanæ, tot tantisque indubitatis speciminibus colligimus: quæ hominum vitam tantopere ornarunt, et adhuc ulterius ornare possunt; quæ denique animos hominum tam suaviter recreant, sanctisque adeo et intaminatis deliciis perfundunt; indignum, inquam, fuit et summe deplorandum, has utilissimas jucundissimasque disciplinas, in florentissima hac æde Musarum, et veritatis omnifariæ delubro sanctissimo, in frequentia hac lectissima optimorum ingeniorum, neglectas ab omnibus et plerisque etiam extima superficie tenus incognitas jacuisse. Aliter se rem mox habituram nunc equidem sperare convenit, quum deposita hac mollitie et timiditate animi, quæ ad difficultatis cujusque speciem emergentem refugere solebat, et quæ nec simplicium alphabeti elementorum non adeo formidabilem vel pueris aspectum sustinere non poterat, robustiora jam facta ingenia vestra et quasi confirmatiora, terriculamenta ista degeneris ignaviæ, non tantum fixa acie intueri, verum et generose aggredi, et feliciter superare valuerunt. Nempe Euclidis, Archimedis, Ptolemæi, Diophanti horrida olim nomina jam multi e vobis non tremulis auribus excipiunt. Quid memorem jam vos didicisse, arithmeticæ ope, facili et instantanea opera vel arenarum enormes numeros accurate computare, etiamsi illæ non tantum, ut fit, maris littoribus adjacerent, sed etiam ingenti cumulo quaquaversus ad primum mobile et extremas mundi oras pertingerent: rem vulgo miram et arduam creditu, at vobis effectu facilem et expeditam. Quid, quando geometriæ subsidio, non solum terrarum longe dissitos tractus, sed et patentissimas cœli regiones emetiri nostis, interim ipsi quietem agentes, nec loco omnino cedentes, ad prælongas regulas catenasve immenso spatio applicandas? Quid referam alios, sublimibus alis ingenii supremum æthera conscendentes, astrorum vestigiis presse inhærere, paratos districtim dicere, quam magna, et quam alta sunt; quantum sui circuli, et quo tempore conficiant et qualem orbitam describant, quasi non cum nobis in hisce terris, sed cum superis in palatio Dei omnipotentis ætatem transigerent? Sane de horribili monstro, quod algebram nuncupant, domito et profligato multi e vobis fortes viri triumpharunt: permulti ausi sunt opticem directo obtutu inspicere; alii subtiliorem dioptrices et utilissimam doctrinam irrefracto ingenii radio penetrare. Nec vobis hodie adeo mirabile est, catoptrices principia et leges mechanicæ non ignorantibus, quo artificio magnus Archimedes Romanas naves comburere potuit, nec a tot seculis immobilem vestam quomodo stantem terram concutere potuisset. Verum scientias istas nostris encomiis longe celsiores, quamvis pro rei dignitate, et vestræ industriæ debita laude parce, utcunque tamen pro tenuitatis meæ et temporis modulo nimis liberaliter celebravi: præcipue cum orationem nostram alio pertrahere, vestrasque aures quasi vellicare videantur, adhuc siqua sunt majora studia prospere apud vos vigentia, vestræque immortali gloriæ imputanda. Naturalis, inquam, philosophiæ studia, sanctissima, suavissima et utilissima: cujus curiosa contemplatione, mea quidem sententia, nihil dignius est, in quod vestri acuminis solertia se impendat;

nihil ad excolendum ingenium, ad compurgandum animum, ad affectus regendos et compescendos, ad perpoliendos mores, vitæque innocentiam comparandum et confirmandam, aptius aut efficacius esse posit. Quid enim, obtestor, humanas mentes magis distendet ac amplificabit; quid ab rerum sublunarium immodico æstimio, sordidaque solicitudine fortius abducet quam immensam magnitudinem mundi cum harum exili pravitate contulisse? quid ad abjecta et humi repentia se ignobili cura incurvantem animum ad heroica desideria validius reflectet, quam mirabilis illius sapientiæ ac potentiæ seria consideratio, quarum illa in condendis, hæc in ordinandis rebus clare elucescit? quid aut tumores superbiæ facilius comprimet, aut morsus invidiæ refrænabit, quam de perfectionis divinæ divitiis, et incomprehensibili excellentia in politissimo speculo naturæ relucentibus, jugiter meditari? At eximiam illam bonitatem cogitantes, quam initio res universas condidisse, et singulas tenero amore complecti, ipsisque vigili cura indesinenter prospicere, rerum continuus tenor ad propriam felicitatem et mutuum subsidium conspirantium nos edocedit; hanc, inquam, ineffabilem benignitatem dum animo profunde imprimimus, annon quasi rapido quodam instinctu ad effigiem tantæ pulchritudinis conformabimur, et necessario ipsi comes, affabiles et benefici evademus? Jam naturæ studio quid suavius? aut quo potius se intellectus sua sponte appelleret? ubi otium suum et turbulentæ vitæ tædia quis fallat prudentius? quæ varietas gratior? quæ speculatio profundior? quod theatrum magnificentius? quis campus patentior, uti luderet ratio, et se recrearet, et placidissime lasciviret? ratio, inquam, non ideo tantum nobis concessa, ut necessitatibus bruti corporis et vitæ hujusce mortalis negotiis procurandis inserviret, sed præcipue ut in quotidiana consideratione rerum sensibus obversantium, et præsertim in sui authoris dulcissima recordatione animose exultaret. Neque dum de divina hac scientia, nuper magis serio excoli cœpta, gratulor academiæ, palpum obtrudo, aut Gnathonis partes ago, vobis de re falsa et incomperta turpiter adulantis. Annon vera res sit, testor libros, quos jugi industria pervolvitis, rationem quam assidue torquetis, experientiam quam frequenter consulitis: libros, inquam, quicunque aut solide aut ingeniose de arcanis naturæ perscripti sunt. Neque enim Aristotelem solummodo, quamvis vestra lectione dignissimum, et reliquos antiquiores philosophiæ magistros; sed quæ vestra est laudabilis solertia, etiam recentiores, quicunque aut ingenii acumine, aut diligentia in perscrutandis rebus præcelluerunt, et sæpe inspicitis, et caute examinatis. Quin et oculos auriculis succenturiatis, ac duci rationi comitem adjungitis experientiam. Quando enim, obsecro, a condita academia in tot canum, piscium, volucrumque neces ac lanienas sanguinolenta curiositas sæviit, quo vobis partium constitutio et usus in animalibus innotesceret? O innocentissimam crudelitatem, et feritatem facile excusandam! Quid plantarum historiam dicam, etiam a neophytis vestris sedulo exploratam? qui vixdum ipsi in Musarum viretis radices egerunt, antequam plantarum omnium, quæcunque aut in agrorum liberis spatiis, aut intra hortorum septa adolescunt, et vultus dignoscere, et nomina recensere possint, quorum bonam partem, ut denuo in vivis esset, ipse Dioscorides ignoraret. Quæ, quam vis in se magna, vobis parva esse viderentur, nisi et Hermeticæ philosophiæ arcanam, et præstantissimis cujusque ætatis ingeniis in deliciis habitam eruditionem affectetis: quæ sane ars sola, præter mathematicas, stupenda opera non dubia fide historiarum comprobata, experimentorum varietatam jucundissimam, et mysteria pulcherrima jactat, quæque sola non medicinam tantum, sed et universam philosophiam valde perficere et illustrare possit. Equidem novi quorum animos ad hæc studia igni chymico ferventius desiderium inflammavit: alios qui se Lullii, Villanovæ, et quæ ejusdem farinæ philosophorum extant monumenta, imo et ipsius Paracelsi obscurissima scripta se capere et comprehendere non dubitarent; ne memorem alios egregios viros, quorum magnanima audacia de Chrysopœo lapide nobilem sive fabulam sive historiam generosa fide amplecti non pertimesceret. Sane quo vos incomparabile hoc studium, conjunctis viribus, nec languidis conatibus capesceretis, utinam animis vestris et prægrandis illa spes et fortissima ambitio insiderent, quibus ipsam ingenerare magnorum aliquot virorum illustria exempla, non verba queant

fluxa, et torpida oratoris tum mali, tum patientiam vestram lacessere metuentis. Unica superest moralis philosophia, quam vobis, Academici, si vestris auribus non esset importunum, prolixe gratularer. Ad quam si quid Platonicæ philosophiæ, si quid Peripateticæ, Stoicæ aut Epicureæ peritia, quam vos ex Platonis, Aristotelis, Ciceronis, Plutarchi, Plotini, Epicteti, et Senecæ voluminibus hauritis; si quid optimorum virorum luculentæ præceptiones, accuratæ dissertationes, aut præsentia exempla conferre possunt, eam necesse est ut vos optime calleatis: illud saltem tacere nequeo, mihi quam certum et exploratum, inter vos multos eximios viros versari, hoc genere philosophiæ etiam animitus imbutos, ea vitæ puritate, ea sinceritate morum, ea constantia et magnitudine animi, ea fide, eoque candore præditos, ut nullibi terrarum similes, nedum pares sperem reperire. Quos tamen omnes illaudatos, etiam et insalutatos dimittere præstat, quam vestram patientiam ulterius irritare: quam sane vereor ne graviter offenderim, dum vestro genio inconsulto, meum nimis presse consectatus sum, cujus culpæ cum me valde pudeat et pœniteat, vestra tamen venia prius implorata, in tutissimas silentii latebras me recipio. Vos autem, Academici, tot linguis clari, tot artibus conspicui, tot scientiis ornati, valete et gaudete.

ORATIO

HABITA

IN LECTURA GEOMETRICA COLLEGII GRESHAMENSIS, LONDINI.

A. D. 1662.

Si quale mihi hodie a fortuna argumentum dicturo, talis quoque ab ingenio dicendi facultas obvenisset, ne digna quam sustineo, persona; digna loco, quem occupo; digna vestra, quam verecundis oculis obtueor, spectatissimi auditores, illustri præstantia contingeret oratio, non esset profecto quod vehementius addubitarem. Quæcunque enim, provinciam qui suspiciunt aliquam aut munus auspicantur literarium, in præfationis potissimum materiam sibi expetunt dari; seu fundatores professionis suæ fautoresque (quorum illa aut instituta cœpit auspiciis, aut opibus sublevata stetit, aut aucta crevit beneficiis) virtute præcellentes viros, et dignitate spectabiles, suoque adeo jure amplissima sibi elogia vindicantes: seu in eodem stadio præcursores, eruditione conspicuos et fama celebres, officio suo functos egregie, deque republica literaria optime meritos, quos justa non minus quam magna laude prosequantur; sive suo denique artem demandatam studio, cujus effuse possint cum utilitatem exponere, tum dignitatem prædicare, hisque eloquii velut illecebris audientium animos permulcere; illa quin omnia obtigerint dicendi argumenta, in suo genere egregia et plane summa, ut diffiteri non ausim, ita nec fateri, ut non magnopere erubescam, adeo imparem me sentio tantis rebus enarrandis apte, nedum pulchre exornandis. Instituti siquidem nostri auctorem habeam commemorandum (de quo nisi flagitiosum tacere, inconsultum foret dicere, adeo nostræ laudis conatus ille omnes longe supergreditur, ejusque mente potius colendæ, quam ore celebrandæ, virtutes, non tenuitatis meæ verba modo, sed vel disertissimi exuperant præconia oratoris :) virum, gradu quidem eminentem et censu præcipuum (præturam quippe, hoc est, summum qui in hac urbe, omnium quas sol aspicit maxima (certe opulentissima) obierit magistratum, suæque Crassus ætatis obtinuerit reputari), animo autem magnificentiorem multo, et benefactorum gloria insigniorem: quod me tacente ultro eloquentur saxa, claraque æternum voce proclamabit vicina moles ista, mercatorum congressui dicata, privati hominis plusquam regale opus, quodque non tantum linguæ nominantis, aut oculo intuentis, sed et cogitantis animo, nihil non regium, nihil non augustum observatur: pulcherrimum in eo genere Londini nostri dicam, an totius Europæ ornamentum: quale quid si vetustæ innotuisset ætati, septenarium illum miraculorum adauxisset numerum, vel (quod crediderim potius) sublata omni relique demirandi causa, superbum illud et pene impium humanis operibus *miraculi* titulum ademisset. Neque enim non cessisset magnifico huic atrio, (permultos nobis Joves, divinos e verticibus fundentes ra-

dios, sceptrisque pariter et fulminibus instructos exhibenti), Olympicum illud simulacrum; neque cum tot venerando regum Mausolæo unius istud Carii reguli sepulchrum meruisset comparari: quinimo portentosæ istæ (ut missa faciam cætera) Phariarum strues pyramidum, vanæ ostentationis labores, et otiosæ specimina opulentiæ, quantum inepta magnitudine excederent, tantum decora majestate infra hanc fabricam et commodo usu subsiderent. Enimvero non ille mortuo sibi tumulum, in quo gloriose putrescerit, sed vivis ædem posteris extruxit, in qua profutura reipublicæ consilia agitarent; non cadaveri suo invidendam quietem, sed vagis antea commerciis mortalium certam sedem procuravit, centrumque defixit stabile, quo universi orbis confluerent undique negotia et convenirent; ubi quicquid naturæ liberalitas tribuit, aut artis confert industria; quicquid abdito sinu terra effundit aut patulum mare advehit opum; quicquid India impertit gemmarum, Arabia profert aromatum, aut pretiosæ supellectilis Persia suppeditat, reciprocis hinc inde contractibus colligitur atque distrahitur; quin et excussa humani generis conscientia, quid ubivis terrarum novæ rei geratur, quasque in longinquis etiam regionibus fata casuum vices moliantur, collatis ultro citroque literis, sermonibus atque sententiis disquiritur, dignoscitur, divulgatur: ut merito videatur vir ille consultissimus, non tam unius regni exponendis mercibus forum, quam generale toti mundo emporium, historiæ speculam, fortunæ templum, famæque palatium erexisse. Nec eo loci perstitit, sed vero ulterius progressa est illustris nostri (annuite, assurgite, quotquot estis auditores, tantoque debitam nomini reverentiam præstate) domini Thomæ Greshami munificentia, urbem suam tam eximio ornamento decorasse, suorumque civium tam impense cum gloriæ tum commoditati prospexisse, haud satis arbitrati, ni artium quoque cultu illorum exornaret animos, et liberalium disciplinarum luminibus collustraret: ne affluentes opum scilicet, externoque habitu splendidi, intellectus autem inopes, animoque intus sordidi, tanquam in pompa auro onusti phalerisque insignes asini incederent. Scientiarum itaque professoribus, non unius alicujus, sed fere omnium, quæ vel ad usum vitæ aut ad voluptatem faciunt, præmia constituit (ut tunc ferebat ratio temporum, et mos vivendi postulabat) equidem satis ampla et liberalia; nec non suas illis, quas incolerent, ædes suprema moriens voluntate attribuit. O præclarum fautorem literarum! qui sibi Musas, non in facultatum modo hæreditatem ascripsit, sed in familiæ veluti successionem adoptavit; qui non sæpe tantum, dum esset in vivis, literatos comiter tractavit, sed et perpetuo eos etiamnum defunctus hospitio excipit: nec idoneum solummodo pabulum, unde vitam sustentent, at locum etiam ubi commorentur, non vile utique tuguriolum aliquod, sed magnificum hoc, charum superis, et hominibus colendum, palatium assignavit. O dignum unice, quem sui literæ genium loci habeant; sui larem domicilii colant, suæ statorem arcis uno omnes ore agnoscant! O virum denique mirifice sapientem! qui suo sacras olim incolatu ædes a vulgaribus in posterum inquilinis noluit profanari; virtutisque maluit perdurare gymnasium, quam prostibulum voluptatis, veritatis exquirendæ scholam, quam explendæ cupiditatis officinam; doctorum virorum collegium, eruditis prælectionibus canorum, quam improborum vernularum nidum, dissonis conviventium clamoribus obstreperum; tot musæis refertas ædes, quot distinctas cubiculis, totque a scientiis, quot ab hominibus habitatas: qui conservandæ suæ memoriæ ergo non cognominem sibi aliquem undicunque magnatem accivit, verum immortalibus musis nominis sui custodiam commendavit; quas non ab hac sede sua spes unquam avara lucri eliciat, non luxus exspuat, non infortunium extrudat. Prius intereant oportet literæ, extinguatur lumen omnis memoriæ, et profundissima rerum facies barbarie obruatur, quam Greshami cesset inclarescere nomen, hisque indies sub tectis solenni cum laude personare. Attendite sultis ad hoc egregie documentum prudentiæ, immensos thesauros qui sedulo conquiritis, at frustra possidetis; quis usus sit laudabilis, qui fructus durabilis aggestarum opum; cui certo semitæ ad sempiternam laudem contendentibus insistendum sit, ut ex caducis hisce emarcidisque floribus perennis gloriæ corollam decerpatis; quo denique pacto posterorum simul utilitati consulere, vestrumque

possitis ab oblivionis injuria nomen vindicare, ab hoc magistro ediscite. Cujus toties conculcatis ambulacra, illius nonnunquam vestigia quoque premite; cujusque quotidie suspicitis opera, ejus respicite aliquando exemplum; neque committite omnino, ut minus is a vobis, vestrum extruendo ad commodum, quam instruendo ad officium commeruisse videatur. Verum de tanto heröe (quem ob præstita humano generi beneficia, prisca sane, modo illis interfuisset, secula divorum choro accensuissent) sentio tandem quanto proclivius sit nimium dicere quam satis; quod hoc assequi non potuerim, cum a rei ipsius magnitudine, tum ab imbecillitate propria me excusatum volo: quod illud patraverim, a vestra veniam oportet suppliciter implorem indulgentia. Jam illustrium genere et indole virorum, (quos præsens videt ætas ac veneratur), qui benigna voluntate favere nostris studiis suaque subinde hoc collegium honorifica præsentia illustrare dignantur, quod os tam impudens fuerit, quæ lingua adeo temeraria, ut percensere nomina audeat, nedum laudes exequi conetur; quorum uniuscujusque vel referendis meritis non dico integra oratio, sed justa historia debetur? quorum artes ipsæ gloriari purpura, titulisque videntur superbire; quorum veritas se auspiciis in lucem protrahi gestit; quorumque natura latebris ultro prosilit suis ad serenos aspectus invisendos; nec ardentius illi hanc, quam hæc illos cupit contemplari: quibusque adeo debent studia literarum, ne diutius evilescant, ne ignobile posthac fuerit ultra vulgum sapere, et scire aliquid proletarii opus hominis, et res plebeia habeatur; quos mundum abhinc pudeat non sequi duces, non æmulari comites, non revereri authores in omnimoda eruditione permovenda; quorum denique qua lucidis experimentis, qua acutis ratiociniis, qua felicibus inventis grata se posteritas æternum obstrictam profitebitur. Styli certe mei aciem retundit tam ardui dignitas argumenti, mentisque præstinguunt obtutum tantus fulgor nobilitatis, tanta claritudo virtutis, tam nimia vis coruscantis ingenii. Sufficiat igitur nobis, nobilissimæ deliciæ Musarum, clarissimaque seculi nostri lumina, militiæ vestræ, qua naturæ difficultates subigere, et scientiarum provehere fines conitimini, gloriosæ, quod apud nos metari castra, et velut stativa ponere voluistis, honorem habitum nobis, tacito potius cultu animi et grato silentio agnoscere, quam rudi nostra obfuscare infantia, humilique eloquio temerare. Nec si, recluso temporis thesauro, illorum, qui hanc Spartam excolentes claruerunt, inde memoriam extrahamus, sese unquam dicturo obtulerunt materia justior laudum, aut copia uberior. Attestor tuum, quod nostris agmen ducit in tabulis, omni laude majus, omnique encomio celebratius nomen, doctrina, acumine, solertia præstantissime, Briggi. Tu, qui logarithmorum illud præclarissimum artificium, non tua quidem (quod ad gloriam maxime fecerit) reperisti fortuna, sed quod æque laudem meretur, consummasti industria, atque omnibus numeris absolvisti. Quod inutile forsan adhuc et imperfectum jaceret opus, fundamenti sui ruderibus obvolutum, nisi subtilissimi tu limam ingenii, et indefessæ diligentiam manus adhibuisses. Qui densas istas numerorum phalanges dum velut in aciem ordinatim instrueres, totque immensos nobis canonas concinnares, tui temporis dispendio nostri otium redemisti, tuo labore nostrum sublevasti tædium; nostro ut somno parceres, ærumnosis teipsum vigiliis macerasti, dignus propterea, qui innumerabiles a nobis, neque per tuos etiam logarithmos computabiles gratias reportares. Quid alios, dum vita suppeteret, florentes fama, nunc placide quiescentes, ab umbrarum tranquillo hospitio producerem in scenam? quos certe omnino tacitos præstat, quam male tractatos inficeta concione, et mutila cum laude memoratos. [Unum saltem gratitudo publica vetat omnino intactum præterire, stupori etiamnun nostro superstitem, geometricam hanc qui nuperrime (ni fallor, et sane fallar haud invitus), nunc astronomicam Oxonii cathedram meritissime occupat ornatque, a facillima nescio divinitate ingenii, an a suavissima morum humanitate magis commendandus (id certissime constat ut præcociores neminem unquam prætulisse spes, ita nec maturiores quenquam fructus protulisse) prodigium olim pueri nunc miraculum viri, imo dæmonium hominis; atque ne mentiri videar, suffecerit nominasse ingeniosissimum et optimum Christopherum Wrennum: de quo ne plura addam, cum virtus facit ejus toti spectata mundo, vobisque inti-

mius explorata, meisque adeo attenuanda potius, quam amplicanda encomiis, tum delicatum viventis, ne rudius offendam pudorem, meumque simul in tam luculenta materia prodam temere infantiam.] Præsertim quando, omnem hodie qui apud me paginam jure repleturus videbatur, supersit adhuc, et ah! utinum laudi potius nostræ, quam luctui superesset, antecessorum ut tempore postremus, ita nulli merito postponendus; vir infeliciter, ne dissimulem, mihi non nisi de longinquo et famæ tantum beneficio cognitus, famæ tamen haud vulgaris aut dubiæ, sed optimorum complurium et sapientissimorum virorum consona authoritate subnixæ; quo paratiorem mea verba, non ab affectu privato dictata, sed veritatis vi expressa, non amicitiæ juri debita, sed virtutis reverentiæ data, sibi fidem deposcunt. Quid enim, qui virtutum suarum segeniter animos irritanti fama non admodum credulæ facilitatis homines admiratione perculit, corripuitque amore; qui sibi nondum visus, penitusque ignotos studio devinxit sui, et desiderio inflammavit, qualem quantumque esse virum oportuit? Tui certe simillimum, divine Laurenti; utpote in quo cum omnigena scientia rerum incorrupta probitas morum, cum intelligentia magis quam virili plusquam virgineus pudor, cum sagacissima prudentia candidissima simplicitas, cum profunda soliditate judicii perspicax acumen ingenii, cum vivida alacritate mentis invicta laboris patientia, cum illibata denique severitate vitæ suavissima conversandi lenitas, raro quodam et vix credibili temperamento conspirarint. Non unius is scilicet, aut alterius scientiæ tenui rore aspersus, sed omnium fuit denso imbre perfusus, nec extimam duntaxat cutem rerum perstrinxit notitia, sed abstrusissima viscera pervasit. Ut præter mathesin, peculiari jure suam ultraque quam dici fas sit sibi perfectissime intellectam, nullam non potuerit liberali dignam indole disciplinam profiteri. Theologiæ imprimis mysteria diligentissime perscrutatus est, sacrarumque in secretiores recessus literarum, ut pauci fere alii, altissime penetravit; ad id præstantissimum genus studii, non ut plerisque usu venit, spe quapiam mercedis allectus, sed bonæ tantum mentis generoso impetu abreptus. Medicorum, etsi non filius, familiaris admodum fuit, præclaræ istius facultatis cum peritissimo quovis haud injuria conferendus. Juris quam consultus fuerit, non perinde compertum habeo dicere: illud audacter pronunciem, justitiæ fuisse prudentissimum, nec legum omnino scripta ignorare potuisse, quarum fuerit præscriptis tam integre obsequutus. Jam linguas (quod in homine philosopho quis miretur impense) ita percalluit eruditas, adeoque ab omni humaniore literatura exquisite instructus fuit, ut egregius omnino criticus meruerit censeri, nisi quod a supercilio prorsus omni et pædagogico fastu nimisquam alienus. Historias enim plerasque omnes non oculo tantum perlustraverat, aut manu triverat, sed menti penitus insculpserat; oratores et poëtas præcipuos evolverat sedulo, perpenderat acri judicio, et fideli erat memoria complexus. Fastidio sim, si levioribus istis (quæ tamen alii gravissima ducunt) sigillatim immorer commemorandis. At philosophiæ omnis quam apprime gnarus, quam in naturæ fuerit observandis phænomenis solers, in causis pervestigandis sagax, in detegendis erroribus promptus, in confirmanda veritate certus, in alienis dijudicandis sententiis ingenue accuratus, in suis discutiendis rigide circumspectus, vos cito testes, vos appello judices, quorum novisse illum propius, et sæpius philosophantem auscultasse tam dandum est felicitati, quam meo deputandum infortunio, tanti beneficii permansisse exsortem. Unicum occurrit dilaudandum nescio magis in eo an reprehendendum, saltem maximopere deplorandum, quod scientiæ parandæ cupidior, quam curandæ valetudini intentior, dum nimio veritatem studio quæreret, vitam amiserit, et sapientiæ maluerit occumbere martyr, quam naturæ mori debitor. Immodicis quippe vigiliis dum fugitantia consectaretur astra, in medio quasi fatiscens cursu defecit; dum perplexos syderum gyros explicaret, lethalibus ipse laqueis concidit irretitus: animam ut videatur cœlesti luce commutasse suam, inque illos, quos contemplatus est, orbes transmigrasse. O vanos semper, et mendaces astrologos! O funestum Jovem, Jovisque comites luctuosos! O cœlos immites, et stellas enormiter ingratas! hanccine vestri studiosis observantiæ gratiam refertis? hac cultores vestros mercede compensatis? huc tot

insomnes vobis curas impendisse? revelasse vestram invidendam, scilicet, et inconspicuam mortalibus pompam; vestrosque in ordinem incompositos cursus redegisse? Ut Galilæum detectorem lucis vestræ, illorum, quibus vos primus aspectavit, oculorum vivum etiam spirantemque mulctaretis usu; hunc Galilæi supparem, digestorem motus vestri, vitali penitus, vixdum senii ingressum confinia, aura privaretis. Valeatis itaque per me licet, et sempiternis posthac immersæ tenebris, erroribusque implicitæ, nullo observante, inglorio stipatæ satellitio, iners curriculum transigatis; dum vestris nos interea puriores radiis, constantiores motibus, benigniores influxibus, occidui nostri luminaris mores contemplamur. Etenim ut aliorum is scientiam sua, ita suam ipse videtur scientiam virtute supergressus; non musis acceptior quam gratiis, imo (si tantas indivulso res connexas fœdere committere fas sit) a morum amabilior dulcibus illecebris, quam ab ingenii eximiis dotibus mirabilior. Reticebo quas cum aliis, opinor, paucis communes obtinuit, justitiam, temperantiam, constantiam animi, et sordidarum rerum despectum; illas saltem virtutes leviter perstringam, quæ singulares in eo et infrequenti prorsus exemplo emicuerunt. Modestiam imprimis, in tanta indole, in tam consummata eruditione, in tali opinione hominum, summam et plane incredibilem. Aliis quippe qui ad invidiam usque sapere, sibi quasi desipere videbatur; cui nemo non esset secure innixus, suo ipse solebat judicio diffidere; suasque ultro dotes silentio obtegebat, quas intempestiva plerique student garrulitate ostentare: profundo flumini haud absimilis, tacito labenti alveo, magnamque vim aquarum nullo cum strepitu deferenti. Thesaurus illi inerat locuples, sed (ut fieri assolet) alte defossus, non quidim perfunctorie inspectanti obvius, sed nec curiose scrutanti inaccessus: neque enim suas suppressit invide facultates, sed occultavit modeste; non opes animi avare detinuit, at provide dispensavit; ut non importune cupidus alieni sensus, ita sui non temere prodigus; liberalis tamen, et paratus sciscitanti respondere, idque accurate, et paucis, oraculi instar, non effutientis multa, sed certa prodentis. Linguam stricte cohibuit, non animum penitus occlusit, quem saltem pulsanti facile aperiret: apud se mansit potius, quam a se alios prohibuit, nedum domum suam communivit ab hospitibus, quos tamen lubentius adventantes excepit, quam jactantius invitavit. Sane e re esset humana, ut multos habemus dicendi magistros, ita nonnulla quoque tacendi documenta extare: proponamus igitur hunc nobis saluberrimæ disciplinæ præceptorem: neminem maledictis incessere, nedum conviciis quempiam proscindere; nullius detrahere merito, aut famæ obtrectare; non efferre se insolenter, nec inaniter altercare; non in aliena se ingerere negotia, nec malignos undique rumusculos aucupari: non indigestos præcipitare sermones, nec præpropera velocitate linguæ mentis sensum anteire; ab hoc fructuose licet addiscant exemplo, qui dicendi methodum callent, modum ignorant. Sed vero modestiam nisi ab animo recte composito, et a sincera judicii æquitate profectam, aut taciturnitatem nisi cum summa fide conjunctam, aut gravitatem quis nequicquam laudibus efferat, nisi insigni quadam comitate temperatam. Atqui illo a veteratoria nemo astutia, a malitiosa fraude, ab improbo erat fuco immunior; judicia nemo sua exactiori trutina pensitabat; affectusque nemo strictiori fræno compescebat; nulla bilis æstuabat intemperie, nullo livore turgebat, expers degebat omnis odii, et a discordia vehementer abhorrens; mente semper placidus, vultu serenus, convictu innocens, mansuetus alloquio, neminem ut unquam aut aspectu terreret, aut facto læderet, aut dicto lacesseret.

Hominem plane diceretis ad Stoicæ virtutis ideam normamque efformatum; detersa tamen ista morositate inconcinna, et rigida morum asperitate perfecte delævata: ad conversantium quippe nutus, quasi stabili semper ipse in æquilibrio positus, facile semet inclinabat; non tam suopromptus indulgere genio, quam alienæ voluntati obtemperare; nec alias sibi unquam impensius placens, quam si quando convictoribus suis minime displiceret. Quo minus mirandum sit cum tot amplissimis et ornatissimis viris tam arctam illi necessitudinem, intimamque adeo amicitiam intercessisse; utque reliquis omnibus aut cultoribus virtutis, aut fautoribus doctrinæ, sic excellentissimo imprimis Marchioni, Mecœnati pariter maximo, et peritissimo Mystæ literarum, non gratam

modo consuetudinem ejus, sed et charam extitisse.

Cui tanto placuisse viro licet ultima non sit laus, supremum tamen merito in tanto laudum cumulo fastigium occupasset, clausissetque agmen nobis, nisi quæ reliquas ejus coronavit imo consecravit virtutes, eximiam in Deum pietatem, impium esset præterire. Hunc præsertim unum hodiernorum gigantum insolescenti possimus proterviæ obtendere, contemptæ religionis suo exemplo assertorem, suo suffragio vindicem acerrimum. Nam divini numinis non dico abdicare cultum, sed inficiari existentiam; mundum autumare non ab aliquo sapienti opifice conditum, verum sponte nescio quo pacto sua emersisse, cæcoque impetu ferri omnia, non a provido consilio gubernari; hoc est, seculorum omnium historiæ derogare auctoritatem, nulliusque non sensus nostri apertis testimoniis refragari, unicum jam specimen haud vulgaris ingenii, unicum habetur (proh superum hominumque fidem!) divini prorsus acuminis argumentum. Quod si millies mille convicti indiciis, milliesque adhuc totidem beneficiis devincti, nec meritam illis fidem, nec debitum his profiteri obsequium recusamus, ludibrium statim debemus, acutissimis scilicet istis (imo omnium potius ineptissimis mortalium), ceu stipites ac asini hebetes ingenio, expertes judicii, solennia delirantes. Atqui horum, opinor, nemo exstat usquam, qui, quam fuit pientissimo huic philosopho, aut captum queat sublimiorem ingenii, aut confirmatius exercitium rationis, sine immani sibimet cum stultitia tum superbia arrogare. Desinant itaque hoc experimento submoniti spurii isti philosophastri, credentibus Deum omnibus colentibusque stuporem imputare mentis, judiciique inopiam exprobare; cujus non poterant non æmulari eruditionem, non agnoscere prudentiam, non suspicere integritatem, illius pudeat illos sententiæ tam impotenter obloqui, tam ferocule insultare; evadantque tandem talis intuitu exempli vel magis pii, vel modestius impii. At theologico rectius e suggestu meruit pietas illa luculentis exornata encomiis humano generi ad imitandum promulgari, quam ab humilioribus hisce rostris meo infimi oratorculi dehonestari præconio. Imo ignoscas opportet mihi, sanctissime μακαρίτα, tuas quod ego virtutes, fide creditas tantum, non usu cognitas, ullatenus attigerim; hoc est, quod sæcus clarissimam lucem depingendam, surdus suavissimam harmoniam susceperim deprædicandam. O si viventis intueri vultum amœna luce circumfusum, si observare gestus placida gravitate compositos, si degustare sermones tuos mellea salubritate conditos; si jucundissima tua consuetudine frui, istoque guttulas aliquot ab inexhausto gurgite scientiæ mihi depromere licuisset, tuo forsan pectus imprægnatum afflatu concepisset aliquid simile tui, tuo os imbutum nectare te dignum aliquid profudisset.

Nunc vereor admodum, ne satius fuisset amaro tantum fletu, quam insipida tibi oratione parentatum. Suffecisset utique nuda mentio tui non excitasse mentes modo, et commovisse affectus, sed universis confestim audientium oculis lachrymas excussisse, quam ex præmaturo obitu tuo irreparabile damnum sustinuerint literæ, quam insolabili mœrore affecti sint familiares tui, quam immedicabile vulnus inflictum sit huic societati, tristi secum memoria recolentium. Damnum, inquam, irreparabile literis, et huic eruditæ societati vulnus insanabile: neque enim de me in ejus locum utcunque suffecto aliter debetis existimare, quam infantulum Herculi, pumilionem Atlanti, Phaetontem Phœbo quendam successisse. Ego tuam, Laurenti, imbelli dextra clavam contrectem? Ego oneri tuo invalidos humeros supponam? Ego currus tuos conscendam arduos, istasque tanti muneris, tuum quæ exercuerunt brachium, imperita manu habenas temperem? Te ego, totque alios consummatos eruditione, claros scriptis, immortali fama prælustres viros misellus tenebrio excipiam? cui ad hæc feliciter attrectanda studia captum natura perexiguum, occasio pauxillulum otii, subsidium fortuna plane nullum subministrarit; nec ullus cui fuerit unquam aut alacer impetus animi, aut vigor fervidus ingenii; sin aliquantulus fuit, diuturno neglectu deferbuit omnis, et languida incuria contabuit; sponte sua interiit, rerum fastidio ceu febre correptus, aut sortis angustiis præfocatus expiravit: cui ab omnibus bonis literis tot annos exulanti, barbaros Scythas inter et incultos Sarmatas versanti, peragranti terras, trajicienti æquora, cum utriusque elementi periculis, cum-

que gravioribus infortunii procellis conflictanti, tantum temporis detritum est, tantumque defluxit, exilibus nugis occupato: qui ex quo, infausto errore perfunctus, conquiescere cœperam, in grammaticum mox pistrinum detrusus, et vocularum miserabili aucupio damnatus, mathematicis protinus scientiis, et philosophiæ omni (unam forsitan moralem excepero) nuncium remiserim, imo bellum denunciaverim, vale saltem (ut mihi videbar) æternum dixerim. Cui proinde a multo jam tempore nil lectum novi huc spectans, nil de industria visum, ne quidem per transennam, nihil omnino auditum, nisi tenui fama, et ad invitas aures perlapsum: nec cui aliquid modo novi non adest, sed nec integri quicquam superest, præter rudera quædam dudum collapsæ ædiculæ, et miseras veteris naufragii reliquias. Ut plane videar mihi, tanquam ex Platonico specu, in hanc tot clarissimorum syderum insolitam lucem emersisse, non equidem ut doceam aliquid, sed ut omnia stupeam; illud autem præcipue, in me conjici oculos vestros, ad me dirigi aures, me expectationis vestræ scopum designari; cathedram denique hanc a me obsideri, indigno, qui in communibus vobiscum subselliis consistam, qui discipuli vestri privilegio gaudeam, nedum professoris titulo insigniar. Enimvero ex hoc edito loco in istam tot subinde tritam doctissimis viris aream pudibundos oculos demittere nequeo, ne tremula caput meum vertigo corripiat, ne immane discrimen exhorrescam, ne illius, quæ me huc evexit, incredibilis audaciæ conscientia percellar. Quanquam audaciam meam non est, quam facilitatem nimiam quod tantopere incusem; qui timidus hanc provinciam et reluctanti genio invaserim, non tam animo meo morem gerens, aut proprio fretus judicio, quam illorum, qui apud me et amicitia, et beneficiis, et dignitate plurimum potuerunt, consiliis adductus, hortatibus impulsus, imperiis coactus. Utcunque de illo, quod meo mihi jumento accersiverim, malo ut quiritari vanum, ita nec resipiscere opportunum fuerit, eatenus progresso, unde pedem referre pudor vetat. Non deserendum est tam solenni arbitrio præstitutum vadimonium. Jacta est alea; transivimus rubiconem: credidimus fatis utendum est judice ferro. Ingresso pugnam jam nec receptui canendum, nec ab assignata statione temere recedendum est. Quin potius cum hoste fortiter conserendæ manus; abjicienda desperatio, propulsandus timor, spiritus confirmandi, nervi intendendi, omni ope enitendum est mihi, acceptis partibus ut defungar strenue. Studio supplendus est defectus ingenii: quod ab usu deest, cura compensandum est. Litandum est audentium adjutrici fortunæ, et contrahendum cum superis, siquidem vera aiunt, omnia labori vendentibus. Subsidio denique mihi comparanda est diligentia, vestro ut aliquatenus decori consulam, meoque ut officio satisfaciam; præcipue vero, consultissimorum virorum, quorum consentientibus ad hoc quicquid est Sparuæ administrandum suffragiis delectus et deputatus sum, ne de me conceptam spem deludam penitus, et prolatum judicium dehonestem; quorum proinde amplissimum favorem quam verbis nunc parce agnoscam, tam semper animo prolixe persentiscam, hanc saltem quoad potero factis gratiam relaturus, ut officio præstando dum gnaviter et pro virili mea incumbo, efficiam quadantenus ne videantur ipsi de me aut sperasse temere, aut perperam statuisse.

Quinimo institutum hoc nostrum quo lubentius aggrediamur et persequamur lætius, animos addat timidis, et tardis subdat aculeos, illius, cui operam addicemus, disciplinæ ingens utilitas insignisque præstantia. Neque enim spinosis tenellas mentes subtilitatibus excruciare, aut futilium tricas argutiarum innectere; non steriles conserere rixas, ludicroque cum larvis certamine velitari: non volaticas insequi chimæras, evanidasque passim per lubricos calles venari conjecturas: sed manifesta adstruere principia, certas conclusiones elicere, utiles regulas condere, jucundasque nobis incumbet quæstiones expedire. Curæ siquidem nostræ fundus committitur excolendus, tot artium fœcunda parens, tot scientiarum inconcussa basis, tot in rem humanam commoditatum perennis scaturigo, geometria: cui scilicet uni æquum est, ut præcipua vitæ oblectamenta, præsidia salutis, incrementa fortunæ, operæque nostræ compendia accepta referamus: quod eleganter et commode habitamus; quod tutis ab hostili incursione vallis protegimur; quod per infidos fluctus secura commercia celebramus; quod agrorum pacifice fines

dispescimus; quod momenta ponderum æqua lance expendimus, justaque suum cuique mensura dispensamus; quod vastas susque deque, quo volumus, levi digito moles versamus, immanemque rerum perpusilla vi resistentiam profligamus: quod speciosis spectaculis et concinnis ocellos simulachris oblectamus; quodque harmonicis auriculas concentibus delinimus. Quod terreni faciem orbis delineamus accurate, remque mundi publicam nostro universam conspectui subjicimus. Quod temporis fluxam seriem apte digerimus, et rerum vices agendarum debitis intervallis distinguimus. Quod cœlestium radiorum in usus nostros subtilem efficaciam derivamus; quod mente demum superos accedimus; imo superos admovemus nobis; nostraque neutiquam a tellure disjuncti per æthereas libere regiones spatiamur; leges ipsis præscribimus inviolabiles cœlis, et vagos syderum circuitus certos intra cancellos coercemus. Ut prætercam in palæstra rationem nostram geometrica cum ad valide intorquenda argumentorum tela, tum ad caute declinandos sophismatum ictus, cum ad nervose disserendum, tum ad solide dijudicandum, ad prompte inveniendum, ad recte disponendum, ad dilucide explicandum, utilissime exerceri: nec non ad attentæ meditationis perferendum tædium, ad alacrem cum objectis difficultatibus conflictum, ad pertinacem in studiis solertiam, usu componi mentem, et robore confirmari: instabilem hac et inæqualem phantasiam quasi saburra librari; hac fluctuantem anchora figi; hac desultoriam orbita contineri. Luxurians hac ingenium ceu falce castigari; obtusum hac cote exacui; præfervidum hoc fræno reprimi, torpidum hoc stimulo excitari; nulla clarius lampade per cæcas naturæ ambages, nullo certius filo per tortuosos philosophici labyrinthi anfractus vestigia regi incedentis: nec alia denum bolide veritatis fundum facilius explorari. Ne dicam, hinc quam varia rerum cognitione ditetur, quam multiplice perpoliatur ornatu, quam salubri pabulo nutriatur animus, et quam sincera voluptate perfundatur. Nam illius quæ cœlos, quæ terras, quæ maria permetitur scientiæ, nulla juste limites describat, nulla plene complectatur utilitates, nulla penitus laudes exhauriat oratio. Et alioquin in materia decantata ab omnibus, et vobis intimius perspecta, improbe stolidus sim, si aut meam frustra abutar operam, aut vestram ulterius violem patientiam. Quanquam haud mediocrem jure meo possim in geometriæ auditoribus patientiam exigere; facilemque debeam utcunque a vobis veniam impetrare, si (quod felici cedat augurio) optimum me hodie præstiterim geometram, hoc est, pessimum oratorem. Dixi.

ORATIO PRÆFATORIA
IN
SCHOLA PUBLICA MATHEMATICA,.
MART. 14, 1664.

Ut conquieverit paulo solennium negotiorum æstus, et restituta tantisper rebus vestris tranquillitas dandis accipiendisque novis animos apparaverit vobis, aures patefecerit; attendite sultis (academici) insolitæ rei quiddam, et prodigii non absimile denarrare gestienti. Affulsit nuper: quidnam? inquietis: an dirus cometes funestorum casuum prænuncius,cujusmodi plusculos indies (vel invito cœlo) fanaticorum capitum distorta contuetur acies? imo novum, et beneficum sydus, vero pariter ac fausto jubare scintillans, quale nullum constat a multis annis supra horizontem academicum emersisse; cujus ego nunc ut dimetiar magnitudinem, motus explicem, præsagiam eventus, non vanus utique huc prodeo astrologus. Vultis edisseram clarius? Quam iniquum sit in literas, erga literatos invidum ingratumque audiat hoc seculum, ignorare nemo potest, qui vel ad illarum calamitosam sortem obverterit oculos, aut ad crebras horum querelas non prorsus obsurduerit. Quo demiremini magis, qui tristes hac tempestate Camœnas respiceret; istam infami seculo labem abstergeret; elanguentibus studiis vigorem inspiraret; obductam longa desuetudine, nullisque jamdudum vestigiis signatam benefaciendi semitam retegeret, eximium tandem comparuisse Mecœnatem; nedum titulo tenus, ut fit, sed ipsissima re Mecœnatem; non qui nudam ostentarit gratiam, at solidam operam impenderit literis, non ipsas benevolo tantum affectu, sed munifica quoque manu sit prosecutus: cujus ego viri ut laudes efferam, ut

virtutes deprædicem, utinam mihi congrua tantis meritis verba, par tali materiæ eloquium obtigis set; neque de adeo prælustri argumento tam mihi arduum esset digne fari, quam nefas est omnino tacere. Utcunque cum publicæ gratitudinis intersit, meique præsertim id exigat officii privati ratio, etsi facultatem præstare non possum, voluntatem tamen ostendam, aliquo saltem (imperfecto licet et inconcinno) elogio præclari benefactoris memoriam cohonestandi.

Fuit is (assurgite quotquot estis auditores, tantoque debitam nomini reverentiam exhibete) Henricus Lucas; Lucas, inquam, martiam simul virtutem effulminans, et Palladiam sapientiam blandius expirans nomen; belli togæque laudibus utramque paginam historiæ repleturum, futurumque apud posteros an heroicæ fortitudinis nescio, vel divinæ munificentiæ exemplis celebratius. Henricus Lucas; vir a prosapiæ dignitate prolixe commendandus (utpote qui prænobiles familias proxima sanguinis agnatione contigerit) nisi quod amplitudini generis potior animi magnificentia detraxerit, et virtutum excellentia natalium splendorem obumbrarit. Modicas illi facultates nascendi sors attribuit, quasque etiam pupillo litigiosi fori subtraxit importunitas, jurisque injuria surripuit; prospera fati iniquitate, ne scilicet inconsultæ fortunæ potius, quam laudabili solertiæ sua vel honeste vivendi copia, vel gloriose benefaciendi facultas posset imputari. Etenim a parentibus transmissas possidere divitias, puræ felicitatis est; acquirere sibi, perfectæ laudis: quæ aliunde quis acceperit, aliis impertire justæ restitutionis speciem habet; suo autem labore parta comiter elargiri, titulum merito præ se ferat liberalis beneficii. Maximam inde partem gloriæ casus decerpat, integrum hinc sibi virtus adjudicat. Talis noster, sortis auctor propriæ, suæ virtutis hæres, privatæ soboles industriæ, ex angusta re ad amplas opes enisus, ab humili statu in spectabilem gradum evectus est. Quo pacto, sciscitemini, quibusve fretus adminiculis? an repinis grassando, fovendo lites, merces commutando, illiberales quæstus exerçendo? nulla harum, sed innocentissima ratione, probatissimis artibus, quibusque natura homines ad propulsanda vitæ incommoda sanctissimis armis instruxit, elegantia ingenii, linguæ suada, morum probitate. Amplissimo nempe Collegio Sancti Johannis, (quod cum innumeros addixerit ecclesiæ, permultos reipublicæ commodarit insignes viros, nullum, reor, academiæ enutrivit utiliorem alumnum;) huic, inquam, feraci seminario implantatus, adeo feliciter adolevit, ita bonis artibus ingenium excoluit, probis animum imbuit moribus, ut cum nulli non aptus muneri, quavis promotione dignus videretur, id saltum assecutus est, ut in illustrissimi comitis Hollandiæ (viri præcipua apud serenissimum regem gratia florentis, et cancellarii vestri (summis etiam proceribus invidendo) tunc honore præfulgentis) familiam ascitus, secretioribus ejus consiliis et literis (qui potissimus est et perquam honorificus apud optimates clientelæ locus) admoveretur; quam adeo singulari dexteritate, sinceritate, diligentia Spartam exornavit, ut neutiquam miranJum sit, dum patroni res procuraret optime, suis ipsum non pessime prospexisse, bonæque frugis aliquid e tam copiosa messe proprium in horreum reportasse. Sic amplificato per honestam solertiam censu pari prudentia decrevit uti, nec egregii laboris fructum sibi passus est elabi turpiter, infeliciter abortire. Non in splendidos illum luxus erogavit, nec in fœdas profudit voluptates; non (sicut plerisque nunc usu venit opulentis) otiosorum vernularum stipavit se frequenti satellitio, nec magnificos conviviorum apparatus adornavit: non popularem impendiose captavit auram, nec politicis semetipsum factionibus immersit; at vitæ genus frugale, modestum, tranquillum amplexatus, sapientiæ ac pietati vacans unice, modici temporis erga se parsimoniam coluit, ut sempiternam versus alios liberalitatem exerceret. De prole suscipienda, vel stirpe sua propaganda parum solicitus, patrem se egenis præstitit, suis Musas penatibus ascripsit, universos sibi posteros velut adoptavit; neutiquam id sibi pensi datum arbitratus, ut unum aliquem efficeret signiter locupletem, sed ut plurimorum necessitati subveniret, omnium industriam compensaret, nec ut privatam domum adimpleret copia, sed ut totum genus humanum scientia collustraret. Quanquam haud videri debet vel familiæ suæ neglexisse decus, aut famæ sui nominis ullatenus offecisse, quibus adeo durabilia constituit monumenta, quarum-

que memoriam immortalibus Musis commendavit. Nam accurata modo lance rem perpendamus, non alia quacunque via generosæ propaginis gloria seipsam disseminet latius, aut radices suas altius infigat æternitati, quam literarum sibi favorem demerendo; quibus ipsum scilicet tempus suarum rerum custodiam assignare, conscientiam solet accredere; quarumque semper indefesso spiritu canora famæ buccina inflatur. Intereant oportet literæ, lumen extinguatur omnis memoriæ, diffusissima barbarie rerum facies obruatur, quam Lucasianum cesset inclarescere nomen, inque hoc perpetim illustri gloriæ theatro solenni cum laude personare. Sed neque justitiæ minus in hoc proposito quam prudentiæ specimen elucescit: aliquid a prosapia sortitus est lucis, plus in illam splendoris refudit; tenue patrimonium a majoribus accepit, larga cognatis munera redonavit; amicorum benevolentiæ fœnus amplum retulit; neminem de se bene meritum non vicissim bene faciendo superavit. Quod si literarum præsertim auspiciis suprema cum fortunæ suæ præsidia, tum animi ornamenta consecutus sit; si Academiæ, parenti vitæ melioris initium; magistræ virtutis, qua emicuit, disciplinam cultumque, quo excelluit, ingenii; fautrici demum, eximium dignitatis suæ debuerit incrementum; quamobrem non meritissimo jure parem illis rependeret gratiam, mutuis hanc officiis devinciret? Quid enim, Academiæ nomine semel atque iterum ad suprema regni comitia destinari; senatoria purpura decoratum literati populi causam agere, tutelam suscipere, personam sustinere; vestrum (hoc est, ipsissimum sapientiæ) corpus repræsentare; vestro gravissimo judicio probari, deligi, claris competitoribus anteponi, num parvi pendendum decus est? imo quolibet pretio pluris æstimandum, nullis non fastuosis titulis præferendum. Atque, utinam, Academici, sic perpetuo cum rebus vestris comparatum esset, quos educatio sua in sublimiorem extulit gradum, quosque consimili benevolentiæ testimonio afficitis, ut ii pariter evadant erga vos animati; ut sæpius judicia vestra tam auspicato colliment, beneficia vestra tam recte collocentur: non ita liberales scientiæ pabuli inopes, honoris exsortes marcescerent; nec dignis modo præmiis, at necessariis etiam subsidiis destituta studia languerent. Enimvero solus ille jam a plurimis annis ab injuria literas protexit, a contemptu asseruit, ab inopia liberavit; opera sua adjuvit, opibus adauxit scientias. Iniquis siquidem illis et infaustis temporibus, cum proventibus Academicis avida barbaries inhiaret, onera cum imponeret omnibus, et gravissima undicunque tributa corrogaret, causam ille vestram tutatus est acriter, immunitates vestras strenue propugnavit, annisus est vehementer, et multum effecit, qua consilio, qua eloquio suo, ne toga sago fieret vectigalis, ne Martis furor Minervæ fundum depasceret; ne honestis artibus fovendis dicatæ opes ad sustentandam nefariam tyrannidem, ad improbos ausus promovendos perverterentur. Ita clypeum se vestrum tunc objecit importunæ nequitiæ gladium postea vobis adversus inscitiam accincturus; averruncavit a vobis exitiale damnum, mox insigne lucrum adjecturus. Quippe mortalis curriculi cum extremam pene metam se attigisse præsentiret, ut beneficio saltem perduraret superstes, nec prodesse vobis cessaret etiam cum vivere desiisset, cœpit animo versare secum, et cum amicis consilium inire qua potissimum ratione studiis vestris quam optime posset consulere; cumque qua parte debiles essetis maxime, idoneis illam præsidiis firmare, vulneribus vestris opportuna remedia applicare, defectus supplere, damna resarcire statuisset, omnia circumspicienti succurrit imprimis dignissima beneficentiæ materia, mathematicæ disciplinæ; quas cum insignis commendet utilitas, ingenuæ delectationi adjuncta; cum ipsarum peculiaris difficultas auxilii plurimum efflagitet; cum ipsas veteres sapientiæ magistri præcipua cura excoluerint, omnis ævi homines ingente plausu exceperint, præsens autem ætas in extremis deliciis habeat; mirandum nescio magis an dolendum sit, in hac omnium disciplinarum fœcunda matre, omnium studiorum benigna nutrice Academia, nullum ferme hactenus illis concessum fuisse locum, nullum assignatum præmium, nullum patrocinium indultum. Tantum dedecus amoliri studens, et quo jacentes scientias instauraret, adjutricem illis subministravit manum, Professione mathematica suis auspiciis instituta, suis opibus liberali stipendio dotata. Quinetiam cum Bibliothecæ vestræ sublati libri

Lambethani acerbissimam plagam inflixissent, persanavit illam (saltem valde mitigavit) substituta sua, minus lauta quidem, nec perinde magnifica, sed æque lecta, pariter pretiosa suppellectile libraria, insigni illo tam eruditionis suæ monumento, quam adjumento vestræ. Quæ benefacta cum nullis amplificari verbis, nullis queant coloribus illustrari; idemque plane sit illa simpliciter recensere, ac fuse celebrare; vobis potius committam gratifico mentis sensu recolenda, quam mihi desumam rudi encomio temeranda. Adnotare saltem liceat (obiter atque strictim), quum (sicut assolet fierit quod prætermissa matre benignius tractentur filiæ) plures in singula collegia pronum affectum contestati sint, prægrandia dona contulerint, nullum hactenus universæ Academiæ tam officiosum filium, gratum alumnum, munificum patronum obvenisse: quorum tamen illud tanto angustioris animi, tanto exilioris est meriti, quanto publicus sol domesticæ lampadi præ lucet, quantoque augustius est beneficum influxum ad omnes diffundere, quam in paucos derivare. Itidem, ut alii majora præstiterint, nostrum sua prudentius dispensasse, siquidem opportunissimo tempore, cum res vestra (diutius neglecta) conspicui favoris indigeret, et deplorata conditio literarum validam opem imploraret, ab usus summopere necessarios, quibusque nescio turpiusne fuerit an damnosius vos hactenus caruisse: alios denique beneficio plurimum, neminem æque de vobis exemplo meruisse: quando nimirum illi pro temporum ingenio, et seculi sui moribus obtemperantes, vigentibus gratia literis acclamarint; hic adverso suæ ætatis genio obnitens, invidia laborantes et expositas opprobrio literas ausus est favore complecti, dignatus est prosequi reverentia: tritum illi callem ingressis comites se vel pedissequos adjunxerunt; per aviam hic solitudinem dux sibi, nemini socius incessit: spes isti vegetas foverunt studiorum, hic prostratas erexit, pessundatas restituit, pene sepultas exuscitavit: florentem illi suorum temporum famam sustinuerunt aliquatenus, aut tantillum promoverunt; suum hic seculum nedum insigni honore affecit, sed a gravissima infamia vindicavit: a vulgaribus adeo benefactis vulgarem illi laudem adepti sunt; singularem vero noster a singulari beneficentia consecutus est (certe commeruit) gloriam: antecessorum is utique merita supergressus est longe, palmam certo præripuit successuris: ei juxta debemus, quæ fecit ipse, quæque deinceps alii similia facturi sunt debebimus; quibus, ut patrocinio sublevarent literas, faustum omen præbuit, lucidam facem prætulit, apertam viam præmonstravit: neminem ut posthac pudere possit impensæ Musis liberalitatis; omnes vero pudere debeat viri talis auctoritatem non sequi, tanti ducis vestigiis non insistere. Verum in immensæ orationis pelagus improviso devehor longius, et plane sentio quanto proclivius sit (argumentum nacto tam nobile, tam splendidum, tam liberale) nimium dicere, quam satis: contraham igitur vela: sic tamen ut vestram prius, præstantissime μακαρίτα, suppliciter implorem veniam, tuas quod ego privatas laudes, eximiam in Deum pietatem, versus amicos observantiam, in omnes benignitatem; illibatum candorem animi; inculpatam morum probitatem; singularem in conversando comitatem, in agendo peritiam, in judicando perspicaciam, in disserendo facundiam; in officiis colendis fidem, in factis æquitatem, in dictis modestiam, in proposito constantiam; sincerum amorem veritatis, ardens sapientiæ studium, excelsam indolem, et consummatam eruditionem; reliquasque innumeras tuas divinas animi virtutes, præclaras dotes ingenii, egregia vitæ facinora, verecundo potius obtegam silentio, quam importuno præconio dehonestem: quas ego certe cum (ut radios non directo cursu delatos, sed medii densioris interjectu refractos et conturbatos) acceperim, non usu proprio perspexerim, ast aliena fide subnixus, et solius famæ beneficio cognoverim (famæ licet certæ et indubitatæ, multorumque optimorum et sapientissimorum virorum consonis suffragiis munitæ) si dicendo persequi vellem, quid aliud quam cæcus clarissimam lucem depingendam, surdus suavissimam harmoniam susciperem emodulandam? O si viventis intueri vultum amœna luce circumfusum; si contemplari gestus placida severitate compositos; si degustare sermones tuos mellea salubritate conditos, istoque guttulas aliquot ab inexhausto gurgite facundiæ mihi depromere licuisset, tuo forsan pectus imprægnatum afflatu quiddam concepisset simile tui, tuo os

imbutum nectare et dignum aliquid profudisset: nunc satius esse duco tantas virtutes omnino non attingere, quam injuria male pertractatas afficere, vel inficeto sermone contaminare. Una tantum superest laus (nec illa tamen postremis accensenda) quam nulla ratione debeam ego intactam præterire; felicissimæ, dico, laus prudentiæ, illis in deligendis et deputandis adhibitæ, quibus supremam suæ (voluntatis exequendæ dicam? vel) dispensandæ charitatis curam commendaret. Quippe cum irrita sæpe fiant, et sperato excidant successu vel optime ab hominibus destinata, istorum, quibus committuntur, vel improba perfidia, vel ignava supinitate, vel insipiente vecordia, id abunde cavit, ne sibi eveniret, cum testamento suo præficeret duos incorrupta fide, invicta diligentia, spectata prudentia viros; quorum utcunque non grata recordatione prosequi nomina flagitiosum esset mihi, ipsorum cum erga vos summam observantiam, tum singularem in meipsum humanitatem experto. Unus haud perinde forsan cognitus vobis (dignus tamen qui pernoscatur ab omnibus colaturque), ornatissimus et spectatissimus vir, Robertus Raworth, Ælio illi Sexto (jurisconsulto* Ciceroniano) geminus et persimilis. Egregie cordatus homo cautusque, qui cum insigni juris peritia non inferius justitiæ studium conjunxit, cum magno rerum usu raram mentis integritatem sociavit: in eo præcipue mirabilis et felix, quod cum ad æquitatis normam dirigat omnia, nec unquam honeste faciendi voluntatem bene audiendi gratiæ postponat, optimi tamen viri apud omnes consequi potuit opinionem, et cum recta conscientia integram famam conservare: quadratus homo, plane, inque eo, cui ipsum ratio affixit, situ inconcussus: antiqui moris, apertæ sinceræque indolis, nulla involutus nube, nullo fuco incrustatus. In dijudicandis rerum momentis acer et perspicax; in amplectendis conciliis maturus et circumspectus; in retinendo proposito constans et gravis; ut qui nec temere suscipiat aliquid, neque se facile patiatur a probabili instituto dimoveri; talis denique, cui cum tuto summa fides haberi, et gravissima negotia recte committi possint, tum in hac administranda provincia, tam fideliter, dextre, sapienter se gessit, ut non ego tantum, et qui mihi in hoc munus successuri sunt, sed et universa Academia, bonæque adeo omnes literæ sint immortales illi gratias debituræ. Alter autem, nemini vestrum, non ab honesto, quem tot annos, imo tot lustra sustinuit apud vos, loco notissimus, a virtutibus suis commendatissimus, ab egregiis erga vos meritis colendissimus, Thomas Buck: idem ille, cujus quotidie vestris oculis augusta species corporis, et oris veneranda dignitas obversatur: cujus indies promptissimam humanitatem persentiscitis: cujusque toties in procurandis gravissimis negotiis vestris, asserendo honore, commodis provehendis, gnavam, fidam, prosperamque operam experti estis. Vir sane, qui cum omnibus bonis artibus haud mediocriter excultus sit, cum prudentia vel fide primas concedat nemini, tum vero laudabili industria plerosque (pene dixissem omnes) longo intervallo post se relinquit mortales. Difficile mihi sit (imo prorsus impossibile) quos ille vestra causa exantlarit labores, quales pertulerit molestias, quot susceperit itinera, quanta devorarit tædia, verbis explicare, vel ipsius in agendo diligentiam mea assequi diligentia dicendi. Testis eram (quatenus, inquam, admiratio permiserat, testis) quanto ille, dum rem vestram typographicam urgeret, cum suæ salutis et rei familiaris dispendio, honori vestro prospiceret, commodo deserviret: quæ nempe laus ejus, nitidis impressa characteribus, ad infimos usque posteros perennabit, ipsisque adeo cum sacris (quibus pretium adauxit quodammodo, gratiamque adjecit) Bibliis æternitati permanebit consecrata. Cæterum in hoc ipso, quod præ lingua habemus negotio, non absque vegrandi stupore mihi licebat observare, virum ætate ingravescentem, nec firma satis utentem valetudine, tantas alienæ rei vigilias impendere vel potuisse si vellet, aut si posset voluisse, quantas nemo forsan alius, etiam ætate validus et corpore robustus, suæ præstitisset. Tantus illum ardor inflammavit de vobis benemerendi; tale perficiendi quod occepisset egregii facinoris incessit desiderium; ut cum annis accrevisse vires corporis, cum ætate vigor animi provectior evasisse, et quo ad vitæ centrum propius accederet, eo ferri videretur incitatius. At quid ejus in hac conficienda re commemoro sedulitatem, quum in auspicanda potius enixum studium, et impensam erga

* De Orat. I. et Tusc. Qu.

vos benevolentiam debeam prædicare? siquidem illi tantum non primas ingentis hujus beneficii partes referre debetis acceptas; cujus excitatus admonitu, consilio persuasus, hortatu compulsus, mirificus ille Mecænas noster cum mathematicam hanc instituerit professionem, tum lectissimo librorum thesauro bibliothecam vestram ditarit ornaritque. Quid enim, annon jure beneficii auctor censendus est, qui benefactorem ipsum conciliavit, et quasi donavit vobis; qui aliena re, sua vero sapientia, sua profuit voluntate, qui aliorsum exundantes munificentiæ rivos in aream vestram deduxit? absque quo certe fuisset, non esset hodie quod tantum ego studiis adminiculum, tantum Academiæ ornamentum, tantum sæculo exemplum gratularer accessisse. Hæret profecto lingua, deficit ingenium, collabascit animus verba perquirenti tanto beneficio quadantenus adæquata; cujus magnitudinem vos cogitando facilius æstimare, quam ego dicendo possim exprimere. Ab insuperabili proinde conatu subducam me, postquam id unum fuero protestatus, illius commeruisse viri eximiam in me benignitatem pulchrius longe atque uberius gratitudinis testimonium. Huic igitur obeundo officio designati, par illud virorum tale tantumque quid? an adhibitam sibi fidem violarunt, de se conceptam spem deluserunt? num pro more nimis quam recepto, privato compendio intenti, vel desidiæ suæ indulgentes. speratum beneficii fructum in plures annos distulerunt? imo nec unum permiserunt excurrere non liberatæ fidei suæ, non absoluti propositi testem. Quin ad opus semetipsos accingunt ocyus; libros propere curant ad vos deportandos; professoris exsolvendo salario terras redimunt, officio definiendo leges præscribunt; nihil non expediunt, quo minus tanti beneficii sensum expectandi mora corrumperet; at vero potius ut spem vestram sua celeritas anteverteret; vix ut prius vos sciretis habituros, quam habere sentiatis. Leges, dixi, præscripserunt; illas verò quam ex se æquas, quam studiis proficuas, quam rerum circumstantiis accommodatas, sententiam proferre nolo, neque tantæ rei temere mihi censuram arrogabo: illud saltem ausim affirmare (liquido mihi compertum) e viris, qui viderunt, judicio valentibus, et nullo præjudicio occupatis (viderunt autem permulti dignitate juxta ac sapientia præcellentes), modice dicam plerosque omnes admodum probasse, nec paucos illas qualicunque laude dignas censuisse; dignas utcunque visas, quas, reclamante nemine, authoritas regia sanciret, et ratas faceret. Ita partibus suis absolutissime perfuncti, non tamen eo processisse contenti substiterunt, at voluntate benemerendi potestatis suæ limites quodammodo prætergressi, privilegia bene multa, huic loco seu valde utilia, seu plane necessaria, quæ præstare non possent ipsi, a regia clementia ultro impetrarunt; quo nomine quicunque posthac hujusce Professionis munus amplectentur, tenebuntur eos ceu fundatores alteros, certe fautores palmarios lubenter agnoscere, grate profiteri. De illis porro, quorum præcipue res hæc gesta est et ordinata consilio, reverendis collegiorum præfectis, mihi quantum ætate præcedentibus, et antestantibus dignitate, tantum judicio prævalentibus, et elogio superioribus meo, nihil audebo quicquam enarrare; id unum dixero fecisse illos, quod rem publicam spectat, ut tales viros decuit, sapienter ac moderate; a me autem cunctos haud exiguam iniisse gratiam, seu quod abunde faverint, seu quod non nimis adversati sint: duobus præsertim (cum elapsi tum instantis anni) dignissimis procancellariis pro sua erga me propensa comitate, benevolentia, favore, quas possum maximas debeo, ago, habeo gratias. Ita qualitercunque persoluto gratæ commemorationis debito, de meipso forsan expectatis ut nescio quid edisseram: quibus præsertim causis inductus, priori isto me abdicarim munere, novum hoc denuo assumpserim; quippe cum propterea ceu desultoriæ levitatis, aut fluxæ fidei homo, mei decoris nimium incuriosus, vestrique parum reverens arguar forsitan aut insimuler a quibusdam; quos tamen (si qui sunt) rectius facturos autumo, si judicii sui acrimoniam maturiori consilio temperent, nec alieni animi statum Lesbia sortis regula metiantur; cum subinde vel firmissimæ rupes reciprocos æstus subeant, et constantissimi plerique viri variis rerum vicibus exagitentur. Rem ipsam quod attinet; Græcam ego provinciam, nemini sane tunc optabilem, et immane quantum laboris exigua (imo nulla) mercede compensantem, qui renitenti animo suscepissem, cum in melius demuta-

ta loci conditione plures augurarer futuros, qui id muneris cum aggredi vellent lubentius, tum dignius exequi possent, nil plane quicquam obstare deprehendi, quo minus, nullo vestro incommodo, genio meo prorsus obsecundarem, permolestum onus leviculo penso commutarem, e grammatico pistrino in mathematicam palæstram me subducerem. Etenim sicuti nunquam a Philologia prorsus abhorruerim, ita (ne dissimulem) philosophiam semper impensius adamavi; ut vocularum ludicrum aucupium morose non despiciam, ita seriam rerum indaginem magis cordicitus amplector; omnis tædii non usquequaque impatiens, modici vero otii appetentior sum; omni versus alios injuria sic abstinere studeo, salvum ut velim mihi legitimum mei arbitrium; voluntatis denique vestræ cum observatissimus perstiterim, studiosissimus dignitatis, libertati tamen meæ nunquam renunciaram penitus, non insolubili servitutis nexu dominæ me grammaticæ obstrinxeram, nec aures ultro meas linguis obtuleram perforandas, ut non licuerit honestam occasionem arripere memetipsum emancipandi, nedum ut debuerim amicis ad munus invitantibus, minus equidem honorificum, at multo commodius, genio meo acceptius, et liberali otio abundantius refragari. Quid multa? jure meo usus sum, non alienum invasi; possessione mea decessi, neminem extrusi sua; honore meipsum exui, meritum meum excedente, non indigna quenquam affeci contumelia: nedum ut vobis (charissima mihi et colendissima capita) dedecus inferre meditarer, quos pronissimo semper affectu complexus, devotissimo cultu adveneratus sum; quorumque honori, si quis alius, pro exili modulo virium, cupida mente, prompta opera, dictis factisque nunquam non attentissimum me præstiterim, addictissimum demonstrarim. Nec e consuetudine vestra longe mihi dulcissima exoptatissimaque, nisi sontica quadam necessitate adactus, præduraque constrictus inopia, vel ex parte recessissem. Nullis certe machinis impulsus a vobis divelli penitus, nullis conditionibus allectus perduci poteram, ut e vestris omnino castris transfugerem; nec sub aliis uspiam gentium quam insignibus vestris militavi: quinimo non tam fines vestros dereliqui, quam ditionem prolatavi; nomen vestrum protuli longius, haud ignominiam vobis accersivi. Neque tam sponte mea demum, quam fatoquodam abreptus videor, futuri provido præsagoque; ut in alia quadam obscuriore arena, quod in hoc celebri Circo nunc initurus sum, certamini præluderem. Me quisquis igitur hanc ob rem ceu perfidum desertorem aut fugitivum mancipium sugillat inclementius, viderit ipse quam justas, quamque probabiles iræ suæ causas prætexat. Utcunque nequeo non effusa mihimetipsi cum lætitia gratulari, tot erroribus defunctus, tot ereptus fluctibus, tot vicissitudines permensus, quod in hunc tandem placidissimum portum appulerim, in hac tutissima statione requiescam; ubi cupiam scilicet anchoram defigere æternùm immobilem, nullaque (quatenus per fata licet) vi revellendam. Nec enim fere votis meis congruentius quicquam potuisset evenire, quam in alinæ matris sinu, omnimodis innocuis deliciis refertissimo; in vestro (hoc est, hominum indole perquam sincera candidoque pectore; sublimi captu, et excellente doctrina præditorum) regibus, opinor, ipsis invidendo consortio; in pulcherrimo Musarum palatio, sanctissimo templo virtutis, amplissimo bonæ mentis gymnasio, illustrissimoque præstantium exemplorum theatro; ingenio expoliendo, moribus efformandis, componendis affectibus, liberalibus scientiis una vobiscum condiscendis intentum; satis honesta, nec admodum exonerosa servitute mancipatum vobis, et minime aspernanda conditione perfruentem, quod ærumnosæ superest vitæ transigere: id quod sane, libera modo concedatur optio, centies malim, quam aut aulicas inter pompas, aut tumultus urbanos, aut rusticas solitudines, in re quantumvis lauta, quibuscunque ceu copiis affluens, seu diffluens voluptatibus, seu titulis insignitus, commorari et consenescere. Quam proinde felicitatem, non sine propitii Numinis (meis meorumque rebus per nuperas istas calamitates gravissime afflictis benigne providentis) singulari misericordia mihi concessam, qua par est, erga divinam Majestatem humili reverentia et pia mentis devotione percipio: tum vero optimorum virorum nullo ambitu conciliatam, nulla solicitatam prece, sed purissima sponte mihi delatam benevolentiam grato sensu mentis amplector et agnosco: cui cum nequeam omnino parem, hanc saltem adnitar referre gratiam, ut efficiam

scilicet quadantenus, demandatum mihi officium gnaviter exequendo, ne aut collati in me beneficii pœniteat ipsos, aut concepti de me pudeat judicii: quod non eo dico, quasi tenuitatis meæ parum conscius sim, aut aliquid arrogem mihi (quum imbecilitatem propriam intime sentiam, indignitatem palam confiteor;) at quo stimulos subdam industriæ meæ, labantem animum sustineam, auctor fiam mihi ne desperem ingenii mei defectum studio supplere, quodque ab usu mihi deest, cura compensare. A vobis autem (ingenui quotquot estis alumni literarum) nihil non spero, non polliceor mihi, candore vestro, vestrâ humanitate dignissimum. Nec ullatenus addubito, quin et faventibus me votis hactenus prosecuti, nunc et alacri porro gratulatione sitis excepturi: minime scilicet immemores, quam ante plures olim annos indicaram, bonæ voluntatis mathematica hæc studia seu in exilium procul ablegata revocandi, seu profundis tenebris demersa in apricum retrahendi. Enim vero si tunc privatus homo, nec alioquin obnoxius, et sola rei pulchritudine accensus, ita me comparaverim, ut scientias istas qualicunque studio meo vobis exoptaverim summopere commendatas, non est quod nunc ambigatis pro ratione publici muneris et sanctiori vinculo constrictum, iis (pro tenui facultate mea) promovendis acrius incubiturum; quando nimirum, quo tum propendebam animo, eo jam propellar officio. Quod autem a me jam leges districte postulant, id quovis injussu præstare quam liberrime semper fui paratissimus, ad familiares vos congressus ut non modo prompte admitterem, verum ultro cupide invitarem; utque non semel tantum vel bis qualibet septimana cubiculi fores aperirem, sed vel intimi cordis indies penetralia recluderem, et patulum adituris pectus exhiberem. Quin accedite sultis jugiter, studiosi adolescentes, nullo metu inhibiti, nullo pudore retardati; quod jure vestro potestis, et me facietis haud invito (imo adlubescente, gaudenteque) consilium audacter expetite, exigite, præcipite et imperate; jussis utique vestris non aversum me vel refractarium, sed officiosum, atque morigerum percepturi. Si qua vos studii mathematici salebrosum iter ingredientes obstacula præpediant, difficultates avertant, dubia remorentur, facite me, obtestor, participem, illud omne, (quousque vel usu valeo, vel industria consequi possum) quicquid est offensionis submoturum. Hisce vero disciplinis ut strenuam navetis operam, inque pulvere mathematico haud segniter desudetis, si nil aliud impellat, illud saltem honestarum mentium vos calcar exstimulet inflammetque vehementius, qui generosi semper animis alte insidet, ardor illustria quæque exempla persequendi. Namque ut veteres illos prætteream, mirificum Pythagoram, sagacem Democritum, divinum Platonem, subtilissimum prudentissimeque doctum Aristotelem (quos omnis hactenus ætas agnovit et suspexit merito, sapientiæ antistites, artium coryphæos) quorum quantopere judiciis arriserint hæc studia, cum luculentæ proclamant historiæ, tum ipsorum arguunt præclara monumenta mathematicis passim interspersa ratiociniis, mathematicis exemplis, ceu stellis, illustrata: quæ proinde frustra speret quispiam, non in his literis mediocriter versatus, penitus intelligere, vel illorum abditos sensus, non adhibita clave mathematica, reserare. Ecquis enim Aristotelicum nisi plectro mathematico feliciter organon pulset; aut ad philosophi physicas auscultationes, geometriæ ignarus, non prorsus obsurdescat? Quis Platonicum Socratem capiat expers (geometriæ, dicam? an) arithmeticæ, de quadratis numeris vel cum puerulis balbutientem? aut ipsum Platonem assequatur nedum de mundo ad geometricas rationes conformato, sed de republica dissertantem, et politicas etiam leges ad mathematicam amussim exigentem? nec ut recentiores illos commemorem, acumine similes antiquis, et prope pares, Galilæum, Gassendum, Gilbertum, Mersennum, Cartesium, quosque alios præsentis ævi fert fama, matheseos unico fretos subsidio, naturalis scientiæ pomeria priscos ultra terminos extendisse; ad quorum scripta, geometricorum digrammatum radiis ubique collucentia, harum rerum imperiti, ceu ad solis lumen coruscantis noctuæ, exhorrescunt. Ad illas potius scientias, quales hodie se ostentant conspiciendas, obtutum dirigite, magnatum purpura redimitas principum se titulis venditantes, ipsorum regum soliis insidentes; neminis fere generosa stirpe prognati, qui vel ingenii laudem ambiat, aut operam philosophiæ seriam devoveat, non opinione magnifactam, studio qæsitam, præconio

celebratam: quos omnes in genere quolibet ingenuæ literaturæ indecorum sit æquiparari vobis, turpissimum antecellere: præsertim cum universitatis, quod profitemini, nomen adimplere, decus sustentare, non alia ratione valeatis, quam si omnigenæ scientiæ, liberali ingenio dignæ, non vulgarem vobis peritiam vindicetis; et nisi vel invidentibus felicitati vestræ, vel famam æmulantibus ansam detrahatis obtrectandi, quod vel in linguis ediscendis, ceu semper infantes, ætatem conteratis; vel, ex obsoletæ vetustatis ruderibus putidas fabellas eruentes, veritatis indagandæ curam respuatis; vel inconsulta rerum natura, sinceræque rationis usu posthabito, verborum inanes phaleras, et fucati sermonis præstigias affectetis; vel sophisticis demum tricis, et futilibus argutiis impliciti, steriles rixas conserentes, lubricis inhærentes conjecturis, et incerta dogmata ventilantes, otium abutamini, operam ludatis, ingenia vestra vexetis et torqueatis. Quæ in vos (improbe fateor et immerito, sæpe tamen et serio) congesta opprobria vel eluatis facile, vel omnino devitetis, divinam modo mathesin qua par est diligentia consectemini: mathesin, subtilitate non spinosa, difficultate neutiquam perplexa, disquisitione minime contentiosa, studiosos animos exercentem valide, non vane deludentem, non misere discruciantem; sine pugna vincentem, sine pompa triumphantem; absque vi cogentem, citra jacturam libertatis absolute dominantem; non imbecillæ fidei subdole struentem insidias, sed armatæ rationi apertum martem inferentem, integram palmam extorquentem, inevitabiles catenas injicientem; quot verba, tot oracula fundentem; quotque opera patrantem, tot edentem miracula; nihil effutientem temere, vel inepte molientem; sed universa perspicue demonstrantem, prompte peragentem; non scientiæ fallacem umbram obtrudentem, sed ipsissimam animo scientiam ingerentem, cui adhærescat firmiter, quam continuo possideat, a qua nunquam aut sponte discedat, aut ulla vi depellatur: mathesin denuo, principiis menti claris, experientiæ consentaneis suffultam, certas conclusiones elicientem, utilibus regulis instructam; jucundas quæstiones enodantem, mirabiles effectus producentem; artium (pene dixissem) omnium fœcundam parentem, scientiarum inconcussam basin, in rem humanam emergentium commoditatum uberrimam scaturiginem; cui saltem uni æquum sit, ut præcipua vitæ oblectamenta, præsidia salutis, incrementa fortunæ, compendia laboris accepta referamus: quod eleganter et commode habitamus; decoras ædes extruimus nobis, augusta Numini delubra statuimus, admiranda posteris monumenta relinquimus. Quod tutis ab hostili incursione vallis protegimur: arma dextre tractamus; aciem scite disponimus; arte quadam, non ferina rabie belligeramur. Quod secura per infidos fluctus commercia transigimus; recto per cæcas maris vias itinere progredimur; incerto ventorum impetu propulsi designatos ad portus pervenimus. Quod rationes nostras vere subducimus, censum familiarum recte conjicimus, negotia versamus expedite; numerorum dispalatas phalanges in ordinem redigimus, tabulis includimus, calculo supponimus; arenarum quamlibet ingentes cumulos, imo vel immensas atomorum congeries, facile computamus. Quod agrorum fines pacifice dispescimus, momenta ponderum æqua lance perpendimus, justa suum cuique mensura dispensamus. Quod vastos hinc inde, susque deque, quo volumus, levi digito moles protrudimus, et immanem rerum perpusilla vi resistentiam profligamus. Quod terreni faciem orbis delineamus accurate, remque mundi publicam nostro universam conspectui subjicimus. Quod temporis fluxam seriem apte digerimus; rerum vices agendarum debitis intervallis distinguimus; tempestatum varios recursus, annorum et mensium statas periodos, alterna dierum et noctium incrementa, dubia lucis ac umbræ confinia, exquisita horarum et minutorum discrimina rite censemus, et internoscimus. Quod radiorum solarium in usus nostros subtilem efficaciam derivamus; visus sphæram in immensum exporrigimus; vicinas rerum species ampliamus, semotas adducimus, occultas detegimus; latebris suis naturam excutimus, et sua calide dissimulantem arcana revelamus. Quod concinnis simulacris oculos nostros oblectamus; artificia naturæ perite æmulamur, opera pulchre exprimimus: æmulamur dixi? imo superamus, dum nusquam existentia jucunde effingimus, absentia sistimus nobis, præterita repræsentamus. Quod harmonicis concentibus animos reficimus, aures demulcemus; aerei fluctus inconstantiam certis modu-

lis attemperamus; arido stipiti festivam vocem indimus, a rigido metallo dulcem elicimus facundiam; non dissona laude concelebramus Deum, et beatos cœlitum choros haud absurde imitamur. Quod inaccessas nubium sedes, dissitos tractus terrarum, devias æquoris plagas, elatos vertices montium, radices infimas vallium, profundas marium voragines, abstrusos telluris recessus attingimus et perscrutamur. Quod ipsos mente Superos accedimus, imo Superos admovemus nobis; æthereas arces conscendimus; per cœlestes campos libere spatiamur; astrorum emetimur magnitudines, interstitia definimus; leges ipsis præscribimus inviolabiles cœlis, et vagos syderum circuitus strictis cancellis coercemus. Quod mundanæ denique machinæ portentosam molem animo comprehendimus, divini opificii stupendam pulchritudinem rectius æstimamus, sapientius admiramur: nostræ mentis incredibilem vim et perspicaciam certis experimentis addiscimus, ut pio affectu agnoscamus. Ut omittam rationem nostram in palæstra hac mathematica cum ad valide intorquenda argumentorum tela, tum ad caute declinandos sophismatum ictus; tam ad nervose disserendum, quam ad solide dijudicandum; ad prompte inveniendum, ad recte disponendum, ad perspicue explicandum, utiliter exercitari: nec non ad attentæ meditationis perferendum tædium, ad alacrem cum objectis difficultatibus conflictum, ad pertinacem in studiis solertiam, usu componi mentem, robore confirmari. Quinetiam his disciplinis assuefactam mentem a credula simplicitate penitus liberari; contra scepticam vanitatem fortissime muniri, a temeraria præsumptione valide cohiberi; ad debitum assensum facillime inclinari; legitimo rationis imperio perfecte subjici, iniquæ fallacium præjudiciorum tyrannidi contumaciter obluctari. Instabilem porro phantasiam hac veluti saburra librari; hac fluctuantem anchora retineri; obtusum ingenium hac cote exacui: luxurians hac falce castigari; præfervidum hoc fræno reprimi; torpidum hoc stimulo excitari: nulla clarius lampade per naturæ caliginosas ambages, nullo certius filo per intricatos philosophici labyrinthi anfractus incedentium regi vestigia: nec alia demum bolide veritatis fundum felicius explorari. Ne dicam quam varia percognitarum rerum supellectile ditetur, quam multiplice poliatur ornatu, quam salubri pabulo nutriatur animus, et quam sincera voluptate perfundatur. Sin præterea dicam, dum a materia sensibili mens abstrahitur et attollitur, puras distincte speculatur, pulchras ideas concipit, congruas proportiones investigat, ipsos mores corrigi et concinnari; affectus componi et compurgari; phantasiam sedari ac serenari; intellectum ad divinas comtemplationes erigi atque excitari; nec solus id, nec primus dixero, sed maximorum in philosophia nominum sententiam meam authoritate defendero, suffragiis confirmavero. Dies me, vox, et spiritus deficerent, vel summa rerum capita cursim perstringentem: nam illius quæ cœlos, quæ terras, quæ maria pervagatur et permetitur, scientiæ, nulla juste limites describat, nulla plene complectatur utilitates, nulla perfecte laudes exhauriat oratio. Et alioquin in re decantata ab omnibus, et vobis (opinor) satis intime perspecta, improbe desipiens sim, si aut meam immoderatius abutar operam, aut vestram importunius exagitem patientiam. Quanquam haud ab re, nec præter instituti mei rationem fecisse videor, quod vestram modo patientiam strenue exercuerim, cum ipsa patientia nulla sit ad mathesin aut aptior aut utilior introductio; nec alius quisquam sit ad has disciplinas optime comparatus, quam cujus aures, (orationis nec insipidæ fastidio devictæ, nec jejunæ tædio delassatæ) per integrum ad minus bihorium toleranter vapulare didicerunt: orationis merito dixi *jejunæ*, eoque magis tempestivæ (quis enim ab esu piscium eloquens sit, aut immunis culpæ sermone jam luxuriet?) quam si vobis sciero vehementer displicere; facile me consolabor, quinimo magnopere congratulabor mihi, validum inde deducturus argumentum, certum augurium desumpturus, quod optimum me hodie præstiterim mathematicum, hoc est, pessimum oratorem. Dixi.

PROCANCELLARII ELECTI ORATIO.

A. D. 1675.

Fati quodam impulsu devolutam in me provinciam quam ægre subeam, testor illam conscientiam imbecillitatis propriæ, et imperitiæ rerum, quarum hactenus ab usu curaque, homo desesset umbraticus, libenter abstinui, ne dicam vehementer abhorrui; testor ingenitam ori meo δυσωπίαν, ad frontem torve contrahendam, ad vocem granditer attollendam, ad effrontem audaciam vultu repellendam reprimendamque; ad increpationes, minas, censurasque viriliter effulminandas, hoc est, ad rempublicam magnifice tractandam, minime comparatam: Adtestor et hunc rerum statum ancipitem atque lubricum, in quo etiam prudentissimis expertissimisque viris, nedum inconsulto tyroni, perdifficile sit indeflexo gressu rectum agendi tramitem insistere. Vos denuo testes appello, charissima libertas, amœnissimum otium, exoptatissima quies, dulcissimæque ante omnia Musæ, quibus abdicatis in splendidulam hanc servitutem, in turbida negotia, in molestas cursitationis, in obstreperas lites et importunas querelas, delabor.

Hujusmodi scilicet obvenit mihi conditio, beneficii nihilominus habenda loco, et pro qua vel ingratiis meis gratias exsolvam oportet, si minus sorti meæ, vestræ saltem voluntati debitas.

Neque sortem tamen aggravabo meam, mœsta specie rerum exterrens meipsum, aut oratione tragica vobis horrorem incutiens; non degenerem academiam, collapsam disciplinam, pessundatos mores, subnatas nescio quas tetras pestes, atque feralia portenta (monstra nempe totidem a novo procancellario velut Hercule quodam edomanda) cuncta demum in sequiorem formam mirifice traducta querulo sermone deplangam, aut acerbo insectabor; Non ita suscepti muneris auspicia deturpabo, pro votis vestris quasi convicia regerens, et gratitudinis vice criminationem intentans: Id si facerem ætate devexior, aut gravioris supercilii compos, ignoscendum forsitan esset, nil aliud quam pro more senum exactæ juventutis blandam recolenti memoriam, et alienos mores carpendo mœrores marcoresque proprios consolanti.

Quin illuc potius oratio nostra spectabit, ut vestrum favorem ambiam, opemque vestram implorem, quibus impotentiæ meæ succurratur, quibusque sublevatus gravissimum quod imposuistis onus utcunque ferendo sim: cum enim in hanc Spartam animum advertens, id mihi potissimum negotii demandatum sentiam, ut legum nostrarum sanctione munitus, in studiis diligentiam et solertiam, in moribus probitatem et modestiam, in administranda republica literaria εὐταξίαν et gravitatem fovendo tuendoque academiæ decus sustentem; equidem tantæ rei proprio Marte consequendæ me prorsus imparem comperio, nec eatenus ausim vel ipsa spe adspirare, nisi socias vos admoveatis manus, operæque vestræ suppetias abunde conferatis.

Enimvero vestrum est (spectatissimi viri), vestram ad virtutem laudemque pertinet, juventutem academicam ad optima quæque vestris præceptionibus informare, vestris hortatibus impellere, vestris exemplis allicere atque perducere: Penes vos est unice teneram ætatem vestræ seu alumnam disciplinæ seu conversationis æmulam a pravis institutis ab ignavia, a petulantia, a temulentia, ab improbitate omnimodo vestris consiliis abstrahere, vestra qua polletis authoritate coërcere: Alioquin irrita fuerit illi seu dirigendæ seu corrigendæ, quæcunque impendetur opera, nisi vobis auctoribus et incentoribus addiscat, quod sui est officii gnaviter exequi, studiis acriter incumbendo ad eruditionis palmam anhelare, exercitia scholastica serio et sedulo obire, debitam majoribus reverentiam ultro studioseque deferre, scurrilem lasciviam detestari atque despuere; a cauponis, œnopoliis, ganeis (inertiæ lustris, et nequitiæ officinis) se continere; ad honestam, ingenuam, frugique vitam sese totam componere.

Ad hæc ut unusquisque severe mentem intendat, invigiletque solicite, cum semper indole vestra dignum sit, ad res optimas evecta, præclarisque disciplinis exculta; cum et officio vestro congruat ad academiæ salutem promovendam obstricto; tum jam præsertim opportunum est, præsentisque ratio temporis enixe depos-

cit, si aut almæ matris honori consultum aut publicæ de vobis opinioni satisfactum vultis.

Etenim ignorare nemo potest quale sit seculum, quot erroribus fœtum, quot vitiis addictum, quot factionibus occupatum; adeoque quam vobis iniquum ac infensum; vobis, inquam, quos unice veritatis strenuos assertores et vindices, virtutis impigros magistros ducesque, pacis fidos asseclas atque patronos, morum arbitros censoresque præcipuos cernit et fremit, experitur et indignatur; hinc malignitatis et invidæ stimulis percitum famæ nostræ perpetim iusidias struit, hinc academiæ dedecus impingendi undecunque causas aucupatur.

Quo magis si quando alias nunc certe nobis omnibus impensius allaborandum est, ne qua nobis labes adspergatur, ne qua commodetur ansa mores nostros sugillandi; quin ut in his potius tanta pelluceat integritas, quanta facile tam a bonis et sapientibus viris laudem eliciat, quam invidorum ac malevolorum obtrectationes compescat.

Sin autem e genio seculi, ad luxum et licentiam proclivis, pravæ quicquam laxæve consuetudinis irrepserit nobis, nostrosque suo contagio mores afflaverit, id protinus omne solicitudo vestra discutiat, amoliatur, expurget; ita quidem ut liquido dehinc constare possit, quid mundi intersit et academiæ; ut cum passim alibi gentium dissidia flagrent, socordia regnet, luxuria furat, flagitia grassentur, impietas triumphet, insultetque, hic saltem apud vos concordia portum, industria thronum, sobrietas perfugium, virtus asylum, et religio propugnaculum obtinuisse videantur.

Ad hæc utcunque peragenda collimare quidem debet hoc quicquid est seu magistratus seu ministerii vestro in me judicio collati; ipsum vero scopum attingere neutiquam aliter valebit, nisi vosmet ut opera potenter adnitamini, ut exemplo insigniter præluceatis exorando.

Ita si me beneficio affecistis, munus vestrum vobis gratus retribuo; si incommodo gravastis, illo me in vos justus ultor exonero.

Neque jam ferme succurrit aliud dictu tempestivum; cum si minus exoraverim, frustra quicquam addidero; sin exoravi, peroravi.

VICECANCELLARII

MUNERE DEFUNCTI

ORATIO.

Quanquam, Academici, spiritum agenti mihi linguæ usus vix suppetit, ut exequiali salutatione vos interpellem; neque video quorsum exauctoratus et nullius jam rei vir minimum habitura pondus verba profundam; adeoque fato placide succumbere, seu provincia tacitus elabi malim, quam supremis vocibus aut circa vos temere, vel de meipso putide nescio quid effutire; tamen quia dominus rerum mos exigit, extremoque in actu, præsertim officioso, nolim deficere, compatiamur invicem sultis, ego paucula coacte profando, vos aures tantisper indulgendo.

Quid ergo? scire vultis, opinor, de munere quod exuo, quid sentiam, aut qualiter animo decedam affectus: dicam; juxta cum illis, qui diuturna velificatione perfuncti transcursos fluctus cum horrore respiciunt, stabilis autem soli herbidos saltus, sylvasque prominentes alacriter obtuentur; consimiliter enim mihi, post enavigatum undosum hoc pelagus, transacta recolenti mœror oboritur, at futura prospicienti non modica voluptas obversatur.

Hujus ingruentis lætitiæ causas nihil opus est exponere: quis enim portum non hilaris ingreditur? quis sibi se restitutum non lætabundus excipit? quem non delectet eximi jugo, vel emancipari servitute, tot dominis addicta, quorum tam difficile sit exequi placita, quam sententias conciliare? quis invita Minerva susceptum onus non animo adlubescente deponat? quis solus incedere, proque suopte arbitratu passim exspatiari non centies præoptet, quam aut domo affigi, aut custodibus succingi; quis pervicacem mundum non sibi libentius dimittat ut vadat sicut vult, quam ei seu dirigendo seu corrigendo teneatur incumbere? quis demum a fervido rerum æstu in amœnam umbram, ab obstreperis litibus in tranquillam pacem, ab alienis importunis negotiis ad sua jucunda studia regresso sibi non impense gratuletur?

Verum illud mœrere quod dixi quorsum attinet, aut unde provenit; an quod adversi quicquam aut infesti sustinuerim; quod in hoc salo naufragium passus recularum plusculum amiserim, aut tempestatibus acerbe jactatus vexatusque fuerim? imo, nihil tale me pungit, aut quaquam tangit; nec enim curriculum hoc emetienti triste quippiam aut tragicum, aut oppido sinistrum recorder obvenisse; nullæ (vobis gratias) emerserunt turbæ, nullæ factiones exarserunt; omnia leni defluxerunt amne, placidoque tenore decurrerunt. Obmurmurarit aliquis, obstrepuerit, obnisus aut obloquutus fuerit quidvis administranti; non assero factum: (absit): at fieri potuisse suppono; quid tum? an idcirco doleam? minime omnium; nam an aliter uspiam vivitur? an mortalium discrepare judicia, seu vota non conspirare, mirum aut mœstum est? quod certe nisi esset, vita non esset, respublica non esset; stertere potius quam vivere, turpiter famulari quam viriliter in publicum consulere videremur: hujusmodi proinde siquid accidisset, neutiquam id meis accidisset ingratiis, et gratanter potius (si saperem) quam gravate pertulissem. Quid itaque maceror aut angor animi? hæc unice scilicet, academici; quod commodis vestris minus profuerim, quod votis vestris parum satisfecerim; quod favori vestro parem referre gratiam haud valuerim; quod mihi non adeo propitia sors aspirarit, ut opera mea quicquam præstarem in rem vestram abunde proficuum, aut spe dignum, aut voluntati gratum; quod adeo Galbæ misello, quam Vespasiano propius exeam.

Non hæc dico, quasi mihimet ipsi in gerenda republica sequius aliquid admisisse conscirem; quum potius excussa memoria, integra conscientia, animoque prorsus erecto fidenter ausim profiteri, nil omnino me quod sciam vel animo destinasse, vel opere patrasse, seu meipso seu vobis indignum; cujusve sic pœniteat, ut infectum cupiam; quinimo demandatum pensum ita mihi saltem ipsi videor obiisse, ut neque privatis compendiis inserviens, neque propriis affectibus indulgens, ad ea simpliciter colimarim, quæ reipublicæ vestræ vel utilia vel honorifica subductis rationibus aut plane scirem, aut valde sperarem, et serio arbitrarer; Lucanianique Catonis ad instar in commune bonus aut fui semper, aut esse studui; commissorum utique si ratio habeatur.

Veruntamen quod nonnulla factu commoda prætermiserim, seu perperam habentia corrigere non allaborarim, illud sane non tam ægre fateor, quam fero; nimirum ad talia ne strenue accingerer, animi nativa lenitas dicam an mollities aut socordia præpedivit, vel rerum nimia difficultas absterruit, vel aliquid opera dignum peragendi desperatio cohibuit; cum is nempe sim, qui labori non movendo parcere satius autumo, quam ipsum nil promovendo dispendere; nec iis ambiam accenseri, qui se dum turbas cient negotia putant conficere; idque multa agendo consequi solent, ut nihil agant.

Hinc tamen utcunque fit, ut oculum retorquens molestia afficiar, eoque graviter admordear, quod vel opportunitas defuit, aut inbecillitas obfuit, ne de vobis luculentius promererer.

Nec aliunde quam a comitate vestra solatium exquiram; quale satis efficax adhibeatis licet, quoad a me vel gesta vel omissa, sicuti res postularit, aut boni consulendo, aut benigne condonando.

Illud obtestato mihi tantummodo superest, ut prospera vobis omnia comprecer; imprimisque talem mihi successorem obtingere, qui cum usibus vestris aptior, tum votis acceptior sit: ita voveo scilicet, ita non læva cornix auguror ἔσται πάντα καλῶς.

ORATIO SARCASMICA

IN

SCHOLA GRÆCA.

Quod moralis disciplina docet, res ipsa loquitur, et quotidiana experientia confirmat, frequentis alloquii pabulo ali necessitudines, easdemque diuturnæ ἀπροσηγορίας quasi tabe quadam perimi; id forte spectans superioris ævi prudentia, ne quæ ex mutui officii societate inter nos coaluit amicitia, omnimodæ familiaritatis quasi resoluto vinculo dissiliret, nobis qui hoc munere fungimur, legem imposuit, longa jam consuetudine sanci-

tam, vosmet quotannis, spectatissimi auditores, in hoc seu abeuntis anni decessu, seu accessu venientis, solenni ritu compellandi. Quod majorum laudabile institutum, mihi, cui antiquitate ipsa nihil, antiquius habetur, et qui vetusto usu probatos mores præcipua quadam reverentia prosequi soleo, alioquin segni licet, et inhabili ad dicendum, seu violare retentum, seu intermissum non revocare, religio est. Eamque modo provinciam ut lætius obeam lubentiusque, facit id imprimis, ut quemadmodum amicos a multo tempore absentes, qui fuerunt aut qui futuri sunt, eo charius, solito complectimur, lautiusque excipimus, ita nunc incumbat mihi vos ab integro minimum anno præterito neutiquam visos, nec ante elapsum alterum, opinor, denuo videndos, ut impensiori quadam comitate, uberiori oratione consalutem. Accedit ad hunc nodum fortius stringendum, non uno nomine debita, nec exiguis in me beneficiis vestris obstricta gratitudo, non illa quidem verborum liberali apparatu, nedum exili quapiam et perfunctoria agnitione, (siquidem pro merito) digne exsolvenda. Levastis enim me (humanissimi quotquot estis academici) gravissimo onere; a maximo periculo liberastis; labori, solicitudini, pudori meo abunde pepercistis; jugi scilicet illa et pertinace absentia, qua has scholas refugistis. Eximio itidem honore cumulatis, singulari lætitia afficitis, incredibili quodam solatio me recreatis hodie, nova hac vestra et inopinata præsentia, qua locum hunc, tamdiu desertum et vacuum, repletis quodammodo ac decoratis. Fecistis illa, ne mihi esset in adornandis prælectionibus anxie desudandum; ne acuminis vestri severum judicium reformidarem; ut otio meo indulgerem libere, mihique quicquid venerat in buccam, securus famæ, immunis a censura, intrepide effutirem. Facites autem hæc, ne perpetuo mihi putem in hac mœsta atque ingloria solitudine ætatem fore transigendam, ne desperem penitus, hujusce diei fretus augurio, futuros semel in anno duos saltem vel tres, quos aspiciam, quos alloquar, quibus salutem feram, a quibus referam.

Enimvero ex quo in anni decedentis auspiciis longum mihi vale peroranti dixistis, desedi continuo solus huic cathedræ (nemo vestrum sat scio vel mentienti αὐτόπτης testis fidem derogabit) tanquam rupi suæ Prometheus affixus; vel ut arbiter quidam supremus in illa (quam non nemo nuper excogitavit) republica Solipsorum; non montibus dico aut sylvis, sed parietibus istis atque subselliis sententias Græcas, figuras, phrases, etymologias undique conquisitas admurmurans; plane ut Attica noctua ab omni aliarum avium commercio segregata. Egimus ego et Sophocles meus in vacua orchestra: defuit illi etiam suus τριταγωνιστής chorus affuit nullus, ne quidem puerorum; qui canentibus accineret nemo erat, nec qui saltantibus applauderet, nec qui obstreperet loquentibus. Quod si forte vagabundus quispiam recens, vel naufragus sophista (unus aut alter) temerario æstu abreptus, vel infelicis auræ cujuslibet impulsu deportatus, in has aliquando (quod perraro tamen memini accidisse) oras appulerit, vix obiter is inspecta provincia, aut tribus verbis acceptis, tragici quippe nescio quid sonantibus, quasi a barbaro Græculo, si perstaret, propediem devorandus, e meo repente Polyphemi antro in pedes se conjecit. Non eo hæc dico, quasi sortem meam deplorem, aut illud *væ* soli ad me pertinere existimem; qui Scipionis illud allegare queam quam verissime, "nunquam minus solus sum" (hoc præsertim in loco) "quam cum solus;" quique ita comparatus sum, ut mihi nunquam impensius placeam, quam cum nemini vestrum displicere me scio. Nec ut improperem vobis, quod maximi beneficii vice duco, profiteor, agnosco. Neque ut ad tenues epulas nostras ambitiose invitem præsentiam vestram, quæ spatio, quod occupatis, neutiquam gratior est, quod dici solet; imo ob contraria his omnia. Meas imprimis ut laudem atque deprædicem fortunas; amplissimum hoc et commodissimum domicilium qui tamdiu solus incoluerim, nullis hinc inde ruentis, trudentis, tumultuantis popelli factionibus perturbatum: qui liberrimi aëris spiritum hauserim, non halitibus tetris oscitantium, non sudantium fœtidis nidoribus infectum. Qui vociferantium nullis clamoribus lacessitus, nullis caperatarum frontium minis perterritus, a Momis procul omnibus et Zoilis, in tuta pelle, in tranquilla pace, in alto silentio placide conquieverim; qui sine ullo demum consorte imperii, sublimi solio insidens rex in vacua aula, longe fuerim lateque dominatus. Quinetiam, bene-

ficio vestro, quam in prospero statu positus, quam animo lætus et contentus agam, docente me et demonstrante certiores facti, ut mihi nec misero prorsus nec ingrato acclametis; optatissimam denique felicitatem hanc ut mihi sartam tectam conservare, meumque suavissimum somnum ne velitis importuno strepitu interpellare, quo a vobis impetrem precibus, argumentis evincam. Enimvero manere domi pergite, si sapitis; privatis studiis incumbite; versate libros, quos habetis, lectissimos; in amœna Musæi umbra delitescite; delicatis stragulis vos obvolvite; foco incolumes et hilares assidete; consulite quieti vestræ, valetudinem curate, genio indulgete. Quo domesticas delicias relinquere; lectionis filum abrumpere; vestes commutare, ad molestum iter vos accingere, cœli solique injuriis tenellas cuticulas exponere? eo scilicet ut per integram hic horam obrigescentes frigore, vel æstu tabefacti ineptulum quendam in obsoletæ vetustatis sterquilinio ruspantem, criticorum ludicris argutiis inhiantem, mythologorum putidas historiolas recensentem, grammaticorum inanes quisquilias corradentem sentiatis prælectorem. Mihi serio hæc optanti obsecrantique nullus dubito quin toto capite annuatis. Utcunque ut circumspecte agam, omnesque tranquillitatem meam invasuris aditus intercludam; ne qua vos, quid hic rei agatur ignaros, pernoscendi cupiditas trahat, aut præpostera illiciat curiositas, frequentius nos, quam vellem et par esset, invisendi; quid nostri consilii fuerit, quid sit, quid egerimus hactenus, quid porro acturi sumus, non gravabor vobis fideliter simul et luculente exponere. Mihi sane, simul atque hanc Spartam pro virili mea ornandam suscepissem, cum de authore prælegendo deliberandum esset, et ejusmodi aliquem deligere in animo fixum haberem, qui cum nulli antecessorum lectus publice, nec incommodæ molis ac facile parabilis esset, tum antiquitate etiam venerabilis, et existimatione clarus; dictionis quoque qui puritate, inventionis elegantia, sensuumque haud inficeta gravitate plerosque si non omnes excederet; hisce cunctis nominibus egregie commendatum Sophoclem, animo non potui oblatum repudiare; veteris tragœdiæ omnium fere suffragiis coryphæum; ab eloquii sincera suavitate apis Atticæ cognomento honestatum; de ingenii gloria, dum viveret, multis certaminibus susceptis, multisque palmis reportatis insignem; concinna quoque dispositione operis, personarum decora repræsentatione, majestate styli, sententiarum copia, pondere, fruge, et sapientia omnes a tergo poëtas relinquentem. Neque ille tamen talis, quantum scire potui, et conjectura assequi plerisque arrisit; nec miror admodum non arrisisse. Quippe antiqui seculi indolem quisquis cum nostri genio contulerit, immanes quantum comperiet illam ab hoc ut in habitu, in gestu, in moribus, et institutis vitæ, ita in sensibus animi, judiciisque cum concipiendis, tum enunciandis discrepare. Illis conceptuum aut nervosa vis, aut vividum acumen, aut magnifica sublimitas, aut temperatus lepos in deliciis erant: nobis elumbes et dissoluti sensus, futiles argutiæ, inanes pompæ, improbi et importuni sales præcipue cordi sunt. Illi humanæ vitæ imaginem affabre effingere; vivis coloribus depictos mores ob oculos ponere; aptam rebus et personis congruam orationem adhibere; e dictis frugis aliquid bonæ decerpere, meliores unde possent vel sapientiores evadere, imprimis satagebant. Nos nihil delectat nisi rarum ac insolens, ab usu communi abhorrens, præter morem ac supra fidem dictum; a quo ut aliqua forsitan voluptas, ita nulla certa utilitas unquam emergat. Mundus illis sermo, dilucidus, æqualis, adstrictus; nobis fucatus placet peregrinis lenociniis, nebulosa caligine offusus; salebris præruptus, diffluens ambagibus. Currentis illi impetum ingenii arte regere solebant, frano compescere; intra certos cancellos continere. Laxamus illi nos habenas, stimulos subdimus; extra orbitam sinimus temere evagari, in spatia quælibet effundimus. Duras illi denique, audaces e longinquo petitas metaphoras, portentosas hyperbolas, turgida epitheta, veluti nævos quosdam et corruptelas eloquii respuebant; ejusdem quæ nos tanquam sola lumina præcipuaque ornamenta omni studio captamus et aucupamur. Quidni igitur qui veterum palato tantopere gratus fuerit, nostro Sophocles insipidus videatur, nobisque nullo in numero sit, qui illorum calculo optimis authoribus accensetur? Utcunque mihi, cum non tam standum judicio proprio, quam vestræ voluptati obsequendum, versandumque ex-

istimem vobiscum, ceu cum regibus, ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα, ἢ ὡς ἥκιστα, vestra causa et gratia abdicare statui delicias meas; de pedibus cothurnum, e manibus Sophoclem abjicere, ipsamque adeo de nostra hac scena tragœdiam exterminare. Ejus vero quemnam loco substituam? magnum Homerum? at cui non ab annis plus bis mille tritum, excussum, evisceratum? Amœnum Theocritum? at divinis haud ita pridem clarissimi viri prælectionibus illustratum. Salsum Aristophanem? at apage nequam istum cum suis rancidis facetiis εἰς κόρακας, εἰς μακαρίαν suam. Itaque suadæ fulmen Demosthenem, melle Attico stillantem Isocratem, ingenii lima politissimum Lysiam? at quibus ille dulcis, cultus, splendidus poëta fastidio fuit, horum qui sperem stomacho jejunum præ illo aridumque rhetorem adblandiri? Quem igitur? nullum: imo aliquem: imo omnes, hoc est, in omnibus summum; seculorum ex quo orbi faustum sydus illuxit, omnium consonis suffragiis, literariæ reipublicæ perpetuum dictatorem; assurgite quotquot estis Musarum alumni, tantoque debitam nomini reverentiam præstate, Aristotelem; illum certe supra jactum invidiæ omnis, extraque periculum calumniæ in arce summa sublimis sapientiæ tuto collocatum; cui nemo erit, opinor, apud nos tam improbæ mentis, qui velit, tam perfrictæ frontis qui ausit, detrahere aut obtrectare. Utcunque ne licentia nuperorum temporum ille qui politicum statum turbavit, nequam genius, literarium quoque regnum pestilenti spiritu afflaverit, suoque per vim et tumultum legitimas in philosophia potestates justo obsequio spoliaverit; hanc tam belle oblatam occasionem non sinam præterlabi, philosophorum quotquot unquam fuerunt (forsitan et quotquot futuri sunt), merito suo, et orbis consensu, et academicarum legum præscripto, indubitato principi, jus suum, suumque honorem asserendi; vosque juvenes, si qui hactenus, aut novitatis œstro perciti, aut pravæ institutionis fascino incantati, ab officio descivistis, quatenus monendo licet et cohortando, in ordinem reducendi. Quod molientibus, illud imprimis fundamenti loco ratum nobis fixumque sit, imperitæ juventuti studiorum iter longum et anceps primo ingredienti, necessario ducem viæ quendam præstitui; in omnigenæ scientiæ vastum pelagus solventi cynosuram quandam obversari; aliquo filo per intricatos calles philosophici labyrinthi vestigia dirigi; sub certi imperatoris auspiciis scholastici tyrocinii debere fieri stipendia. Id nisi sit, per avios tramites, aut falsos, aut dubios, ut incerto errore distrahatur palabunda; ut nullum versus portum recto cursu delata per ingens æquor fluctibus variis ventisque adversis circumagatur; ut in cæca caligine perplexisque in angustiis versetur; ut denique nec in hostem arma expedire, nec ab adversarii insultibus seipsam valet protegere, necesse erit. Alienam fidem sequi debet, quæ suo judicio diffidere; ab alio manuducatur oportet, quæ marte proprio nequit gressus suos sustentare. Acquirendus est magister aliquis et fidus Musagetes, literarum alumnis abdita qui retegat, aspera læviget, obscura elucidet; qui in decursu studiorum ignaros dirigat, hæsitantes incitet, vagos cohibeat, errantes revocet, quomodocunque procedentes ductu fideli regat et moderetur. Ubi autem gentium, in qua parte temporum, qui hoc tam arduo fungatur officio, dignum aliquem atque idoneum reperiemus? Nostras plagas scrutemur, nostramque hanc consulamus decrepitam mundi senectutem, præ junioribus seculis quæ plus sapere sibi videtur, aliis plus delirare: at videtur hic, qui dicitur, senior mundus, quod ætate provectis usu venit, non tam nova proferre, quæ ipse nuper adinvenit, quam, quæ olim juvenis didicit, vetera effutire. Quotusquisque enim est recentiorum, quascumque literas tractantium, ex antiqua aliqua scaturigine qui lacunas suas non derivavit, qui prioribus saltem fundamentis fabricam suam non superexstruxit? Solenne est nostro seculo consepultas e ruderibus philosophias eruere; naufragi temporis tabulas colligere; priscorum non sanctorum modo, sed et philosophorum reliquias venerari: Zenonis porticum hic collapsam instaurare; ille nutantes academiæ muros suffulcire; emarcidum alter Gargettii senis hortum reseminare; dispersas nonnemo Democriti atomos recolligere; plerique vero perenni et illibata hactenus gloria florentis Lycei recolere agressi sunt doctrinam et perpolire. Nec defuerunt, qui ut veterum in veritate indaganda conatus sugillarent, errata detegerent, authorita-

tem convellerent, ingenii nervos omnes intenderint; de novo interim ipsi, quum aliena destruxissent, erigendo artium systemate non admodum soliciti. Totius enim sapientiæ integram compagem, membrorum apto nexu cohærentem, speciosa methodo digestam, certis principiis subnixam, novatorum hactenus nemo extitit, studio quidem nostro aut imitatione dignus, qui efformaverit. Quo igitur nos conferamus, oportet? unde, quam expetimus, institutio haurienda est? unde, nisi ab antiquitatis limpido fonte? ab illis qui veritatem nudam, nativaque specie oblatam primi occuparunt; qui e rerum fideli archetypo, non e fallacibus scriptorum apographis naturæ ideam exsculpserunt; qui sui ingenii virtute, non alieni subsidio, ab experientia domestica, non a peregrina fide sapientes evaserunt. Ast illorum, quia multæ sunt, cui potissimum sectæ nomina addicamus? ad quam scholam discendi causa dociles adeamus? An ad academiam, Platonis veterem, Arcesilæ mediam, novam Carneadis? at ab illis qui sperèmus discere aliquid, qui se nihil scire profitentur? illis quomodo credamus, qui sibi ipsis penitus diffidunt? qui pro certa scientia ἀπορίαν ancipitem, pro valido assensu timidam ἐποχὴν, pro aperta veritate nubilam nobis ἀκαταληψίαν substituunt: qui cum nulla spe inveniendi quæritant; sine assequendi proposito ad scopum collimant; absque studio vincendi, pro vero nihil refert, an contra verum, pertinaciter decertant; quorum denique nullis principiis fulta, nullo ordine disposita, nullis terminis circumscripta exorbitat semper, vacillat, fluctuat oratio. Num stoa igitur studiorum nobis sit pro vestibulo? at verborum confuso strepitu illic quoque res agitur: terminorum perplexa varietate irretita veritas detinetur; nullo systemate constringuntur artes; nulla methodo disserendi licentia cohibetur; eadem subinde ad ravim usque millies ingeminantur: tetricis quoque sententiarum prodigiis, immanibusque paradoxis discentium citius obruatur fides, quam ratio illustratur: quid ergo? in Epicuri stabulum, magnifice nuper refectum, academicam pecudem agamus? in illam nempe haram, quæ dijudicandæ veritati sensum præficit, non rationem; quæ pro accurata logica rudem nobis canonicam venditat; quæ dolore miseriam, non vitio; voluptate beatitudinem, non virtute metitur; quæ a divino Numine conditum mundum negat, a fortuita atomorum concussione asserit generatum; eundemque cæco impetu ferri, non a provida sapientia gubernari. Ut præteream rebus inane nescio quod interspergi, sponte sua omnia continuo in præceps ruere; e corpusculis animas conflari; materiæ effluviis objecta repræsentari, sensus affici, cerebri loculamenta compleri; reliquasque lutulentæ istius philosophiæ sordes, miserum quibus esset profecto sincerum indolis vestræ candorem deturpari. De aliis non est quod admodum laboremus: etenim Democriti puteum oppilavit ætas, Empedoclis litem decidit, Anaxagoræ homoiomoreias dispulit, Pythagoræ sempiternum silentium indixit; antiquorum fere omnium cogitata, scripta, monumenta Saturnino dente devoravit.

Superest ut in unum Aristotelem spes nostræ velut in sacram anchoram reclinent: ut ad Lyceum ceu ad arcem sophiæ munitissimam, portum studii certissimum, sanctissimam aram disciplinæ confugiamus. Non hic unam aliquam scientiam a reliquis avulsam, sed omnes liberali ingenio dignas arcta inter se societate connexas et uniformi filo pertextas habemus, ut aliunde opus non sit ad supplendum defectum subsidia corrogare. Hinc ad prompte inveniendum, ad perite judicandum, ad subtiliter disserendum, ad sophisticas præstigias caute eluendas, optimis legibus mens nostra, certissimis præceptis, fidissimis præsidiis munitur: ad persuadendum apte ornateque dicendi artificio lingua imbuitur; ad bene beateque ex virtutis præscripto vivendum privati mores informantur; dispensandæ familiæ, reique publicæ administrandæ accurata ratio describitur; naturæ accidentia, vires, principia mirabili solertia eruuntur; naturalis historiæ thesaurus ingens expanditur; de anima, de intelligentiis, de Deo, quatenus fas est, et naturali lumine fieri potest, erudite atque nervose disceptatur; problemata denique innumera, perjucunda, perque utilia summo cum ingenii judiciique acumine pertractantur. Perfecta ex hoc armario scholasticæ militiæ panoplia instruamur licet; ad veritatem muniendam valla, ad paralogismos propulsandos scuta, ad profligandos errores tela, ad animos inflammandos faces, ad acuenda ingenia cotes,

ad orationem denique corroborandam nervos, ad illustrandam lumina, ad locupletandam opes ad exornandam colores et flosculos depromamus. Omni pariter ætati instituendæ deservit; literarum jacienti fundamenta pueritiæ; ad perfectum eruditionis statum enitentibus viris; ad summum senectuti sapientiæ culmen aspiranti. Amœnum aperit præsertim studiosæ juventuti patentemque campum, in quo cum animi innoxia quadam petulantia, ceu in lætis pascui juvenculi, exultent, curtis cornibus se invicem petant, ferocule concertent, ira leniter æstuent, æmulatione incendantur, voluptate lasciviant. Non ut novitia quædam philosophemata meditatione nimia obtundit aciem, frangit vim, retardat impetum, alacritatem extinguit ingenii pubescentis. Ut artium modo usitatos terminos addiscat, vulgares regulas commendet memoriæ, faciles nodos expediat, leves quæstiunculas ventilet, ludicris velitationibus ut in palæstra vires exerceat, dat illis negotii quibus

Κραιπνότερος μὲν γάρ τε νόος, λεπτὴ δέ τε μῆτις.

Philosophia quippe hæc non ad figmenta mentis arbitraria exigitur; non ad insensiles causas recurrit; non ad absonas hypotheses delabitur; nullis chimæris pascit animos, nullis tormentis ingenia cruciat, nulla vertigine phantasias rotat auditorum. Non ut læves globulos detornet, subtilis materiæ pulvisculos corradat, minutulas strias intorqueat, æthereas arces invadat, telluris viscera perscrutetur, novos denique ut perfodiat mundos, allaborat, sed ut hunc contempletur. Ad naturæ indolem apertam, ad mentis insitas species, ad experientiæ infallibilem normam, ad popularem sensum, ad captum se discentis accommodat. A vocabulorum pervulgata acceptione definitiones expromit; a primis notionibus elicit principia, ex observatione regulas condit, ex rerum inter se diligenter collata perspectaque habitudine argumenta venatur; a præjudicii scopulis non minus, quam scepticismi syrtibus declinans; nec incertis temere credi vult, nec proterve manifestis repugnari; non anxie fluctuat semper pen detque animi, quasi ad veri aspectum perhorrescat; sed nec præfracte quidlibet affirmat, subinde sapientum illa δῆλον, φανερὸν, δέδεικται, persæpe vero prudentum ἴσως, τάχα, δοκεῖ, dictis intertexens. Methodum adhibet, nec laxam et nimis solutam; nequa quam ut ei juvenilis patientia assuescat moresius, sed expeditam et liberam, ad disciplinæ juxta discentisque genium conformatam; enucleate propositum explicans, presseque persequens, si res ferat; sin abnuat, crassiori Minerva, ὁλοσχερῶς καὶ ὡς ἐν τύπῳ perstringens. Utcunque nec inanibus procemiis captat unquam, nec molestis ambagibus detinet, nec vagis diverticulis circumducit auditorem; ad rem ipsam continuo se accingit, prompte aggreditur, stricte adhærescit; rebus semper quam verbis densior, argumentis quam sententiis uberior, rationis quam orationis affluentior; curto ut plurimum pugione dimicans, non prælongo acinace, uno fere prælio debellat, unico ictu prosternit adversarium; Pactoli quidem cujusdam instar, aut Tagi (quod de eo Latini prædicat eloquii princeps), flumen orationis aureum fundens, non torrentem luteum, ripas intra suas, nec justos canales excedentem. Judicii porro liberrimi est Stagirita noster, nec inverecundi tamen; animi excelsi sed minime superbi et arrogantis; ab antiquioribus istis ut sæpenumero dissentire, errantes eos nonnunquam refellere, forsan et reprehendere non vereatur; nusquam tamen inique carpat, aut acerbis conviciis lacessat; interdum vero præclaris elogiis ornet dilaudetque adversarios. Cujus modestiæ a recentioribus quibusdam, magni alioquin nominis viris, justas utinam vices reportasset: totius antiquitatis fidem qui posthabentes suæ, nedum ut de posterorum judicio soliciti essent, tantum virum, deliberalibus disciplinis tam optime meritum, nec unius duntaxat Ciceronis sententia, sed omnium pene hominum consensu, philosophiæ principem, omni authoritate exuere, suoque a throno præcipitem deturbare haud contenti, exutum nudatumque infensis plagis persequi; jacentem atque prostratum immundis pedibus obterere; fastuoso supercilio despicere, scurrilibus dicteriis impetere, opprobriorum venenatis spiculis transfigere non dubitarint: (irrito quidem conatu illi, ut faculis suis lucem commodarent, solem euntes extinctum.) Parco nominibus; crimina prætereo quæ objiciunt sycophantæ: (quidni enim sycophantæ mihi audiant, Aristotelis qui toties venerandum nomen sophistæ tituloaspergunt?)

neutrorum recensione dehonestabo orationem meam. Istorum certe jam satis videor cum demonstrasse inscitiam, tum iniquitatem arguisse; siquidem veluti admoto recto curvi eo ipso enormitas detegitur, utque immisso lumine sponte sua tenebræ evanescunt, ita veris hujus, quas recitavi, laudibus, putidæ illorum, quas intendunt, calumniæ diluuntur. Quibus unicam superaddo, forinsecus quidem adnatam, nec eo tamen minus eximia præditam vi et efficacia, vestrisque quæ per se sola sufficiat non conciliandis tantum et alliciendis huc animis, sed impellendis fortiter, et plane cogendis. Quod nempe cum hæc philosophia diuturna consuetudine temporum, hominumque acerrimo studio per sinus intimos omnimodæ scientiæ seipsam defuderit; suoque disciplinas omnes subtilissimo spiritu pervaserit, et quasi animaverit; cum nulla non facultas methodum ab ipsa suam, sua principia, suosque terminos mutuetur; cum sine illius ope et subsidio nec jurisprudentiæ subtiles apiculos attingere, nec medicinæ salubres succos degustare, nec ipsius theologiæ sanctissimis mysteriis initiari, nec academica ullatenus munia obire possitis, peritia ejus qualiscunque non jucunda tantum vobis et optabilis, sed summe utilis sit, et prorsus necessaria. Nolite igitur, lectissimi juvenes, tanti Imperatoris, cui academiæ albo, quum inscripti essetis, solenni sacramento fidem obstrinxistis, e justa militia in factiosorum castra transfugere; nolite ab antiquissimi clarissimique præceptoris disciplina ad novam aliquam et ignobilem sectam deficere; nolite denique e tritissima probatissimaque semita ad salebras istas digredi studiorum, temporis dispendia, ingenii cruces, industriæ offendicula. Saltem in Aristotelis assidua lectione, si non materiæ gravitas, sensus acumen, doctrinæ utilitas, at orationis retineat vos eximia dignitas, et singularis eloquii præstantia. Ab illo si minus sapere, at dicere saltem ut discatis ne dedignemini; nec si ab eo mentem instrui, linguam quoque ideo poliri recusetis. Est enim is certe, si quis alius veterum, Græci sermonis gravissimus author, optimusque magister dicendi; dictionis exquisita proprietate, venusta puritate, nitida elegantia, lepida suavitate, nervosa vi, nativaque mirifice pollens ubertate. Ut vel hoc nomine prout a clarissimis oratoribus amplissime meruit celebrari, ita manibus vestristeri dignus sit, mentibus concipi, memoriis insculpi. In qua facultate haud adeo mirum sit si tantopere excellat, ejus artem qui tam intime perspexit, tam perite tradidit, tam diserte, tam copiose. Eum ut merito ceu præviam facem oratorum ille rex et parens facundiæ præ omnibus sequi se, suspicere, imo admirari disertis sæpe verbis confirmet, et fateatur. Hujus itaque præclarissimi authoris scripta, præsertim ἐξωτερικά, cum pro officii nostri ratione legenda mihi ac interpretanda, proposuerim, ab iis, qui *de arte rhetorica ad Theodecten* communiter inscribuntur, libris auspicabor; illorum æmulatus morem, qui os solent prius ad loquelam, quam aut animum ad scientias, aut ad virtutem mores informare. Expectatis jam forsan, imo metuitis, ut de rhetorica dicam aliquid; ut eloquentiæ diutius immorer encomiis celebrandæ: quasi vero ipsa se satis rhetorica non esset dicendo; quasi non ad laudandam eloquentiam ipsa imprimis opus sit eloquentia, a qua ego tam longe absum, tam vehementer abhorreo, ut ad ejus vel stupeam nomen, ad solam mentionem obmutescam. Dixi.

ORATIO HABITA IN COMITIIS.

Bonum factum, Academici, quod divina aspirante clementia, fama nequicquam occlamitante (vel infamia potius, quæ plerosque nos omnes aut tumulis mortuos inclusit, aut lectis ægros affixit) Libitina exempti, feralibusque purpuris exuti, vivi (Deo Sospitatori gratias) valentesque, quinimo vegeti atque robusti, comparemus hodie, ostro festiviore succincti prodimus, Academici puerperii solennia recolimus, et nedum ipsi propitia valetudine gaudemus, at multam amicis nostris salutem impertimus.

Nos, inquam, divino beneficio salvi salvos esse jubemus, hospites nostri quotquot adestis, sive quondam hujus, sive nunc alterius academiæ alumni, charissimi fratres, dilectissimique consobrini, quoscunque vel propensa charitas vel honesta curiositas huc adduxerunt, seu ad invisendum decumbentem academiam, seu ad congratulandum erectam, seu ad

illam utcunque præsentia vestra cohonestandum recreandumque.

Multum sane, si quandocunque, nunc præsertim affectui vestro debere se persentiscit alma mater, quod malignis rumoribus haudquaquam absterriti, ad iter vos accingere veriti non estis, nec viarum tædia subire gravati, neque sorti nostræ vestram adjungere dedignati; id utique vobis imponentes negotii, ne mœsta solitudine laboraret academia, ne deserta prorsus aut amicis destituta videretur, ne comitia publica private celebraret, aut incelebrata potius clanculum obiret.

Quo magis exoptandum mihi sit, illa nunc auspicanti, expectatione vestra dignam, auribusque vestris haud ingratam, qua vos excipiam, orandi contigisse materiam; quæ et meam eloquendi tenuitatem suppleat, vestram expleat cupiditatem audiendi.

Neque votis fortuna meis omnio refragatur, cum multa tam florentis indicia, quam crescentis academiæ præsagia, quæ et præsentis status felicitatem luculente monstrant, et futuri spem abunde fovent, ultro res ipsa dicturo subministret.

Si quidem imprimis Musæ nostræ fausto patrocinio, certo præsidio, beneficoque fruuntur influxu illustrissimi juxta ac optimi cancellarii, ad academiæ protegendam salutem, provehendum decus, privilegia vindicanda, remque publicam nostram quomodocunque conservandam, exornandam, amplificandam, prompto studio, valida ope, stabili gratia paratissimi; quo nullus, opinor, ab omni memoria contigit ad commodis nostris subveniendum aut voluntate pronior, aut opera potentior, aut successu felicior; cujus ad omnimodas laudes, ad excelsas virtutes, ad gloriosa facinora justo præconio celebrandum cum facultas mea non aspiret, cum ad indolis heroicæ splendorem, animique coruscam magnitudinem nostra præstringatur acies; cum ad Martium ardorem, et militarem peritiam, ad fulminatum Mosam, et expugnatum Trajectum (perennis historiæ stylo debitum Monumethanæ fortitudinis et famæ monumentum) vox contremiscat; id saltem officii ratio vel invitis et impotentibus eliciat, ne tam spectatam in nos eximiam benignitatem silentio penitus involvamus, aut amplissima beneficia nobis collata non agnoscendo vel stupide vecordes, vel perdite ingrati videamur; neque quod academia tanti Mæcenatis non illustri solum nomine decorata fulgeat, felicibusque sub auspiciis vigeat, ast singulari quoque benevolentia (nullam non seu captante seu arripiente benefaciendi occasionem) munita permaneat, subtrahenda fuit ansa nobis opportune gestiendi, vobisque libenter gratulandi.

Tum professorem cathedra nostra possidet ejusmodi virum, eo animi vigore ingeniique acumine, ea judicii soliditate, ea facundiæ splendida amœnitate, limpida ubertate, nervosaque vi; ea eruditionis amplitudine et copia; ea demum solertia, diligentiaque præcellentem, ut quamlibet academiam ipse solus beare, solus insignire et illustrare valeat; de quo plura taceo, ne aut ipsius modestiam irritem, aut soli lucem affundere videar; cum laudes nullas Hercules ille theologicus desideret, apud vos præsertim, quibus ipsius dotes nullatenus incompertæ sunt aut erunt: si quidem aut memores estis eorum quæ antehac gesta sunt, aut iis quæ nunc geruntur attentionem debitam præstatis.

Accedunt alii facultatum, linguarum, mathematum professores, suo quisque peculiari dignissimus elogio, si vel ipsi proprio suo merito non satis inclarescerent, vel eorum famam perfunctoria nostra commendatio valeret adæquare.

Quid, quod numerosam alma mater jam enixa sobolem, in utriusque reipublicæ subsidium, inque posterorum solatium confert, optima ni fallimur indole præditam, et probe disciplinis excultam?

En et vobis, hospites, liberaliter excipiendis, ad disputandi munia comparatos, viros eximios; imprimis theologum insignem, quem frustra sit verbis meis laudare, sa factis suis mox abunde commendaturum; eo saltem nomine non laudes modo nostras sed et grates ample promeritum, quod honori publico modestiam suam litavit, sibique vim inferri passus est, ut gratam hanc vobis operam impenderet; quin ecce (ut egregios medicos præteream et jurisconsultos, Utopianis nihilo pauciores aut deteriores; ecce dico) philosophum nobilissimum, magnanimæ radicis surculum haud degenerem, vultu juvenem, animo virum, (ingenio, judicio, eruditione, virtute maturum) togæ decus et comitiorum sydus, non splendore natalium, quam dotum et meritorum excellentia præ'ustrius; cujus

præclaram indolem suavissimosque mores cum reliquus vitæ tenor explicet, tum vel hoc unum specimen luculente demonstrat, quod partes hasce tam comiter suscipere voluit, quam feliciter valet sustinere. Porro, dum oppidi plateas et pomæria, dum singula Musarum hospitia, florentioris ætatis vestigia cupide repetentes perlustratis, ecce vobis nova passim ædificia seu perfecta seu adfecta, illa cœlis nuper inserta, hæc e terris modo prorumpentia, se ostentant; quæ certe spectacula, etiamnum pubescentis academiæ staturamque suam protendentis argumenta clarissima, quin oculos vestros jucundissime percellant, quin animos uberrima voluptate perfundant, nefas existimo dubitare; tanta siquidem almæ parenti nostræ incrementa accedere, tanta Musis ornamenta adponi, tantis subsidiis rem literariam adaugeri, quis ingenue cordatus non gaudeat, non gestiat? Neque ferme vobis opinor quicquam auditu gratius (sicuti mihi dictu nil lætius) obveniat, quam in hoc ad extremam duritiam vergenti seculo, non ita penitus eviluisse literas, non ubique generosos spiritus adeo defecisse, ne plurimi supersint fidissimi Musarum amici amplissimique patroni; qui nedum iis voluntate favent, ast reipsa prosunt; nedum illas benevolo complectuntur affectu, sed benefica quoque manu prosequuntur: cujus ego nuncii tam certus testis, quam lubens præco sum, quanti cum fratribus meis moliminis particeps, tantum optimorum hominum (immortali laude dignissimam, effusaque cum gratitudine perpetuo commemorandam) munificentiam expertus; qua nempe factum est, ut non prorsus temere tantas spes concepisse, tanta posteris studiorum adminicula destinasse, tantum (præfiscine dixerim) academiæ nostræ, pene dixissem et Anglicæ genti, decus affectasse videamur.

Quid enim? annon gentis nostræ peculiaris est gloria, quod literis tam indulgenter, tam provide, tam opima liberalitate consuluit; ut nuspiam gentium adeo clara prostent hujusce divinissimæ munificentiæ monumenta; nusquam Musæ tam commode versentur, tam laute degant, tam decore splendideque habitent? Cum aliis gentibus Martiæ virtutis et Mercurialis ingenii famam dividamus oportet, at liberalis in disciplinas animi laudem nobis integram, et ab æmulis intactam, reservamus. Cum enim urbes alibi conspicere liceat magnificis templis, superbis palatiis, juridicis curiis, Mercatoriis porticibus, ambulacris, aquæductibus, portubus, ædibus quibuscumque publicis eleganter et affabre constructis exornatas; cum suum unaquæque natio Londinum exhibeat; ubinam vero tot eruditioni devota sacraria, tanta scientiarum emporia, tales Musarum basilicas sol aspicit? quid Oxonio simile, quid Cantabrigiæ par habent, quod delicata monstrat Italia, quod grandiloqua crepet Hispania, quod gloriosa jactet Gallia? quidni proinde dum academias ornamus augemusque, simul et Anglici nominis majestatem promovere videamur? Quibus ideo cœptis ausisque nostris (quo estis ingenuo mentis candore præditi, quo in literas studio propendetis, quo rem publicam affectu complectimini) adsistetis et vos, hospites benignissimi, tam animo benevoli fautores, quam opera qua licet benefici promotores; id ut a vobis præfidenter emendicare non ausim, ita facile mihi polliceri non vereor, quod ultro tantum parturientibus fœtum aut obstetricantes admovebitis manus aut votis saltem annuentes propitiam nobis Lucinam advocabitis.

Hisce nimirum præludiis ad illa viam sternimus, spem erigimus animosque comparamus, augustiora nostræ reipublicæ incrementa; theatrum utique quod disputantium jurgiis hoc templum exoneret, et quo sanniorum ineptiæ relegentur; bibliothecam, quæ supellectilem nostram librariam, haud sane curtam, apte capiat, et quam tot optimi auctores laxius atque liberius incolant, tam arcto limite minus æstuantes; scholas denique publicas, illustris nostræ reipublicæ amplitudine dignas, quibusque pulcherrimam et suavissimam istam Germanam nostram ut mentis indole plurimum referimus, ita vultus specie propius attingamus.

Sed enim, inquietis, structuris auctiorem et cultiorem (affatim collætantibus nobis) academiam repræsentas; ecquid autem est de studiorum profectu, de morum cultura, de virtutis et pietatis augmentis quod eloquaris et enarres? Imo de his multa succurrerent dicenda, nisi subvererer aut laudando blandus assenta-

tor, aut reprehendendo importunus censor, aut utcunque judicia vestra præoccupando temerarius arbiter existimari.

Quapropter ista dicendi forma consulto posthabita, ad vos potius, academica pubes, oratione conversa, ut studiis acriter incumbatis, ut ad virtutem mores sedulo componatis, tantisper cohortabor. Cohortabor, inquam; at quorsum, forsan obmurmuretis, hoc thema detritum, obsoletum, et rancidum attingere? quorsum toties excoctam cramben reponere? quorsum ad hæc animitus intentos dirigere, vel aculeis sponte currentes instigare? Imo vero magnopere jam refert hujusmodi paræneses instaurari; ut salubria monita crebro nunc instillentur, serio imprimantur, valideque inculcentur, peculiaris ratio temporum justius exposcit, præsens conditio rerum vehementius efflagitat, publicæ necessitates districtius exigunt, et quodammodo extorquent. Jam enim præsertim ut velis omnibus remisque summam ad eruditionem contendatis, ut impensiore cura et intentiore solertia ad exquisitam virtutem annitamini, non e re vestra tantum, quantum ex usu publico est.

Cum multa perpetuo suppetant argumenta, quibus ingenuæ mentes ad studia provocentur, alliciantur, incendantur; quum plurima nunquam desint, quæ cordatos homines ad vitam probe pureque transigendam impellant ac exstimulent; plura saltem et validiora res jam subdunt irritamenta. Non tam animi gratia, vel ut privato satisfaciatis officio, quam reipublicæ causa, et ut publicis commodis succurratis, impigre jam studendum, incorrupte vivendum est. Non inquam, jam ideo præsertim studendum est, ut mentes vestras scientiæ suavi salubrique esca pascatis, cultu splendido ornetis, honesta voluptate deliniatis; ut ex eruditione claritatem adsciscatis, opes conquiratis, dignitates assequamini; non idcirco bene vivendum, ut alacri conscientia, integra fama, spe jucunda fruamini, salutemque denuo propriam consequamini: sed enim potius ad nobiliores quodammodo scopos collimantes, ut inde subsidio præsidioque vestro rempublicam his egentem adjuvetis, labantem sustentetis, periclitantem conservetis.

In eo siquidem cardine jam nostra omnium salus vertitur, in eo præsertim ecclesiæ fortuna versatur, quam undique densis agminibus infensi perduelles circumsistunt, omnibus machinis admotis illam impetentes, cunctis, illam viribus ferociter oppugnantes, cum infesta signa palam inferentes, tum subdolas insidias clam intendentes.

In vestrum sinum veritas, variis ab hostibus vexata, variisque fluctibus jactata, nusquam tranquilla confugit, ipsius vos assertores et vindices, vos protectores et propugnatores unicos implorans; nec ea jam omnino pacata frui licet, nisi confestim ad certamen vos accingatis, in arenam descendatis, strenue depugnetis, ipsam vobis vi et armis asseratis.

Vestram religio fidem invocat, et promptas a vobis suppetias deposcit; quam importuni scilicet adversarii hi penitus evertere student, illi misere pervertere connituntur.

Vestra (si quidem ulla mortali) opera pax ut factionibus discerpta resarciatur, ordo ut turbis conquassatus instauretur, salus ut mille periculis involuta extricetur, jam præstolantur.

Multi jam ad portas Hannibales, agros nostros incursant, muros nostros obsident, vallis nostris insultant, nisi vos vigilanter adsistatis, nisi viriliter obsistatis, statim irrupturi, statim omnia direpturi. Innumeros perpetim Capitolinus ille flamen catholici sui potentatus satellites e castris suis, e claustris, e seminariis effundit, copiosis opibus dotatos, amplissimisque mercedibus conductos, armis valide munitos, animisque vehementer accensos, quibus nihil aliud est pensi, quam ut populis irrepant, virusque suum infundant, ut lubricos in castra transfugas abripiendo ecclesiam nostram, depopulentur, devastent, debellent, atque sub jugum mittant.

Multos parasynagogæ nostræ zizaniorum satores, turbarum incentores, nequitiæ et ineptiæ præcones fovent, animi præfracta contumacia, frontis impenetrabili duritia, ingenii versatilis astutia, linguæque volubilis efficacia ad vulgus seducendum mirifice comparatis, quibus et illud religio est (unica forsan religio) religionem nostram pessundare.

Quinimo complures tellus nostra gigantes protulit, impietatis immanes zelotas ac pugiles acerimos; qui bello cœlis indicto, Deum e rebus extrudere, pietatem ab animis invellere mordicus adnituntur.

Quibus universis vos ferme solos ecclesia, veritas, pietas, habent quos opponant, salutis suæ patronos et propugnatores; vestris sua Pergama dextris defendenda committit, et accredit! A vobis utique nemo non expetit, non expectat, ingruentes cervicibus nostris hinc duram servitutem, improbas fraudes et imposturas, inde profanam infidelitatem, ineffrænem licentiam, factiosam pervicaciam, et enthusiasticos furores depelli.

Quæ si minus præstentur, aut male succedant; si veritas erroribus succumbat, si ab impietate religio profligetur; si quicunque prævaleant inimici, vel ecclesiæ status utcunque convellatur, totum id quicquid emerserit dispendii vestræ adscribetur inscitiæ, vel ignaviæ improperabitur; et dum aliis forsan in damnum aut in ruinam cedet, vobis duntaxat in crimen et opprobrium computabitur; neque quisquam tunc erit, qui frustra vobis invidenda hæc otia contigisse, incassum in vos uberes istos proventus erogari, immerito tantam vobis existimationem competere, tantam in vobis spem collocari non exclamabit.

Cæterum ut his partibus rite defungamini, non segnis præstabit opera, non tenuis sufficiet industria, non modicæ facultates satis conducent; quin eo opus erit, ut ingenii nervos omnes intendatis, ut nulli non disciplinæ gnaviter insudetis, ut omnigena eruditione non leviter tincti sitis, at funditus imbuamini: nec enim sperandum est, ut nuda veritas armatos errores subigat; ut imbellis pietas giganteam audaciam prosternat; ut ecclesia solo nomine suo se indefensa tueatur; ut, nisi validis armis instructi, tot hostium copias sustinere, tantos aggressorum impetus reprimere valeatis.

Veritatem nonulli veteratores antiquitatis obtentu suppressum eunt; qui nempe dum novitia sua commenta, cruda dogmata, musteos ritus hesternasque traditiones propinant obtruduntque nobis, nihil interim magis quam profundam vetustatem prætexunt, Patres citant, synodos crepant, veteres historiolas narrant; quorum ut Gibeoniticam simulationem detegatis fallacesque larvas detrahatis, eludatis technas, erroresque refellatis, antiquitatis et ipsi scrinia diligenter excutere, Patrum scripta assidua manu revolvere, conciliorum decreta et historiarum monumenta percallere debetis.

Alii sophisticis tricis spinosisque cavillis errores involvant, obtusæ naris animique simplicis homines, velut araneæ muscas subtilitatum laqueis irretientes; et demonstrationes subinde nescio quas (frivolas quidem illas, sed intricatas et captiosas) venditantes; cujusmodi præstigias ut quo et facile perspicere et expedite detorquere valeatis, uti solidioris omnis philosophiæ exquisitam notitiam indipiscamini, ut et non vulgari disputandi solertia polleatis, ita et scholasticis argutiis strophisque dialectis, quantum suffecerit, assuescatis oportet.

Sunt qui plebeculam auribus prehensam ab ecclesia divellunt; profluí sermonis illecrebris et populari suada demulcentes ipsam, inque suos casses illicientes; quo rum ad assultas coërcendos, expedit et vos flexanimi vim eloquii comparare, ejusce præsertim, quod ad vulgi captum hominumque communem sensum accommodatur.

Alii naturæ singularem sibi peritiam arrogantes, methesisque præ se ferentes eximium studium, ex Epicurea penu de promptis telis religioni pugnam intentant; neque cujusquam rei magis satagunt, quam ut divinam e mundo potestatem ac providentiam eliminent; horum ingratissimorum certe mortalium ut detestanda compescatis ausa, vestri quoque plurimum interest naturæ penetralia scrutari, mundi phænomena curiose speculari, rerum causas solerter indagare, diffusum per omnia Numen et singulis rebus impressa divinæ sapientiæ vestigia cum ipsi deprehendere, tum aliis commonstrare; quin et istis (quibus hi feroculi sciolique nebulones tantopere insolescunt) mathematis ingenium vestrum exercere, excitare et exacuere.

Neque demum linguas negligatis licet, scientiarum claves et eruditiones vestibula; sine quibus ipsi nec doctos intelligere, nec indoctos potestis erudire; et sapientia vobis vel nulla vel infans sit oportet.

Ista scilicet, Academici, tot et tanta rerum momenta vos ad quibuscunque studiis acriter incumbendum non tam invitant et suadent, quam urgent et cogunt; si vel existimationi vestræ publicæque de vobis opinioni satisfactum, vel almæ matris honori dignitatique prospectum, vel ecclesiæ saluti pacique consultum vultis;

imo (quod istis præpollet omnibus) si vobis cordi sit vestro erga Deum officio perfungi, divinæque gloriæ inservire.

Neque jam segniores ad honestam frugique vitam instituendam hic temporum status seculique genius stimulos admovent vobis; cum enim ubique terrarum perniciosa licentia grassetur, pravæ consuetudines invalescant, dissoluti mores inolescant, pestiferorum dogmatum corruptelæ serpant, dissoluti mores contagiosis exemplis propagentur, cum passim alibi luxuria furat, discordia flagret, ignavia stagnet, improbitas omniscunque triumphet et dominetur; unde præterquam a vobis, inundantibus hisce malis obex aliquis, aut epidemicis hisce morbis remedium quodpiam expectetur? quo profuga virtus nisi ad hoc asylum se conferat? ubinam integritas nisi in hoc portu conquiescat? qua in arce sobrietas incolumis consistat? qua in officina solertia se exerceat? ubi mentis alma simplicitas, illibatus candor, suavis humanitas, et intemerata modestia non solium in quo regnent dico, sed locum ubi commorentur, inveniant? ubi sanctior et strictior disciplina vigeat? unde vivendi certæ normæ, vel exemplaria clara desumantur? quam aliam vitæ cynosuram respiciat mundus, in opinionum salo fluctuans, aut inter errorum syrtes et scopulos velificans? Enimvero nisi vos prompte succurritis, haud sanctis tantummodo præceptionibus homines ad optima quæque dirigentes, strenuis hortatibus impellentes, sed et illustribus exemplis conspicue prælucentes, de rebus humanis conclamatum est, ferinam in rabiem et belluinas sordes degenerat seculum; in præceps omnia ruunt, ac infimum vitiorum in barathrum subto demerguntur.

Quinetiam ut huc unusquisque serio mentem advertat, invigiletque solicite, jam præsertim opportunum est, quoniam in vos ceu virtutis unicos magistros ducesque, ceu morum præcipuos arbitros atque censores, flagitiorum asseclæ animum perquam iniquum infensumque gerunt; unde malignitates et invidiæ furialibus œstris perciti famæ vestræ perpetim insidias struunt, sequiores de vobis rumusculos captant, et Academiis dedecus impingendi undecunque prætextus aucupantur: quo magis si quando alias nunc certe vobis omnibus impensius allaborandum est, neque vobis labes adspergatur, nequa purrigatur ansa mores vestros sugillandi; quin ut in his potius tanta pelluceat integritas, quanta facile tam a bonis et sapientibus viris laudem eliciat, quam improborum atque vecordium obtrectationis compescat. Sive genio seculi ad luxum atque licentiam proclivis, laxæ quicquam consuetudinis huc irrepserit, aut intruserit se, nostrosque suo contagio mores afflaverit, id protinus omne discutiatis et expurgetis.

Hæc, Academici, utinam ego non hac languida frigidaque (per tempestatis licet et occupationum æstus excogitata) oratione tenuiter innuere, leviterque perstringere, sed efficaciore vi quadam dicendi vestrum in pectus altius imprimere, clavisque quasi trabalibus infigere potuissem; utcunque quod exilis facultas dicendo consequi non potuit, enavabit animus vovendo præstare; neque mihi fervidæ preces unquam deerunt, ut mentem Deus Opt. Max. vobis inspiret educatione vestra dignam, industrium in præcordiis vestris vigorem accendat, rectissimos in tramites vitæ vestræ cursum disponat; studiis denique vestris et institutis feliciter obsecundet. Dixi.

DE SESTERIO.

		Lib.	Sol.	Dem.	ob. 2a.	Q. 4a.	C. 8a.	16a.
IIS. Sestertius, 2 1-2 æris.	1	000	00	01	1	1	0	3
	2	000	00	03	1	1	1	0
	3	000	00	05	1	1	0	1
X Denarius, 10 æris.	4	000	00	07	1	1	0	0
	5	000	00	09	1	0	0	3
	6	000	00	11	1	0	1	0
	7	000	01	01	0	0	0	1
	8	000	01	03	1	0	0	0
	9	000	01	05	0	1	0	3
	10	000	01	07	0	1	1	
	20	000	03	02	0	3	0	
	30	000	04	10	0	0	1	
Centum æris, 10 denarii.	40	000	06	05	1	0	0	
	50	000	08	00	0	3	1	
	60	000	09	08	0	1	0	
	70	000	11	03	1	0	0	
	80	000	12	11	0	0		
	90	000	14	06	0	1	1	
	100	000	16	01	0	3		
	200	001	12	02	1	0		
	300	002	08	05	0	1		
Mille æris, 100 denarii.	400	003	04	07	0	0		
	500	004	00	08	0	3		
	600	004	16	10	1	1		
	700	005	13	00	0	1		
	800	006	09	02	0	0		
	900	007	50	03	0	3		

		Libra.	Sol.	Den.	ob. 2m.
Sestertium.	1,000	0000000008	01	05	1
	2,000	0000000016	02	11	0
	3,000	0000000024	03	04	1
Decem mille Eris, denarii.	10,000 / 4,000	0000000032	05	10	0
	5,000	0000000040	70	02	1
	6,000	0000000048	80	09	0
	7,000	0000000056	10	02	1
	8,000	0000000064	11	08	0
	9,000	0000000072	13	01	1
	10,000	0000000080	14	07	
	20,000	0000000161	09	02	
	30,000	0000000242	03	09	
Centum milla æris, denarii.	100,000 / 40,000	0000000322	18	04	
	50,000	0000000403	12	11	
	60,000	0000000484	07	06	
	70,000	0000000565	02	01	
	80,000	0000000645	16	08	
	90,000	0000000726	11	03	
Sestertium semel,	100,000	0000000807	05	10	
bis,	200,000	0000001614	11	08	
ter,	300,000	0000002421	17	06	
&c.	400,000	0000003229	03	04	
	500,000	0000004036	09	02	
	600,000	0000004843	15	00	
	700,000	0000005651	00	10	
	800,000	0000006458	06	08	
	900,000	0000007265	12	06	
Sestertium decies,	1,000,000	0000008072	18	04	
vicies,	2,000,000	0000016145	16	08	
tricies,	3,000,000	0000024218	15	00	
&c.	4,000,000	0000032291	13	04	
	5,000,000	0000040364	11	08	
	6,000,000	0000048437	10	01	
	7,000,000	0000056510	08	04	
	8,000,000	0000064583	06	08	
	9,000,000	0000072656	05	00	
Sestertium centies,	10,000,000	0000080729	13	04	
ducenties,	20,000,000	0000161458	06	08	
trecenties,	30,000,000	0000242197	10	00	
&c.	40,000,000	0000322916	13	04	
	50,000,000	0000403645	16	08	
	60,000,000	0000484375	00	00	
	70,000,000	0000565104	03	04	
	80,000,000	0000645833	06	08	
	90,000,000	0000726562	10	00	
Sestertium millies,	100,000,000	0000807291	13	04	
bis millies,	200,000,000	0001614583	06	08	
ter millies,	300,000,000	0002421875	00	00	
&c.	400,000,000	0003229166	13	04	
	500,000,000	0004036458	06	08	
	600,000,000	0004843750	00	00	
	700,000,000	0005653041	13	05	
	800,00 ,000	0006458333	06	08	
	900,000,000	0007265625	00	00	
Sest. decies millies,	1,000,000,000	0008072916	13	04	
vicies millies,	2,000,000,000	0016145833	06	08	
tricies millies,	3,000,000,000	0024218750	00	00	
&c.	4,000,000,000	0032291666	13	04	
	5,000,000,000	0040364583	06	08	
	6,000,000,000	0048437500	00	00	
	7,000,000,000	0056510416	13	04	
	8,000,000,000	0064583333	06	08	
	9,000,000,000	0072656250	00	00	
Sest. centies millies,	10,000,000,000	0080729166	13	04	
ducenties millies,	20,000,000,000	0161458333	06	08	
trecenties millies,	30,000,000,000	0242187500	00	00	
&c.	40,000,000,000	0322916666	13	04	
	50,000,000,000	0403645833	06	08	
	60,000,000,000	0484375000	00	00	
	70,000,000,000	0565104166	13	04	
	80,000,000,000	0645833333	36	08	
	90,000,000,000	0726562500	00	00	
	100,000,000,000	8072916661	13	04	

Gassendus pecuniam Gallicam confert cum multiplis sestertii nummi: supponit autem denarium, sestertii quadruplum, sub primorum Cæsarum temporibus, octavam unciæ partem æquasse pondere: quam hypothesin aliquatenus redarguit noster Gravius: probat enim sub illis, qui Vespasiano priores imperarunt Cæsaribus, varium et inconstans denarii fundus extitisse; majus scilicet et minus alternatim, sæpius tamen decrescendo, ita ut ab Augusto ad Vespasianum decreverit a septima parte unciæ ad partem octavam; in quo ferme statu perstitit a Vespaciano ad Alexandrum Severum.[a]

Unde consequi videtur ad lectionem veterum authorum magis conducere, ut moderni nummi cum consulari denario (recentiore nimirum) comparentur, comparentur, tum quoniam is stati certique ponderis fuit (unciæ septimam partem adæquans), tum quia tempus, quo in usu fuit, plerosque comprehendit poëtas et historicos nobiliores, tum quia verisimilius est præcipuos authores ad hunc potius respexisse, quam ad Cæsareum, illum mutabilem et nullo certo pondere definitum[b].

Denarium vero consularem noster Gravius[c] ex appensis multis denariis, ex eorundem cum aliis aureis argenteisque nummis (Romanis, Hebræis, Græcis, Persicis, &c.) collatione, et ex Vespasianei congii mensura deducit cum 62 granis Anglicis æquiponderare. Unde cum denarius noster octo grana pendat, consularis iste denarius valebit septem denarios nostros cum tribus quartis.[d] At denarius Cæsareus, 1-8th unciæ pondus habens, pendet, $54\frac{1}{4}$ grana, valebitque denarios $6\frac{25}{32}$.

Breerwoodus autem denarium consularem (1-7 unciæ pendentem) æstimat denariis nostris $8\frac{4}{7}$; et Cæsareum (1-8 unciæ) denariis 7 1-2: quæ magna est a Gravio discrepantia. Sed is non videtur Romana pondera cum nostris accurate contulisse.

In eo quoque graviter errare videtur idem Breerwoodus, quod Cæsareum denarium Atticæ drachmæ putat æqualem; cum huic potius æquetur denarius consularis; imo quum exquisitius rem pensi-

[a] De den. pag. 96, et 113.
[b] Pag. 119.
[c] Pag. 61, 94, &c.
[d] Pag. 81.

tando Attica drachma etiam consularem denarium (tanto majorem Cæsareo) 5 granis Anglicis exsuperet, ut luculente probat Gravius.[e]

Consultius itaque visum est a Gravio adsertis proportionibus adhærere, et cum consulari nummo pecunias nostras conferre. Quibus ex suppositis adjuncta tabella computatur.

Hæc tabula continuari potest ad infinitum, repetendo numerum ultimum singulæ summæ librarum in qualibet enneade; ita fiet enneas subsequens. Semper vero retinetur in omni enneade eadem summa solidorum et denariorum respective. Conferatur ultima enneas cum proxime præcedenti.

[e] Pag. 72.

POEMATA.

Mundus neque fuit, neque esse potuit ab Æterno.

ANNO 1649.

Tentavi: mens Pegaseo super astra rotatu
Millia seclorum tranavit præpeje penna:
Temporis immensos tractus lustravit, et ævi
Semotos fontes; vidi incunabula rerum,
Quum superi, infantes agerent solennia primi
Natalis, lucisque suæ promotus in oras
Ipse recens nato Phœbus rideret ocello.
Nocturnis vidi surgentem e vestibus Hylen,
Deformem, nudamque tuis, natura, figuris;
Umbrosique chao caput hinc prætervehor, inde
Horrendum æterni pelagus mens longius audax
Intrat ab angusti ripis declivibus ævi.
Usque fatigatus perplexo errore viarum
Finibus invisis nec eodem calle relabor
Attonitam in lucem squalenti e noctis abysso.
Sic pia credulitas videt ipsa exordia mundi,
Illustrata oculos divinæ aspergine lucis.
Nec si recurrens temporis impetus
Evolvat orbes innumerabiles,
Motu retexens circulari
Præteriti stadii labores,
Recursitando deficiat licet
Mundi fatiscens spiritus impiger,
Distantias sic assequetur
Longius effugientis ævi.
Gyrantur isthic multiplices suo
Æternitates vortice refluæ,
Fontes abyssi seculorum,
Invia succiduis senectus.
Diffringerentur sphæræ adamantinæ,
Extingueretur flammula syderum,
Et desideret sol anhelus
Hoc spatii nimium volando.
Saturnus errans segnibus orbitis,
Et luna bigis mobilioribus
Rotata, eodem a fine, cursus
Perficeret, numerosque eosdem.
Nox atra lucem, vespera phosphorum,
Lux clara noctem, phosphorus hesperum,
Idem seipsum prævolaret
Præcipiti nimium rotatu.
Divina virtus aut senior foret
Æternitatis fontibus ipsius,
Aut conferetur prolis ætas
Dantis eam senio parentis.
Creatus orbis filius est nihil;
Est ante prolis mater originem,
Æternitati est ante nullum,
Ergo recens habeatur orbis.

Creatura non potest creare.

ANNO 1649.

Qui cupis artificis vires ostendere dextræ,
Creator æmulus Dei,
Vade, patris magni validos imitare labores,
Matris Nihil prosapia;
Nitere, maternam scelerati seminis alvum
Corrumpat incestus liquor,
Arguet imbelles proles sperata parentes
Nil filius tui, et nihil.
I, steriles vacui campos hortare, colenti
Ut sponte læti obtemperent:
Mellis ab exucca stillantes exprime caute,
Et nectaris rivos sacri;
Paupere de vena macilenti marmor inanis
Excide fidenti manu,
Visceribusque chao calcem extrahe, nunc age
Mausole, mirandas strues. [conde,
Fac Gades Indus circumfluat, insula fiat
Ut lætiori cingulo,
Distantesque polos contactus jungat amicus,
Det vesperæ Eos osculum;
Perfice tu, quæ si Eurystheus mandata dedisset,
Victus fuisset Hercules:
Parva potes, Nihili ac Entis vicinia novit
Distantiores terminos:
Hæc inter tu vincla jube, quæ conjuge magnus
Maritat annulo Deus:
In vacuum tua fac resonent edicta profundum,
Auscultet auritum Nihil:
Dic videant tenebræ; præstet responsa roganti
Elinguis os silentii:
Concipiat vestro in cerebro fœcunda voluntas,
Dein loquendo procreet:
Sis vel uterque parens, sine conjuge Palladis
Juno simulque Jupiter: [auctor,
Siste parum, non illa potes, Res filia cœli;
Agnosce vires proprias:
Clauderis exiguæ finito in carcere sphæræ,
Et limites arctos habes,
Ultra quos brevitate coercita brachia tollens
Conatus audet irritus;
Servatrice manu moreris simul, atque resurgis
Instantis unici mora;
Num vacat huic aliud progignere, cujus agun-
Natalis et funus simul? [tur
Nec fugitivæ umbræ, tenuis neque sustinet aer
Impressiones verberum;
Sic insensatum, quo quis mage percutit ipsum,
Subsidit incapax Nihil.
Ergo agnoscatur solius sermo Tonantis,
Rerum stupendus artifex.

Dantur rationes Boni et Mali æternæ et indispensabiles.

ANNO 1651.

Effigies formosa Dei constantis, Honestum,
Progenies innata sui, primævius ævo,
Principioque prius, nullius jura parentis
Agnoscit, nulla derivat origine stirpem:
Non ipsum sero fœcunda protulit alvo
Alma opifex duplicis mundi divina voluntas:
Quin edicta Boni, quavis seniora loquela,
Imperiis haud scita suis, nec jussa volendo
Jura tremenda colit, nec mente recusat iniqua
Ipse Deus, facilis Recto summittere cœli
Æternosfasces et sceptra regentia mundum:
Divinum est servire Bono, placidisque mereri
Obsequiis, nec se justo subducere posse.
Siste, quis audebit leges præscribere cœlo,
Quis laqueos mandare Jovi, superisque catenas?
Quis docili cervice jugum perferre Tonantem
Asseret ætherei juris consultus? an ora
Fræna coercebunt rerum moderantis habenas?
Nil miri, nec cœlum ideo domuere gigantes:
Se regit et frænat, fines sibi ponit Olympus:
Immensum est mensura sui, sibi regula Rectum;
Is Deus est sibi, qui reliquis; se limite claudit
Virtus inconclusa; sua est angustia cœlo;
Cancellos Justi capit infinita potestas:
Non externa Venus domuit concreta profundo,
Uritur invicto propriæ bonitatis amore.
Non sibi dissimiles fore, non exemplar honesti
Conspicuum delere sui, non linquere tractus
Signatos vellent superi, possentve volentes;
Quos, Helice propria vestigia certa regente,
Extra se nunquam pellexit devius error.
Si nulla ratione regant, discrimine nullo
Jusque nefasque habeant, pro libertate potentes
Elysio donare malos, in tartara bruto
Fulmine dejicere insontes, non dicere promptum est,
Nil refert Deus an terræ moderentur alumni.
Velle nefas non posse Dei est, sed velle tyranni:
Quas idea Boni leges, agnoscit easdem
Umbra coæva Boni Pravum, et contrarius hostis:
Hæc duo sunt Camarina duplex, infixa profundo,
Non ullis jactanda ruentis fluctibus ævi:
Rident imbelles digitos, viresque sororum
Fila colo non texta sua, decreta priusquam
Licia prima cito torquerent pollice Parcæ.
Quin et ab his fatum ducit sua stamina lanis,
Ac Vulcanus ab his finxit sua vincla metallis:
Non ea contingit faciles emergere in ortus,
Deinde pudens caput in primos abscondere fontes,
Sic Epicureus radios variavit Apollo:
Non ita qui stabili semper fulgore coruscans
Sol noster, nequit ipse suas extinguere flammas:
Illis ceu stygiæ voto constringitur undæ,
Nulla quibus possunt exolvi secula vinclis:
Lassaret digitos Jovis hos evolvere nodos;
Non licet has fixas Arctos demergere ponto.
Mendaces Pulchrum fucos admittere nescit,
Nativæque decus charum deponere formæ:
Nec deforme malum quavis mutaverit arte
Æthiopes vultus specie candentis Honesti.
Finge Deum indulgere malis, obducere nubem
Fraudibus, et tuta convolvere crimina nocte;
Vera loqui et facere; affectus cohibere ruentes,
Thure pio superos venerari, mente parentes,
Turpe sit et nemesis mereatur verbera justæ;
Ergo perire Deos, tenebras diffundere solem,
Et lapides sapere, ac Sophiam stultescere fingis:
Ergo nives fidis lambant incendia flammis;
Expers sit rationis homo, sævam agna Leænam
Induat, et Libycos populetur fervida saltus;
Facta volente Deo fiant infecta, fuisse
Cesset præteritum, Clotho sua fila retexat;
Distet idem sibi, sed coeant contraria in unum.
Scilicet ideas Recti a discrimine tutas
Arce suæ divina tegit sapientia Mentis.

Dantur Substantiæ incorporeæ Natura sua Immortales.

ANNO 1651.

Esse sacræ cœleste genus spectabile menti,
Perenne et expers corporis,
Ore, nec ambigno, pronunciat augur Apollo,
Pronunciando comprobat,
Cum flammis Pythiam præsago arcana furore
Vis æstuantem corripit,
Interioris et ex adytis emurmurat orbis
Insaniens facundia.
Hoc Dodonææ quoties sonuere columbæ,
Lybumque cornutus pater?
Emicuit quoties veri hæc scintilla profundi
Cavernulis Trophonii?
Quin et ei tristes umbræ squalentis Averni
Radios suos accommodant.
Thessalici precibus quæ flectitur auris agyrtæ,
Quis commovetur ritibus?
Quæ freta vis celata quatit, concussaque sistit,
Abigitque ventos et vocat?
Machina quæ profugos sua in ostia retrahit amnes,
Ripis suis mirantibus?
Cur vetula mandante fugacia nubila parent,
Tremulique montes audiunt?
Queis Magus ex Epheso Romani fata tyranni
Oculis videbat, an suis?
Quid vatum inspirat cœlesti pectora flatu,
Laxata claustris corporis,
Cæcum Dircæi senis ut collustret ocellum
Lumen futuri præscium?
Talibus arguitur signis abscondita virtus,
Tenebræque verum illuminant,
Quo mihi cœlestes oculos, quibus altera mundi
Excelsioris conspicer
Regna per immensos lucem sorbentia tractus
Serenitatis limpidæ,
Si diffusa animi regio, liberrima tetris
Fœtentis Hyles sordibus,
Ceu Libycæ tellus deserta jaceret eremi,
Referta nullis incolis?
E cæco corpus tam multa tuebitur antro,
Animusque cernet nil sui?
Sin et magnifici prætoria regia cœli
Nullos habent satellites,
Stipat Achæmenei terrestria Susa tyranni
Augustior frequentia;
Sæpius et justos quæsiti ad muneris usus

Deerunt ministri cœlites;
Num rotet immanes gyris constantibus orbes
Immunis æther spiritus?
Quis Palleneæ celebret solennia palmæ,
Hymnisque lætificet deos?
Queis Deus affulget, queis divitis ille recludit
Sinus stupendos gloriæ?
Quis pellucenti divinum pectore lumen
Admittit et repercutit?
Quis pia vota hominum fidis attolleret alis
Idem reportans præmia?
Insidiis quis fortunæ tutetur iniquæ
Urbes, viros, provincias?
Usque perutile, tam sanctum genus, orbis origo
Quid obstitit ne conderet?
Non potuit? minus est puras accendere flammas
Similes parenti proprio,
Cogere quam crassos terrena e fæce vapores
Jam dispares pulchro patri?
Noluit? impertire suos divina nitores
Haud invidet benignitas.
Ergo ruat vacuo senior Gargettius horto
Suicida sævo dogmate:
Angelicas certo produnt existere formas
Ratio, fides, oracula:
Ergo datur species, sincerior æthere puro,
Tenuique vento rarior,
Fœda venenosæ quæ vincula respuit Hyles,
Lethi malignos fomites.

Dantur formæ substantiales.

ANNO 1652.

Sistæ parum quisquis cæca vertigine mundum
Currere, divinæ nobile mentis opus,
Credis, et ignavæ rigidis impulsibus Hyles
Vivida naturæ gesta potentis agi;
Qui rerum exclusis moderantibus intima formis
Constare exanimi singula mole putas;
Inspice picta Deum rutilis pallatia flammis,
Quaque patent lati cærula regna poli:
Brutane materies æterna lege gubernat
Ordine fixa suo sydera, mota suo?
Quin indefessis potius ludentia gyris
Spiritus arcanis viribus astra rotat.
Quæ tua percellit jucundis lumina telis
Lux, quæque aurato sydera crine tegit,
Tota quid est nisi forma, decus, substantia cœli,
Impuri nihil aut materialis habens?
Illam hauris oculo, sine et illucescere menti,
Ac animi tenebras irradiare tui.
Quid cœlum petis, et luna deducere formas
Niteris, ingrati Musa laboris amans?
Terra quoque innumeras fœcunda mater ab alvo
Fundit, et in tepido nutrit amica sinu:
Testor veris opes et gaudia divitis horti, et
Quæ tegit omnigenus florida prata color:
Ecce illibato decertat purpura lacti:
Judice me, neutri cedis, amœne viror;
Non ita materies distinguere mille figuras,
Non ita prata valet pingere mille modis,
Commutet pellem licet et se Protea jactet,
Ac sub multiplici veste latere sciat.
Arguit internam species externa, aliusque
Vultus inesse aliud cor animumque docet.
Quin tacitas intus sub opaco tegmine formas
Versari, et nutu flectere cuncta suo,
(Non seeus ac brevibus majestas Persica sutis
Clausa sub imperio Ægyptum Asiamque suo)
Proditur indiciis sub aprico sole peractis,
Artificemque suum grande fatetur opus.
Thurane quæ perflant placido Nabathæa vapore
Rura, aut quos spirant arva Sabæa crocos,
Alliaque ingratis caput avertentia fumis
(Allia Niliacis annumerata deis)
Pæstanisque vigens horti regina rosetis,
Diraque Socraticæ causa cicuta necis,
Vel nulla gaudent, vel eadem singula forma,
Pugnantesque uno fonte petuntur aquæ?
Segnis massa potest nihil, haud contraria saltem;
Nec bene materies, nec male, opinor, olet:
Quæ rebus tribuit varias demitque figuras,
Quæ diversa dedit ludere, forma fuit:
Illa sub augusti specie præponderat auri,
Illa levem plumam in summa volare facit:
Hac duce proceræ nituntur in æthera cedri,
Flumineasque salix arida quærit aquas.
Muta suas dicunt operando animalia, possunt
Viva etiam formas dicere voce suas:
Indicat has raucis mugitibus aera complens
Taurus, et argutis has philomela sonis.
Quas miramur equi fabricas fulvique leonis,
Exstruxit docta forma operosa manu:
Cura sagax mentis, non præceps impetus Hyles,
Facta adeo nobis ingeniosa dedit.
Forma voluptates agnoscit, forma dolores,
Conscia sola boni, conscia sola mali:
Quæ sedet in dorso lente gradientis aselli
Sentit, et horrendum forma gemescit onus:
Impetis absurdo torpentem verbere massam,
Materiæ nervos irrita pungit acus.
Quid referam humanas mentes, sublimia cœli
Germina, et illustri semine creta Deum?
Cum quibus exanimum satagens confundere corpus
Amens se (et me etiam) judice semper erit,
Qui pedibus saltem manibusque aut sanguine crasso
Exercere putat se rationis opus.
Rebus inesse igitur plures ab origine formas,
Sydera, terra, animæ, vita, animusque probant.

Conscientia erronea obligat.

ANNO 1652.

Tyrannæ vitæ, fax temeraria,
Infide dux, ignobile vinculum,
Sydus dolosum, ænigma mentis,
Ingenui labyrinthe voti,
Assensus errans, invalidæ potens
Matris propago; quem vetuit Deus
Nasci, sed orto principatum
Attribuit regimenque sanctum:
Tuum fatentes imperium odimus,
Quod deprecamur suscipimus jugum;
Una fugande, una sequende,
Despiciende, colende princeps.
Lex mentis omni lege valentior,

Lux mentis omni luce micantior,
  Jus præpotentis veritatis,
  Vel specie simulata vincunt.
Ne pergeremus tramite lubrico
Natura certum constituit ducem:
  Errare nolle est summus error,
  Hac duce prægrediente nobis.
Si nulla portum sydera præferunt,
Tristi renidet nulla Helice polo,
  Vaga feretur navigator
  Æquoris Jonii procella.
Fac quod videtur luminibus tuis,
Fac quod putatur judicio tuo:
  Judex refelli, falli ocellus
  Possit, uterque tamen sequendus.
Distant remotis tractibus invicem
Legum voluntas nostraque, conjugat
  Mens dissidentes, hæc potestas
  Jus statuit, statuitque iniquum:
Hæc abrogetur justitiæ arbitra,
In cæca stulti proripimur vada;
  Hac luce pauca destituti
  Ancipites tenebras subimus.
Hic nodus artem vindicis Œdipi,
Hæc antecedentem bivia Herculem,
  Perplexitas hæc tortuosa
  Dædaleas operas requirit:
Lex illud, illud mandat opinio.
Dedit minori sceptra potentior,
  Diis elocutis obserantur,
  Quæ sibi mox reteguntur, aures.
Menti repugnet si manus improba,
Hæc fecit æquum, hæc jussit iniquius;
  Non laude numen, sed rependet
  Supplicio digitos rebelles.
Errore tingat barbara credulas
Si corda flectens Æsonidas, movet
  Necesse rursus, quin piumque
  Tingere se patrio cruore.
  Ergo
Quod cuique scitur Numinis est loco,
Cogens vereri; nostra scientia,
  Seu vera sit seu ficta, nosmet
  Compede prævalida coercet.

Christus per mortem fuit sacrificium proprie expiatorium pro peccatis.

ANNO 1652.

Pota diu factis hominum patientia Divum
  Extremam tandem sensit adesse sitim:
Ceu propinato vultus rubuere veneno,
  Torruit accensus viscera clausa focus;
Quid sitiente Deo tantum compesceret æstum,
  Qui liquor, aut qualis sufficit haustus aquæ?
Non mystæ si pro libamine Nerea totum
  Funderet in patinas officiosa manus.
Peccantes vindicta jubet depascere venas,
  Restingui haud aliis fontibus ardor habet
An tenuis prosit spernendi gutta cruoris,
  Vilior an mœstis lacryma fusa genis?
Pestis adhuc desævit, inexorabilis, illi
  Balsama ne tribuat nobiliora Deus.
Præcipitis sensus, pronique Astræa doloris;
  Multa, sed pura, prædita bile Dea est;
Æternis odiis, invicta pungitur ira,
  Nulla mollescunt pectora dura prece;
Orari venias, et blanda piamina culpæ,
  Hoc sua rideri numina torva vocat.
Exigit æquali reparari debita lance,
  Non erit injusto mitis, iniqua sibi:
Criminis unius maculam non eluet ævum,
  Derivat labem in secula mille suam.
Hos simul ac vidit, simul est miserata rigores,
  Progenies cœli nobilis, æqua Deo;
Faturque O duræ mortalia subdita legi!
  O nimium juris pacta severa mei!
Sic jacet addictus miser immortalibus umbris
  Luctari debet e carcere nulla dies!
Gutta salutaris nostro de vulnere stillet,
  Prosiliant venis pura fluenta meis.
Hos ubi gustavit vindex Astræa liquores,
  Risit, et a crudo vanuit ore rubor;
Deposuit satiata sitim. votumque nocendi,
  Prorsus ab immiti facta benigna Dea:
Hac commutavit mors haud invita seipsam
  Morte, per hoc fatum vincere visa satis:
Post hac dediscens Nemesis sua verbera plagas
  Commisit Veneris flagra cremanda viro.
Sponsorem tantum jus summum admisit, in illo
  Grandis amor, locuples copia, certa fides.
Non impune Deus tulit ipse remittere culpam;
  Inde vel hinc certo pondere pœna ruit.
Promissa huc patribus, prævisaque vatibus, umbris
  Occultata, fide credita, vota prece;
Huc sua prætendunt veteres mysteria formæ,
  Hoc caput antiquæ relligionis erat.
Exulis hic hirci cædes, hic simplicis agni,
  Hic sociæ fidi turturis omen habet.
Sanguine quæ fuso populi delicta piavit,
  Hujus sustinuit victima cæsa vices.
Nam nec nare Deus bibula nidoribus aræ
  Incubuit, liquidæ nubila carnis amans,
Nec bruta magnas animas virtute redemit,
  Nec vili veniam conditione dedit;
Respexit prisco devotam fœdere vitam,
  Displicuit tantæ haud eminus umbra rei.
Quin istos etiam mores transmisit in orbem
  Princeps Tartarei carceris, iste malus;
Qui quum ementiti simulator Numinis esset,
  Instituit simili religione coli:
Hinc olim immanes Tyrii Saturnia placant
  Numina, sacrilegi per fera pacta sacri.
Herculis hinc ritus, altaria Tauridis, et quæ
  Cædibus infecit Graia puella suis.
Sic radiat verum magis, allucentibus umbris,
  Expiat inferno teste piacla cruor.
O mage damnati Furiis incredule regni,
  Extorris Getico Sarmata digne gelu!
Desine, nam positas vindicta resuscitat iras,
  Refluit in latices vestra medela suos.
Abnuis ut Christum tua crimina morte piasse,
  Amplius hac Christi morte piantis eges.
Sic delicta luit sua per compendia mundus,
  Totque malis hominum subditur unus homo.

Obedientia Christi non tollit obedientiam Christianam.

ANNO 1652.

Queis gravis incumbit moles mundana columnis?
  Quo nititur fundamine?
Quæ movet immoto, quæ continet ordine virtus

Cœlum, solum, salum, omnia?
Imperium, obsequium; leges pollentis honesti
Jus imperans, pietas sequens;
Hæccine qui statuit, serie convelleret ipse
Præpostera discors sibi?
Vincula seclorum laxaret Conditor arcte
Queis obligavit secula?
Quos fecit justos, justos non esse licere
Haud sancta præstat sanctitas.
Assidet invidiæ, legem sibi ferre merendi,
Peccandi aliis licentiam.
Justitiæ celebres titulos, insignia cœli,
Inscripta diptheræ Jovis,
Arripere impuros negat Optimus ille, recusat
Nomen dari, rem subtrahi:
Quod meruit dici, meruit quoque fortius esse,
Quod imputari, et effici.
An satis externa speciosus pelle nitescat
Maculosus intima cute?
Quid, qui se nobis descensu fecerat æquum,
Ferat is sibi nos dispares?
Fræna suo implicuit, nostrone extorsit ab ore?
Se jussit et nos non jubet?
Nec nostris urgenda tulit vestigia plantis
Dux invium calcans iter?
Discipulusne sui temnat dictata magistri,
Famulusve heri, miles ducis?
Quod sua colla jugo Deus ipse inclusit eodem,
Tu subjugari respuis?
Quod didicit Dominus servili lege teneri,
Dediscet assecla obsequi?
An minor obsequio laus est, tenuataque virtus,
Divina vis quod paruit?
Num Christi pietas, quasi Saturnina, voravit
Nostram piam ejus filiam?
Non exhausit adhuc fluvios mare, gratia nondum
Major minorem absorbuit?
Non nisi conducto radiari lumine præbet
Errantis omen stellulæ;
Quæ prope cœlestes, aditus infigitur orbis
Augustioris limini
Pura mente bibit radios, et rejicit auctos
Operum bonorum fœnore.
Celsius officium qua niti debuit ala,
Hac deprimetur fortius?
Fax sacra quæ Domini accendit præcordia, nostram
Extinguet observantiam?
Quo stimulante jubet virtus intendere cursum
Calcar inhibebit impetum?
Debita quo graviore Deus cumulavit acervo,
Eo minus solvenda sunt?
Anne honor a superis cedet mortalibus æquus,
Corona par, et præmium?
Seu quis magnanimo flagret virtutis amore,
Colat Deos, homines juvet,
Seu Lerna scelerum stagnet fœtente, repugnet
Aliis, Diis, patriæ, sibi?
Hoc pedibus sanctis tritum est dispungere callem,
Virtutis ad astra lacteum:
Ut positi adversa regione petantur eadem
Olympus et Avernus via.
Exue fallaces laqueos, spes projice vanas,
Blandis inhærens somniis,
Qui pennis cera junctis ascendere cœlum,
Mollive vis ignavia:
Connubio stabili gaudent, plaudente Hymenæo,
Beatitudo et sanctitas.
Jugis amicitiæ fatali fœdere vita
Æterna nectitur bonæ.
Justos esse malos non ipsa Astrea, beatos
Non ipsa det felicitas.
Christus parendo sanctis non officit actis,
Ea sed docet, jubet, juvat.

Terram esse in mundi centro sitam nullis argumentis evincitur.

ANNO 1653.

O NIMIUM faciles prono cœlestia sensu
Metiri, radiisque oculi finire pusilli!
Nempe patent circa picti laquearea cœli
Syderibus stipata, cavi seu fornice vitri
Implantatæ agiles jaculentur lumina flammæ.
Scilicet hos tenuis visus describere fines
Jussit et hac mundi campum sepire figura:
Iste æquas stellis designat in æthere sedes,
Seu cursu stabili dubiove errore ferantur;
Ille brevi solem facile constringeret arca;
Et paribus suadet spatiis distantia mundi
Mœnia tellurem patulo complectier orbe.
Haud aliter stetit in mediis erratica terris
Delos, et in medio rupes sedet alta profundo,
Cujus spumoso lustranti e vertice circa
Omnia pontus erunt, deerunt quoque littora ponto.
Sic quem fata sinent lunam conscendere pennis
Anseris innixum, vel dira mole gigantum,
Se putet in medio rerum consistere puncto,
Et circum æquali converti sydera gyro.
Sphæra brevis sensus, cœli diffusa; capessat
Judicium ratio, quæ cum sit nulla, valete.

Hypothesis Cartesiana de materia et motu haud satisfacit præcipuis naturæ phænomenis.

ANNO 1653.

ALUMNE cœli; flos sophiæ; latex,
Libella, lumem, lima scientiæ;
Dilecte vero vir; fidelis
Artis et ingenii magister;
Prostrata cujus cuspide Martia
Ignava collum flexit opinio,
Nitens arenæ, comprimensque
Deciduas cubito columnas;
Retusa sub quo vindice tetrica
Præjudicandi cessit iniquitas,
Sophistice contentiosa,
Et temere ingeneratus error;
Ignosce sanctis, maxime Cartesi,
Si Musa vecors manibus obstrepit,
Ignosce, nos te curiose,
Dum tua deserimus, sequemur;
Quæque abrogata lege tyrannidis
Exegeris suffragia libera
Dicemus, en te adversus ipsum
Intrepido speculamur ore,
Timere noli: spiritus arduas
Nisu impotenti succutiens domus
Radice figit destinata
Excidio tabulata tristi.
Ingens pusillo machina brachio

Impulsa stabit: fortius impetum
En admovemus; væ, tremendo
Verbere personuere nubes!
Heu quale visum lumina præferunt
Invita turpis conjugii, sacer
Quod nolit Hymen auspicatæ
Ignibus irradiare tedæ.
Informis Hyle, lurida, vividæ
Immunis auræ prorsus et ingeni,
Et quapiam vertiginosus
Mobilior, leviorque pluma
Motus, perennis connubii jugum
Subiere, faustos accipit annulos
Sponsus triumphans, sponsa sordens
Pellibus induitur decoris.
Junctis nefanda lege parentibus,
Lucina præsens innumeros dedit
Forma nitentes invidenda,
Cartesio perhibente, fœtus.
Prægnantis Hyles filia prodiit
Pulchra universi machina, cœrulus
Æther, ferax telluris almæ
Campus, et oceani fluentis.
Huc nempe cœlestis recidit labos,
Fecisse quondam res numero duas,
Donasse nobis versipellem
Protea, pennigerumque motum.
Quas scena mundi visibus objicit
Lusus decentis perpetuas vices,
Persona duplex sustinebit?
Huic Deus invigilet theatro?
An mundi ocellos, ætheris incolas
Cæco fluentes volvier impetu
Volubilis vis bruta molis
Ordine perpetuo incitabit?
Non cura mentis, non manus artifex,
Sed prosper aptæ materiæ fluor,
Quas torpidi miramur ædes
Struxit equo, volucrique cervo?
Nec sempiterni turbinis æmulum
Cor sponte gyrat mille volumina,
Reciprocas sed obsequendo
Incipit atque perennat undas?
Quid jam cupressi funebris aut cedri
Ortus, vigores, semina cogitem?
Non illa rector spiritus, sed
Materies operosa prodit.
Cicuta tristis, salvia sospitans,
Conyza fœtens, flos Paphiæ rosæ,
Utræque surgunt ex iisdem
Seminibus, vel utræque nullis
Crescens metalli venula pauperis
Centum moratur syderis ambitus,
Lasciva dum forte expetitas
Mechanice peragit choreas.
Propensa nusquam passio prenditur,
Infensa nusquam; cuncta potens amor,
Sævum odium, finesque rerum
Exilium subeunt acerbum;
Non appetitus viribus insiti,
Sed tela vibrans, ac atomos truces,
Lupus, monenti te Renate,
Exanimam procul arcet agnam,
Hoc mens acumen languidior ferat,
Et tam coruscæ vim sapientiæ,
Inscitiæ O felix asylum,
Pande fores animæ fugaci!
Quin ista nudæ lucidus arbiter
Naturæ ocellis falsa fatentibus
Juraret interpres Deorum,
Si recitare vacaret, Hermes.

Reverendissimo Magistro, et dignissimis Sociis Collegii S. S. Trinitat. Cantabrigiæ.

ANNO 1655.

Ite preces blandæ, rutilum moderantis Olympum,
(Vati siqua fides), cœlesti semine cretæ,
Ite, Patrem vestrum placido mulcete susurro,
Ut vestra virtute polo deducta sereno
(In nutu sedet illa Dei, precibusque vocata
Supplicibus terras niveis circumvolat alis)
Alma Salus, comitem non aspernata Camœnam
Languentem licet, et vestigia tarda trahentem,
Desertisque sui ripis Heliconis egentem,
A ripis gyro ludentibus, alveus intra
Quas clari Sequanæ Lydo fluit æmulus amni,
Ad doctos pontes, tumidis quos alluit acer
Camus aquis, Camus quo non dilectior alter
Rivulus Aonidas conspergit rore puellas,
(Nec veteres olim qui præterfluxit Athenas,
Nec qui Parisiis præbet modo balnea Musis)
Carpat iter matrique memor se impertiat almæ,
Sexque decemque uteris, millena prole beatæ;
Officiumque pii commendet nomine gnati:
Sed tibi præcipue, reliquas præclara sorores
Ut parvos inter Phœbi soror emicat ignes,
Ædes sacra Deo, cujus subsistere trinum
Colligat arcano simplex essentia nodo.
Vos, dulces animæ, cæcis quibus intima flammis
Pectora carpit amor sanctus candentis honesti,
Quosque docent sua sublimes mysteria Musæ,
Nostra salus petit et charis complexibus ambit.
Sed levis obsequii est facilem dixisse salutem,
Hæc manat prono cordis de fonte fluento;
Majus opus superest, humeris gravioribus aptum,
Officiis æquale meis, sed viribus impar,
Quæ vestro vidisse ferunt accepta favori
Debilis exigui custodes luminis orbes,
In tenui tabula vestris quoque tradere ocellis,
Quæque iter objecti spectacula debita vestris
Auribus, angustæ numeris includere Musæ.
Sed quoniam dedit hoc cœlum mutantibus usus,
Nonnunquam dubiis expandere carbasa ventis,
Difficilique viæ tremulas committere plantas,
Nitar, et objectum aggrediar superare laborem,
Annuat incœptis audacibus æquus Apollo.
Postquam Thesea puppis rugosior, Argus
Quæ numerare annos, Argique foramina posset,
Ignibus exponi quam sævis dignior undis,
Excepisse sinu lacero gavisa recentem
Fortunæ nautam non disparis, alta petisset
Æquora, seu naso Nereus ridebat aduncо,
Seu miseratus erat formidinis indiga justæ
Corda suam dubiæque fidem tentasse carinæ,
Quicquid erat (nam causa latet) subsidere visum est
Marmor inere ponti, nimioque æquale sereno:
Non ita compositum, tenui cum carcere ventos
Dulichius conclusit utris, nec quando sonorum
Agmea in Æolii claustris compescitur antri.
Non conspecta prius, nec corrugata profundi
Arridet facies. animum mentita faventem;
Vultus amicitiam spirat, sed viscera bellum;
E quibus eructans salsi violenta vaporis
Tela fodit stomachum, reseratque repagula, nostro

Quærens extorquere suo quod ventre recondat.
Has tempestates quocunque tridente resedat
Certius et medico sanat præcordia visu
Alma parens tellus, exhalans aera dulcem
Antidotumque maris; cujus simul atque tuemur
Subdita Marte favente animosis littora Neusti,
Invadit nova vis animos, nova vita pererrat
Corpus, et excedit peregrini nausea cœli.
Sic patriis ejectus aquis maris incola languet
Squamiger, in dulces cum vi torrentis iniqui
Excidit alveolos, insulsaque pocula gustat.
Qui si forte suos, fluctu felice relatus
Aut clemente manu, Neptunia regna, penates
Reppetit, amissi renovans momenta vigoris,
In mediam sese pernix jaculatur abyssum;
Sic nos in nostras reduces transivimus auras,
Portumque appulimus; cui spem mandasse salutis,
Fortunæque suæ impulsam civilibus undis
Commisisse ratem fertur rex maximus, alba
Cujus in augusto florescunt lilia scuto,
Qui parvam titulis Diepam regalibus auxit.
Crediderim Henricum, quo non sincerius alter
Numen adorabat devota mente Diones,
(Gallia salva viris vix unquam debuit) armis
Fæmineis voluisse suam concredere sortem;
Scilicet ignari cunas reperire Deorum
E Paphia Venerem cupiunt deducere spuma;
Nam qui Diepenses mulierum turba platæas
Qualis adimpleat attonitis lustrarit ocellis,
Queis haud sufficeret gignendis terra, putavit
Justius hanc isti genituram cedere ponto:
Sed quam mille vides, non est spectabilis una,
Hoc tantum Venerem nostris abjudicat undis.
Nec tamen hisce magis genitrix dilexit amorum
Threicium lasciva Deum: correpta furore
Pectora sæpe movent durum certamen, iisdem
Hectora queis incessebat Telamonius armis.
Testis eram, lectis vicino in littore saxis
Agmen Amazonium (sævis suadentibus iris)
Fæmineos onerasse sinus, quæ grandine densa
Dirus in oppositam disploderet impetus arcem,
Quam colit invisis data præfectura tributis.
Nec tamen hoc animal solum dominatur ibidem
(Haud loquor ex animo, liceatque impune jocari)
Huic affine aliud, longuinquo Hyperionis ortu
Advectum, pollens etiám conamine linguæ,
Garrulum, et humani simulator strenuus oris,
Depictamque cutem jactans pellemque decoram,
(Et quæ dicta prius, ne rem repetamus eandem)
Affluit hic nomenque hujus disseminat oræ.
Sed magis artifices digiti, manuumque labores
Atque pedum, quorum juncæ solertia curæ
In rebus magnas operas exilibus edit.
Ecce levi pedis impulsu nodosa rotatur
Buxus, in extremis acies quos bina terebrat
Cerne poloe, in quos immotus desinit axis,
Dum medium se chorda sequax circumplicat, instar
Lubrica per ramos sinuantis terga colubri.
Imminet ex alto proceræ surculus orni
Nondum ætate rigens, primisque avulsus in annis,
Qui chordam fidi lapsantem compede nodi
Continet, ipse recurvato deflectitur arcu;
Funiculi reliquum sed finem mobile lignum
Excipit, et variis vicibus surgensque cadensque
Incurvat teretem, detortamque erigit ornum,
Ut pedibus placuit, pedibus labor iste dicatur.
Dum manus intentans aciem revolubile buxum
Lævigat, et placitæ exsculpit simulachra figuræ:
Omnia præsertim studio, ceu Protea quendam,
Numidicum vertunt ebur in miracula rerum;
Nunc in subtiles tanquam Vulcania vincla
Diducunt telas, digitisque trementibus instant;
(Materia in tenui laus maxima ponitur artis)
Nunc denso thecarum inspergunt tegmina flore,
Ac dente ex uno fabricantur plurima membra.
Verum alio vocor, obstrepero quo vellicat aurem
Murmure, et his potiora dari miracula clamat,
Fama nota prius, non lumine visa fideli.
Relligio non una, sed uno nomine jactans,
Dissona consensu, dissensu consona miro.
Quam varii mores et vitæ regula dispar!
Temporibus diversus honos, adytisque, cibisque,
Diisque colunt quorum non æquo numina cultu;
Multiplicesque habitus, et vestis discolor usus,
Collata adversus Junonia cederet Iris,
Plures ostentat Thaumantias ista colores,
Francisci fœcunda domus, cui simplice trunco
Plurimus assurgit numeroso palmite ramus.
Ille recollectos mores, alium iste cucullum,
Hic circumjectos tunes in nomine jactat.
Gens assueta pati quicquid reperire molesti
Ingenium, aut natura potest infligere duri,
Quam possent matrem, malunt sentire novercam:
Non illis nitet et tenera sub sindone gaudet,
At riget hirsutis pellis circundata setis:
Contiguis plantæ lignis nituntur, iisque
Duritie certare valent, dum tibia nuda,
Et quam sola tegit patientia, nobile velum,
Quos habet ardores æstas, quas bruma pruinas
Despicit, atque omnes cœlorum provocat iras.
Est infame malum, cujus perterrita vultum
Non secus ac diram lethalibus horret Erynnin
Armatam facibus, Stygiosque in crinibus angues
Gens hominum, et jugi sudans conamine vitat:
Pauperiem appellant, haud nomen tristius ullum est.
Hoc illi monstrum reliquis immane feroxque,
Mansuetum domitumque regunt; quo milite luxum
Pellunt, et curam, quemque inflat copia, fastum:
Mundi delicias, oculorum fascina, mentis
Illecebras, rerum dominos et numina nummos
Calcant, contactusque levi haud dignantur honore.
Paupertas operosa gradus habet, illius horrent
Culmen et affectant imæ subsellia classis,
Ac inopes infra mendicorum ordine constant:
Non illis reditus, non prædia certa, rogando
Accipitur victus, trahiturque precaria vita.
Ter videt innixos genubus Phœbeia lampas,
Cum minima superum vertigine circuit orbem;
Luna vices totidem spectat nocturna, molesto
Cum vigiles somnos Campana intercipit ictu,
Dun reliquum involvunt ignava silentia mundum.
Scilicet hisce putant meritis deberier astra.

Quam vellem tantos vera in virtute labores
Impendi, studiisque bonis et mente colenda,
Hoc breviore via Elysios pertingeret hortos.
Quid sectatores Benedicti, Dominicique,
Queisque suas leges fictus dedit Augustinus,
Totque alios memorem, Musamque impune fatigem?
Sistra sonant, licet infandæ mysteria missæ
Visere, difficilesque imitari carmine ritus.
Non ego quam pretiosa ornet delubra supellex,
Nec quam magnifico rutilent altaria fastu,
Neve sacerdotum velamina, murice tinctas
Intextasque auro chlamydes, et flore decoras.
Ac Phrygius quas pinxit acus, describere formas,
Languentis calami vano certamine nitar.
Blanda per hæc oculos intrat simulachra voluptas,
Dum ferit auditum grato modulamine lingua,
Harmonicisque aures demulcent organa ventis;
Nempe suum sensus cœlum hic invenerit omnis.
Quid mentem movet interea, quo corda calore
Accendunt, animi excutiunt qua luce tenebras,
Et quid delicias imo sub pectore veras
Concitat, ignorare licet, dubitare profanum est.
Arrexi quantas natura indulsit, et illas
Haud curtas credo auriculas, vix attigit una
E tot vocibus attentam sententia mentem;
Miror, si populus peregrinæ murmura linguæ
Percipiat melius, quum cæco percitus igni
Exiguos versat digitis pernicibus orbes,
Os moderante manu, qua plusquam mente precantur.
Quod nisi jam tantis reverentia debita rebus
Injiceret Musæ taciturni frena pudoris,
Porrigit immensum justa indignatio campum,
Quo tumidum pectus conceptas explicet iras;
Quum reputat quali male sanus fronte sacerdos
Mirifico tribus evulgatis ore susurris
Se jactat fecisse deum, factumque vorasse.
Talia divendunt miseræ ludibria plebi,
Nec pudet hosce fidem sanctam corrumpere monstris.
Distribuunt siccum panem, cænæque recidunt
Plus toto; sitiuntque alienæ pabula vitæ,
Altoresque animæ succos; quo nectare mundus
Prorogat acceptam fuso de sanguine vitam.
Nec satis est partes benedictæ tollere cœnæ,
Arripiunt totum, dum publica munera, nodos
Dulcis amicitiæ, pacis cæmenta beatæ,
Communesque epulas privato ventre recondunt.
Ut mater pullis, sic area maxima templi
Eminet, exiguis circum stipata sacellis;
Hic cætu excluso celebrant convivia secum;
Nec gratis, merces convivis solvitur ipsis,
Et sacro panem communem pane merentur.
Juratis opus est, ne plures scilicet uno
Audiat una dies prolatas gutture missas,
Ne populis exhausta suis, et fomitis expers
Purgatoria flamma precum virtute jaceret,
Et nimio mystis loculus turgesceret auro.
Sed cum festa dies affulsit sydere magno,
Cum circumferri pacis sub cortice numen
Assolet, evectum celebri per compita pompa,
Ille potens dominusque sui est, contraria quisquis
Non intermiscet, nec risu temperat iram:
Nam qui non intra solum penetralia sacra,
Sed Jove sub nudo, sub aprico tegmine cœli
Omnibus in vicis positas conspexerit aras,
Et circumstet eas quam ludicra gaza putavit,
Absterrere viros, pueros mulcere paratas;
Quæ disponuntur pupæ, quo turba maniplo
Incedit, tum quæ templorum affixa leguntur
Postibus, et memorare piget, præstaique taceri;
Quæ bonus amoveat Deus, et meliora ministret.
Magnifice servire Deo, clarisque docere
Indiciis mundum, quanto Dominumque Patremque
Et cœli et terræ et nostri vereamur honore,
Augustasque ædes condi, ornatusque decoros
Attribui, dignoque aras splendescere cultu,
Altaque devoto retegi mysteria ritu,
Festaque conspicuis recoli solennia pompis,
Sacrificisque suum decus, et sua jura rependi,
Et quacunque potest nasci, vel nata foveri,
Aut valida ostendi reverentia numinis arte,
Non ego, nec cuicunque viget mens sana, negarim.
His modo præscribant veras sapientia leges,
Et dilecta Deo ratio, maturaque recti
Pondera consilii, et custos prudentia justi,
Imprudentia turpis, et ignorantia veri,
Dedecus impensis redimi, sordescere vanas
Lautitias, magno risum sudore parari,
Contemptum Superis facit, et convicia cœlo.
Sed nostra in primo nimium stetit anchora fixa
Littore, Musa moras lascivaque traxit inanes.
In lætos carpamus agros iter, ecce benigna
Fruge struit Pomona vias, quas ordine stipant
Continuo, dulcique inflammant corda rubore,
Invitantque manus fugientes pendula mala:
Hæ sata præcingunt, hæ compita cuncta coronæ;
Non infrugiferum telluris sarcina lignum
Definit spatia, et campos dispescit hiantes,
Ast circumtextus confinia limitat hortus.
Prodiga nempe soli latis exterminat agris,
Fructusque angustis munit manus invida spinis,
Vilia defendens inopi solatia vulgo.
Nec certe immeritis conceditur aurea pomis
Libertas, et quæ Saturnia regna deceret;
Illis divinos, latices, certantia Baccho
Pocula, sed Cerere imbutas vincentia lymphas,
Pergratos cordi debent stomachoque liquores.
Non alio furiosa sitis depellitur haustu,
Quaque arent Crasso fauces, quaque uritur Irus.
Exigui constant, et suavem vile saporem
Saltem ventriculis pretium commendat egenis:
Scilicet haud nobis vinum Cereale minoris,
Ebriaque epotis frumentis venditur unda.
Rura per hæc segetum flavis uberrima gazis,
Dum segnes urgemus equos, vacat acta subire
Tempora, sollicitaque retexere secula cura;
Debitaque his nostri generis primordia terris.
Scilicet his egressa locis Mavortia pubes,
Signa ducis sectata sui, quem semine nullo
Natum, jure suum Fortuna volebat alumnum,
Invasit vestris lætum natalibus orbem,
Ferroque edomuit, dubiique favore Gradivi,
Adjecit titulisque ducalibus Anglica sceptra,
Et cum Saxonico Nortmannos sanguine junxit.
Utque genus ducens atro de funere Trojæ,

Relliquiisque iræ Argolicæ, flammæque Pelasgæ,
Incola jactantis septena cacumina Romæ,
In Phrygios delatus agros circumspicit omnes
Sollicitis oculis, nec segni indagine quærit,
An formæ fatale forum, surgentia pinis
Umbrosis Idæ juga, num Simoentis arenas
Et domino rerum Tibri cognata fluenta,
Xantheasque sagax poterit dignoscere lymphas;
Ac densas inter segetes si rudera forte
Emineant, Trojæ quas conjectura ruinas
Cogitet, hasce diu lachrymoso lumine figens
Prisca novo Priami renovat dispendia luctu:
Sic nostros recolebat avos pia cura: sed ejus
Abrupit stamen medium objice villa superbo
Illustris, quam tota vocat provincia matrem:
Magna satis, tectis pulchra, instructissima vitæ
Subsidiis, populi locuples, uberrima gazis,
Queis dives tellus, queis ditius affluit æquor;
Quas ibi per Sequanæ vicina volumina Nereus
Deponit, dulcisque tributa remunerat undæ;
Egregii Sequanæ! solum tamen hactenus; ultra
Vix capit angusto majores amne carinas:
Quarum exultantes in laxo flumine cursus
Obtundit moles sinuosis saxea gyris:
Pons erat, haud alium forma, cum fata ferebant,
Ostentare parem poterant, æqueve patentem
Undinqe ludentes per Celtica flumina Nymphæ;
Temporis expertus vires, fluctusque feroces
Oppugnantis aquæ et belli exitiabilis iras
(Tempore quod citius, sævis violentius undis
Omnia deturbat) nunc una parte superstes
Nequicquam claræ monstrat monumenta ruinæ.
At mirum magis inspirator acuminis usus
Substituit, quem non excisi cautibus orbes
Sustentant, curvis nec ligneus ordo columnis
Subjicitur stabili fundamine, puppibus omnis
Incumbit, variisque incertæ legibus undæ
Obsequitur, nunc elatus torrente superbo
Assurgit, mox deprimitur cum gurgite manco;
Aspice jam tumidis ut aquarum montibus alti
Insideant currus hominesque, ac vertice prono
Despiciant humili subjectas aggere terras;
Quos subsidentis confestim valle profunda
Libratæ superat facies contermina ripæ.
Sed cum non vacet hic vigiles intendere curas,
Prolixisque hærere moris, splendentia magni
Atria pontificis, præclara palatia legum,
Cælatas auro cameras, serpentia muris
Lilia, qua vario celebratur curia cœtu,
Lautitiasque fori grandes, luxusque macelli,
Nobiliumque domos nitidas, et lucida templa,
In quibus eximias ostentat Oventius, aras,
Obducto condent ingrata silentia velo.
At nimio fulgore ferit fugientia turris
Lumina, nec de se sinit ambitiosa taceri,
Quæ sola ex tribus a trunco surgentibus uno
Eminet, atque impellit acuta cuspide nubes.
Hæc nos ad matris Domini, matrumque serenæ
Adducit dominæ titulis insignia templa,
Quæ reliquis intervallo prælustria longo,
Augusti splendore chori pretiosa, patenti
Exporrecta situ, et sublimi marmore clara,
Tantos ornatus debent authoribus Anglis,
Cum sua demissis animosa Britannia Celtis
Sub juga complevit generosis omnia palmis,
Virtutisque suæ passim monumenta reliquit.
Ossa cubant isthic arctis damnata tenebris,
Quæ cum vitali gaudentia luce regebat
Spiritus, indomitas expavit Gallia vires
Magnanimi ducis (haud oculis comperta renarro,
Sed fama fretus, quanquam ceu visa referre
Jure viatoris deberem et jure poetæ)
Occubuit miseris quocum fortuna Britannis,
Gallica res animam penitus contrita resumpsit;
Herois monumenta rapi, manesque lacessi
Tranquillos (magnis terrentur scilicet umbris
Degeneres animæ) vana exoptantibus ira,
Rex etiam fato oppressæ virtutis amicus
Abnuit, et, qui se potuit defendere vivus
Judice me, dixit, meruit post fata quietem.
An posthac fortes violavit iniquior umbras
Impetus haud scio, sed tumulum spes irrita quærit.
Qua merito minor Ambosius sub marmore clausus
Conspicuo perituri oblivia nominis arcet:
Marmora quid loquor? hunc resonabit buccina major,
Et spisso clamore per æthera differet altum
Immani vocis certamine Georgius ingens:
Cujus in eloquium si vastam impellere molem
Vis hominum posset, Gangetidis accola ripæ
Ultimus audiret perculsa mente sonantem,
Exaudiret totus, et obsurdesceret orbis;
Concussas nutare domos, fragilesque fenestras
Dissultare, feros flatus regnare videres.
Is posset clamor cunctas perrumpere sphæras,
Adque ipsos penetrare Deos, symphonia cœli
Debilior nostras nondum licet attigit aures.
Oris quale cavum! non æque grandis hiabat
Machina ventre suo Argolicam complexa juventam.
Quam spissus munit paries! haud crassior illo
Murus, quo Nini Babylonem cinxerat uxor.
(Ne mirare adeo, nec mendacem argue vatem;
At perpende animo glebis ea mœnia coctis
In laterem, hos solido muros constare metallo)
Quis furor insedit mortalia corda, stupendo
Intima pro strepitu prædari viscera terræ
Divitis, et totas simul exhaurire fodinas,
Ac se tam valide conari reddere surdos?
Quæ manus ad celsæ turris fastigia tanti
Pondera prodigii evexit, cœloque locavit?
Illi Gnosius Æineusque loco decedet uterque
Dædalus, et quisquis priscæ miracula Memphis
In pontum sub ea deduxit mole gementem,
Unaque ingentes oneravit caute carinas.
Sed te materies hebeti gratissima Musæ,
Plumbi stridula massa, tuasque relinquere sedes
Sævus amor compellit, et insitus ardor ocellis
Lustrandi nova, nec tepido præcordia voto
Accendit regni caput inspectare cupido.
Sic dum pomiferis celeres excedimus arvis,
Persequimurque diem medium, fontesque calorum
Obrepit Bacchus sensim, parceque trementes
Exerit in limbos inimici frigoris ulnas,
Mox tepidi afflatu factus fidentior Austri
Densius objectat vineta feracia, tandem
Ebria continuo saturantur lumina Baccho;
Ast humili Baccho, nec qui conscensibus altis

Aerea tenues ramos circumplicat ulmo,
Contentus terræ affixis incumbere palis.
O quam te taceam, variis Momorantia vallis
Affluo deliciis, per quam domus inclyta, primos
Admissæ jactat quæ relligionis honores,
Sed fati rigidis insultibus obruta, Lethes
Nescia vivit adhuc et nomen vindicat ævo.
Nec mera vina crepas et munera sola Lyæi,
Calles haud invita tuos peragrantibus offers
Altera dona, tuis rubet altera purpura campis.
Ecce verecundis cerasis ut consita rura
Indefensa viis irritamenta rapinæ
Objiciunt, nullo munimine tecta, sed illo
Quod præstant probitas et rara modestia vallo.
Egressis hoc Elysio suprema laborum
Meta sub aspectum venit.
Pandite nunc Helicona Deæ.
PARISIIS, *Feb.* 9, 1655.

Iter maritimum a portu Ligustico ad Constantinopolim.

NOV. 6, ANNO 1657.

LUXERAT illius soboles gratissima, cujus
Æterna fasti nobilitate rubent,
Quæ sceleri devota evasit sacra saluti;
Hæc prior, illa dies sexta Novembris erat,
Cum dulcis terræ placidis amplexibus acti,
Inque tuos lapsi, Doris amara, sinus,
Deserimus Ligures oras, arcesque Liburnas,
Subditaque Etrusco littora clara duci.
Ut tamen exilii patientia mitior esset,
Et foret intrati parca querela maris,
Fecit amica ratis, quæ dum felicibus auris
Spumanti æquoreas perruit ære vias,
Visa fuit medio turris discurrere ponto,
Visa rapi tumidis altera Delos aquis;
Tanta superstabat moles cedentibus undis,
Sub tali gemuit pondere pressa Thetis;
Haud illa major, nec pulchrior altera navis
Tradit in Æoliam vela superba fidem,
Per medios cœli ardentis quæcunque calores,
Et sævum pavidas per mare quærit opes,
Perque ea, quæ priscis ignota tonitrua nautis
Fulminei vincunt tela trisulca Jovis.
Hac nos Tyrrheni sulcavimus æquoris illas,
Quas adiit primum Lydia pinus, aquas,
Quasque errabunda tranavit Dardana pubes
Fatorum dubiam classe secuta fidem;
Lævum puppe alta spectantibus Itala tellus,
Occupat adversum Cyrnus iniqua latus:
Saxa tenent medium, trepidis quæ cognita nautis
In nostro nullum carmine nomen habent.
Tum regina deum, veteris non immemor iræ,
Quam peperit formæ palma negata suæ:
Ventorum pater, angusto qui carcere ventos
Comprimis, arbitrii sub ditione tui,
Trojanum genus, et Brutum jactare parentem
Ausa secat Tuscos gens inimica sales,
Hos modo tu: verbis assibilat Æolus, Ultra
Non opus est, conjux imperiosa Jovis;
Et simul emissus claustris resonantibus Eurus
Avolat, ac nostrum consonus Auster iter
Reprimit; abripitur variis obnoxia ventis,
Subditaque incerto lassa carina salo;
Undique vesano fluctu jactata volutat,
Et nunc has partes, nunc resupinat eas;
Instabiles titubant mensæ cœnantibus, orbes
Desiliunt, patinas dira ruina trahit;
Hunc aries, illum lascivo bubula cornu
Impetit, e patula defluo lance caro,
Jus ruit indomitum, polentaque niscia justi
Limitis humanos irrigat amne sinus;
Quid fragili vitro speres, Bacchoque salaci?
Edit mirificos ebrius iste choros.
Senserat injustæ ludibria sæva sororis,
Et fremuit moderans cœrula regna Deus:
Hæc patitur, qua non gens navigat altera, nec qua
Insultat dorso charior ulla meo?
Composuitque fretum, reduces cadentia pulsant
Vela leves Zephyri, proficimusque via.
Aspera Sardiniæ lustramus littora, belli
Infaustas Tyriis Trojugenisque faces.
Tum procul Ætneus speculantes campus ocellos
Detinet, hunc Mavors durus adire vetat.
Mox Siculos inter fluctus Libycosque renidens
Allicit incertam Malta superba ratem;
Infelix scopulus, si Parca benignior illas,
Quas natura negat, non tribuisset opes:
Scilicet haud dulcis torrentia pocula Bacchi,
Nec flavæ Cereris munera læta crepat,
Grandibus insignem factis Mavortia tollit
Fama, rudes clivos inclita palma colit.
Difficili turres saxo natura tuetur,
Adjicit ars vires ingeniosa suas,
Plus pia virtutis species, fulgentia summis
Aggeribus niveæ signa decora crucis.
Floreat æternum justæ prosperrima sedes
Militiæ, heroum prodigiosa domus:
Queis dedit haud animos, scelerata nec induit arma
Fluxus opum, aut vani falsus honoris amor:
Nobilis obstrinxit sancti tutela sepulchri,
Agaridasque sacro pellere cura solo:
Effecit numero pollens ignavia, tandem
Desererent voti prima theatra sui:
Expulsis Phœbea Rhodos concessit asylum,
Phœbeam gestis nobilitare Rhodon.
At novus exundans Rhodopeis montibus imber
Hac quoque belligeram depulit arce crucem;
Extremum tandam profugi munimen honoris,
Hesperii Meliten munere regis habent;
Inde suis vastant Saracenas classibus oras,
Sanctaque adhuc gladio vindice bella gerunt.
Hanc adimit confestim auris abrepta secundis
Pinus, et Ioniæ pervolat æquor aquæ.
Vix semel immensi gyrum percurrit Olympi
Flammigeris peragrans æthera Phœbus equis,
Cum puer, aerei prospectans vertice mali,
Provocat aspectum bellica prora meum,
Persequiturque eadem cupido vestigia cursu,
Expandens nostris æmula vela, refert.
At si vera crusis Melitææ insignia præfert,
Congressus faciles optat amica comes.
Hinc dubiam nobis tenuit sententia mentem,
An foret hostili concipienda loco:
Cœptum urgemus iter, pavor haud ingloria pulsat
Corda, nec indignæ sordida cura fugæ:
Senas impendunt quater horas, jam prope nostris
Ut verbis possint verberibusque frui;

Jam non ambiguæ agnoscit præsagia pugnæ,
Armaque tutelæ dux animosque parat.
Quis tamen, aut quanam de gente feroculus audet
Aggressa tantam sollicitare ratem,
Transtra per et cellas votis dubitatur acerbis,
Perque feros nautas pignora spissa volant:
Hic, præfert tantos Hispania sola furores,
Pugnacesve edens Flandria dura viros:
Jurat cornigeras malis insistere lunas,
Et vecordis Afri despicit ille minas,
Istaque luna meis, ait, offuscabitur umbris,
Nullaque cras, quæ nunc dimidatur, erit:
Quæ tamen accendit timidos audacia Mauros?
Quarum dira fames extimulavit opum?
Quod vix ausuros integra classe putarem,
Virtutem nostram provocat una ratis.
Vespera telluri tristes obduxerat umbras,
Cum prope nos tacitum dirigit hostis iter,
Quique futurus erat certaminis arbiter, undis
Sol caput Hesperii gurgitis abdiderat:
Is simul ac rosea rutilum jubar extulit Eo
Clarus, et in supero reddidit orbe diem,
Tempora candentes ostentant fusca tiaras,
Distinguitque hostes certior ira suos.
Hinc nostri erigitur signum fatale Georgi,
Cruxque suas edit sanguinolenta minas,
Inde vacillantis præsagum insigne levatur
Imperii, mutila Cynthia luce rubens;
Quam ferruginei jugulo displosa canalis
Compellant raucis ignea tela sonis:
Hanc tibi, si nostro gaudes sermone, salutem
Dicimus, hoc Anglis convenit alloquium;
Has tibi portamus merces, argentea frustra
Exigis, a nobis ferrea dona refer,
Responde, si grata tuas vox impulit aures,
Surdescis? sensus arriget illa tibi.
Languidior certe, at nostræ cognata loquelæ
Mauri rhetorice subjicientis erat:
Continuo obstreperæ crescens discordia rixæ
Verberat horribili garrulitate polum;
Inter utramque ratem conferto fulmina currunt
Agmine, venturæ nuncia mœsta necis.
Hæc graviore sono, raroque per aera cursu
Sulphurei patulo gurgite missa tubi
Impellunt solidam lethali vulnere quercum,
Et tractus linquunt signa tremenda sui;
Exiguum corpus, tonus est argutior illis,
At densa cœli lumina nube tegunt;
Et profugam extrudunt angusto limine vitam;
Utraque funestum musica murmur habet.
Eminus his piget æternum colludere telis,
Et vano strepitu dilacerare polum;
Lintea rimosis perfossa meatibus auras
Transmisere leves, pervia mille locis,
Irrita sed longe ceciderunt fulmina, costas
Nescia robustæ perterebare ratis.
Gressibus interea tardis processimus, omni
Immunes trepidæ suspicione fugæ:
Scilicet in spissos tenuanter maxima nodos,
Sola suum retinent vela minora situm;
Quæ dum propellit nisu leviore, modesto
Pugnantes defert mitior aura gradu;
Acrius insistunt illi, et furialibus acti
Consiliis agiles in sua damna ruunt:
Nec sibi proficuas admiscent viribus artes,
Quosque fovent semper Punica corda dolos.
Qua ferit obliquus cendentia carbasa ventus,
Invadit dextrum vis simulta latus,
Ocyus inverti mortis funesta supellex,
Et tristis scenæ vultus abire prior,
Ac nostris propiora relinquens flamina velis
Barbaricam fallex flectit habena ratem;
Invenit ex omni fallacia parte paratos,
Nec steriles æstus quod sibi plaudat habet.
Admotis propius crevit certaminis ardor
Ultimus, et segnes non tulit ira moras;
Incitat hos numero rabies subnixa, repulsæ
Dedecus, et prædæ barbarus urget amor;
Nos urit justum decus, indignatio pungit
Nobilis, et patriæ gloria sancta rapit,
Almaque libertas vitali charior aura,
Libertas! bullit cor, animusque tumet:
Ut tibi subjiciar, monstrum servile, coactus
Ut subdam arbitrio libera colla tuo:
Ut tua perpetiar generoso verbera tergo
Vinctus, simque tuus, bestia fœda, canis!
Me prius irato percellat Jupiter igni,
Intrepidum ferient tela superna caput:
Aut mihi si tellus discluso ventre dehiscat,
Ingrediar terræ lætus ovansque sinus.
Vexet acerba lues, paupertas durior illa,
Quam fero, squalenti comprimat arcta jugo;
Sanguine perfundar totus, per vulnera mille
Exultans luteo carcere vita ruet:
Fluctibus exagiter, quos aut fortuna ciere
Aut fatum valet, aut mitior ira deum,
Sim liber modo, nec mea mens obtemperet ulli,
Dum mea, præsertim, barbare Turca, tibi.
En modo concurrunt, nostram contraria puppim
Dura sed invalido verbere prora ferit.
Suavia dispensant extremæ basia caudæ,
Quam fragrans memores diffluit inde vapor;
Mox latus exæquant lateri, mensuraque nostris
Congrua limitibus barbara navis erat.
Ne tamen amplexus divelleret ullus amicos
Impetus astringunt ferrea vincla rates.
Taliter accipitri conjungitur ardea præpes,
Præsidium vitæ ferre coacta suæ:
Sic depascentis viridantia pascua tauri
Involvunt avidum cornua flexa lupum.
Prorepunt portis serie tormenta minaci,
Tartareisque edunt claustra referta focis:
Æstuat inclusus latebris fumantibus ignis,
Prægnantes satagens exonerare sinus.
Æmula discludunt raucis mugitibus ora,
Et rixæ gaudent tempus adesse suæ:
Non ita terribilis latratu nigra trifauci
Cerberus inferni personat antra Jovis:
Nec sic Trinacrii monstrum ferale profundi
Dulichios verio terruit ore senes.
Nos primæ dubias vires tentare procellæ
Juvit, eis potior cura præire fuit.
Quos penes arbitrium nostras displodere flammas,
Acclinant imo corpora strata solo:
E quibus indomiti subridens pectoris unus,
Et stolidos temnens jam moriturus Afros,
Accipiamus, ait, quæ nobis munera præstant,
In prompto nos quod retribuamus erit.
Dixerat; extrusæ ferali fulgure glandes
Bis per nos cursum corripuere decem:
Bis denis duram quercum terebrare fenestris,
His aer, illis excipiuntur aquæ:
Obvia discerpunt fragilis tabulata carinæ,
Inque neces nostras altera tela creant:
Undique distracti vibrantur fragmina ligni,
In dominos sævit navis adacta suos.

Tres nobis socios tempestas abstulit illa,
Excipit hos Stygiis altera cymba vadis.
Sphærula quæ reliquis parca retinente volabat
Tardior incautos conficit una duos:
Certius ut caderent arrecto corpore temnunt
Fata, rati instantes præteriisse minas.
Purpurea alterius dispersis area membris
Sternitur; innumeris mortibus unus obit.
Qualis erat falsis indutus tempora ramis
Venator, canibus præda nefanda suis:
Aut qualis fugiens incestæ jussa novercæ
Hippolytus, pavidis dilaceratus equis.
Huic pila prædatrix humerum detruncat acerbo
Vulnere, nec lacero e corpore vita fugit;
Ille manu præfert, et turpi stigmata fronte,
Alterius signant lignea tela genu.
His stimulis accensa ferocior emicatira,
Mortiferas Nemesis præparat æqua faces;
Hostibus ultrices videas impendere Parcas,
Inde suas transfert mors inopina vices;
Qua seges uberior, potioraque pabula letho,
Qua cupidam satiet justa caterva necem.
Barbara tum stipat Lethæas turba paludes,
Et vexat querulis infera stagna sonis.
Is debellavit perculsos impetus hostes,
Corda repentino diriguere gelu,
Dum fœdæ contemplantur monumenta ruinæ,
Tincta cruentatis strata cadaveribus,
Pertusa immanes rimas in puppe patentes,
Ac irrumpentis lubrica stagna sali.
Deterrent Britonis studiosa silentia nautæ,
Constrictæque fores, tectaque nuda viris,
Nec audent inferre pedem, licet imperet atrox,
Et stricto ductor barbarus ense micet:
Hic patulas lethum fauces intrantibus offert,
Parca dolos nobis insidiosa struit;
Anglicus e loculis globulos hiscentibus ignis
Spirat, in expositos plumbea grando cadet:
Ingressus facilis, nec quem ferus obstruit hostis,
Præclusus callis ne redeamus erit;
Nos subducamus præsentis clade procellæ,
Alter præcipites in mare turbo feret.
Vocibus his, tremulo præbent alimenta timori,
Maturique abitus corda cupido subit.
Quæque injecerat imprudens fiducia nobis,
Cautior abrupit ferrea vincla metus.
Barbarici redit huc integra recensio quæstus,
Quod nostræ tulerint mutua dona rati;
Legitimo funes cumulatos fœnore tempus
Reddere cum rursus congrediemur erit.
Nos penes interea verax harpago trophæum
Servatur, memoris pignus amicitiæ.
Scilicet experti sapiunt quod tutius illis,
Quam junxisse, rates dissociasse fuit.
Ridemus quali fugiens conamine Maurus
In fluctu ducat gesticulante choros;
Ut procera ruens alternis nutibus arbor
His modo, nunc illis oscula figat aquis.
Illis, dum læto profugos comitamur ocello,
Nec gibbæ visum præpedit æquor aquæ,
Certamen dubium rapidis indicitur undis,
Atque insultanti lucta secunda salo.
Vovimus absorptos inhianti gurgite, pinguis
Prædo pisciculis nobilis esca foret.
Nec deerant animis furiisque ultricibus acti,
Hos quibus inflavit sævior ira modus:
Quin sequimur timidos verso temone latrones,
Non elabetur debita pœna reis.
Quæritur exilis nobis vindicta, fugatis
Hostibus, a mersis gloria major erit.
Sed potior vincens miseros sententia fures
Tradidit in sortis jura manusque suæ;
Prosequimur tardis alacres incessibus illam,
Quam primum cœpit navis inire, viam;
Nec tamen erigimus ventis pollanda secundis
Carbasa suspensæ pallida signa fugæ.
Procinctum pugnæ reducis præmonstrat eodem
Belli procedens ordine pompa minax,
Donec victores oculos non pertulit ultra
Barbarus, et jam non conspiciendus erat;
At prius excelsa subducunt puppe sinistræ
Vexillum sortis quod modo testis erat;
Sive verecundam pravo certamine lunam
Subter horizontem jussit abire pudor;
Seu ducis occisi, nos ut speravimus, inde
Descendit versus Tartara nigra comes.
Quicquid erat, faustum pronis amplectimur ulnis
Omen, ovans cœptum plausus adorget iter.
Nunc quibus auspiciis tanti discriminis æstum
Fugeris, unde salus venerit ista, refer.
Debita justarum celebra præconia laudum,
Præsidii causas grata camœna tui.
Præcipuas sibi flammantis moderator Olympi,
Frugiferique soli, cæruleique maris.
Asserit, afflicti vindex æternus honesti,
Proque fera pœnas improbitate creans;
Cui Nemesis pia vulnificis accincta flagellis
Paret, quæque bonis excubat alma salus,
Lubrica cui digitis victoria flectitur æquis,
Et fluxus debet bellica libra vices;
Legibus astringens servilia fata, necesque
Vitasque excusso dividit ille sinu.
Is mala deflexit Saraceni pondera plumbi,
Direxit certa spicula nostra manu,
Densa per hostiles immisit fata catervas,
Distribuit nostris vulnera rara viris;
Illi obstringimur, ætherea quod vescimur aura,
Nec sit in umbrosam vita redacta domum:
Et nostri juris quod libera colla feramus,
Terga nec excrucient verbera, vincla pedes:
Quod navi portum subeamus sospite, justas
Diripuit prædo nec violentus opes;
Quod bene pugnatum est, reliquos quod laudibus æquis
Decantamus, eum gloria sola manet.
Auspice quo, nullum Mervine tacenda per ævum,
Si mea quid possent carmina, bella geris;
Sit licet is nimium tenui pro carmine magnus,
Nec belle Atlantem pumila Musa canat,
Vecturæ est pars magna suæ, vix continet illum
Ampla, foret lembi grande minoris onus.
Vix sua sublimen dominum supereminet arbos,
Æthereo nubes vertice percutiens.
Calcanti depressa tremunt tabulata, minatur
Decussam in fundum præcipitare ratem.
Nec minor est tanto residens in corpore virtus,
Par mensura animo, moribus æquus honor;
Cor bene compositum, frons exporrecta, benignum
Ingenium, sermo comis, aperta manus:
Proh miras aqueis dotes animantibus, errant
Rara per incultum talia monstra mare.
Nec vigil admittit suaves in lumina somnos,
Fluctuat instabili dum sua cura salo;
Instruit officiis nautas, hortatibus acres
Accendit, resides increpat ore minax;

Nunc diducere vela jubet, modo pandere, rursus
Flectere quo venti pronior aura vocat.
Designat puppi vestigia, voce gubernat
Indice, morigera quam regat ille manu.
Navis iter numero confert labentibus horis,
Quid juvet, et currens quid remoretur aqua,
Disserit; æquoream plumbo rimatur abyssum,
Explorat scopulos, littora fida notat;
Inspicit attentus dubii præsagia cœli,
Noscere quid nubes vaticinentur avet;
Qua venti faciles spirent regione requirit,
Unde procellosus turbo pericla vehat:
Vix natas tempestates dijudicat, ortas
Distinet, arte sua fallitur ira poli.
Errantis nunc objurgat mendacia chartæ,
Nunc directricis vim meditatus acus,
Qua gelidos spectat vultu directa Triones,
Et quibus intorquet lumina straba locis:
Sydera scrutatur tacito labentia cursu,
Digerit astrorum tempora, jura, situs;
Directo quibus impendet sol vertice terris,
Quas ferit obliquo verbere molle jubar,
Definit radio; quam sero sydere cœlum
Scandat, quasque obeat Delia fluxa vices.
Anxia perpetuus præcordia concitat æstus,
Quæque ratem, dominum jactitat unda ratis.
Haud dulci curas mordaces solvere Baccho
Sustinet, aut justas accipit ore dapes.
Sed noster, postquam portus intravit amicos,
Tiphys ab hoc quantum discrepat ecce viro.
Ceu navim mentemque suam simul omnibus illam.
Mercibus, hanc curis omnibus exoneret,
Lætus amicorum cunctas circumvolat ædes,
Alternisque illos in sua regno rapit.
Colloquio, cantu, vino conviva benignus
Tædia fert lucis, tædia nocte tulit.
Integra ventre giganteo vineta recondit,
Nec dubitat plenos evacuare cados.
Haud epota queror prandenti flumina Medo,
Nec me quod mendax Græcia fallat erit;
Unus qui poterit fluvios haurire Lyæi,
Lymphæ millia tot cur potuisse negem?
Nec vino cerebrum gerit expugnabile, spernit
Pampinei vires insidiasque Dei,
Quamvis extremos is debellaverit Indos
Thyrsiger, haud valet hoc exuperare caput.
Ah quoties festo cum stridere mensa tumultu,
Convivasque inter serpere multa salus
Cœperat, ille tui dixit mihi Cynthia cordis
Nulla nec imperium Delia mollis habet,
Collegium tibi pro domina est; age pocula plena,
Pocula dilectæ sume dicata tuæ;
Sic pateram accipiens ut nunquam lætius ullam,
Plurima pro vestra vota salute fero.
Denique cum talis rector, convivaque talis
Sit, dubito pugnet fortius, anne bibat.
Scilicet invasit cum nos Saracenus, in illo
Gnavi virtutes emicuere ducis:
Providus expectat discrimen, idonea pugnæ
Omnia prudente dexteritate parat;
Instruit excubias, obstacula submovet, arma
Præbet, distribuit munia, navis iter
Dirigit, exemplis animat precibusque, procellis
Objicit intrepidum fulminibusque caput.
Justa manent reliquos nautas encomia; mitto
Nomina, dum memoro fortia facta virum.
Cum nos infenso studio sequeretur, in illis
Hostis contemptus, non metus ullus erat;
Miscebant fremitumque jocumque, his risus ocellis,
Illis atroces incubuere minæ.
Nec strepitu belli crescente refriguit ardor
Martius, accendit fertior ira viros.
Surdas terrificus clamor circumsonat aures,
Cæcis luminibus lethifer ignis adest.
Hinc obversantur sociorum funera, sparsi
Artus, restagnans per sua strata cruor;
Mors volat undique flammigeris invecta quadrigis,
Nullus adhuc pulsat pectora firma tremor:
Digni quos palmis fortuna remuneret æqua,
Deliciis, opibus, nomine perpetuo.
Quis non interea duri discrimina secli
Ploret, quæque misor damna viator adit;
Et quibus objectat mercator chara periclis
Pignora, spem vitæ præsidiumque suæ?
Vis nova prædonum nunc omnibus incubat undis,
Et diris portant organa facta malis.
Antiquis facies horrori turida cœli,
Emissusque cavis nubibus ignis erat;
Aut siqua ambiguo cautis demersa profundo
Occupat incautas insidiosa rates;
Fundaque damnosum torquens balearica plumbum,
Vel balista gravis saxea tela vibrans;
Aut quæ stridenti nervo decussa fugacis
Evolat Arsacidæ recta sagitta manu:
Jam nihil ista movent tormenta, potentia cœli
Ridetur, sævi temnitur ira maris.
Imbelles ludunt Neptunia sceptra tridentes,
Cumque suis telis fulminibusque Jovem:
Deteriora suis tellus dispendia natis
Edidit e gremio dira noverca suo,
Improba sanguineis prædonibus arma ministrans,
Flammivomum sulphur, Tartareumque nitrum:
Impetus his major, scopus est longinquior, ictus
Certior, horridior vox, citiorque via:
Saxea non illis obstant, non mœnia ferri,
Perrumpent solidas ex adamante fores;
Lignea ne speres obsistere valla, nec ullum
Contra compages ossea robur habet.
Auxilium cœli dedit hinc emergere, et inde
Vela per Ionios accelerare sales;
Oeyus attigimusque tuos Cytherea recessus,
Ægei portas introitusque maris:
Quæ juga famosis coluit Venus aurea templis,
Nunc Mavors Veneta possidet arce suus.
His adversa jacent Pani sacra Mænala, quæque
Tantalidæ Pelopis littora nomen habent,
Heroum nutrix tellus, celeberrima magnis
Urbibus, ingenio militiaque potens
Magnanimam Sparten, Agamemnoniasque Mycenas,
Nestoris antiquam regia tecta Pylon,
Elida palmiferam, Tegeam, bimaremque Corinthum,
Junonisque Argos, et Sicyona crepans;
Nunc inculta jacet rigidi sub jure tyranni;
Tantarum rerum nil nisi fama manet.
Dictæos subito colles transimus, alebat
In quibus infantem parva capella Jovem;
Terribilis belli scenam; perfundit agellos
Undantes Venetus Threiciusque cruor.

Hanc prætergressos nos opportuna receptat
  Melos, habens tutos insula parva sinus:
Hic conquassatæ reparamus damna carinæ,
  Vulnera Dædalea reficimusque manu:
Jam post bis denos terrena revisere soles
  Littora, deque cava scandere puppe datur:
Imbibimus cupido nativos ore vapores,
  Queis putris æquorei displicet aura salis;
Ingressos nova corripiunt ostenta, videntur
  Fœminei vultus, oraque nuda comis;
Ast inclusa tegens corpuscula lanea vestis
  Haud valet exertum tangere curta genu:
Quæ tamen immenso spatium circumfluit orbe,
  Quale premens Tityus jugera mole novem,
Diductis sinuata plicis; extensa patenti
  Congruerent stadio finibus æqua suis:
Et quo quæque suis fortunis amplior, illo
  Uberior gravius stragula præstat onus:
Hæc sibi circumdant proprii monumenta laboris,
  Quæque suo ducunt pollice, fila gerunt.
Forsitan hæc risum poterant movisse tuenti,
  Excutient fletus altera visa tibi:
Deformis rerum species, neglectus agrorum,
  Irriguis manans lachryma crebra genis,
Et querulæ voces: Quid duro vertis aratro
  Providus et pinguem semine spargis humum?
Quid teneris sponsos adjungis vitibus ulmos?
  Mitia cur dura germina falce putas?
Cur armenta boum subigis, mollesque capellas,
  Vim bellantis equi, lanigerosque greges?
Mox aliena tuæ complebunt horrea messes,
  Abductos comedet barbara turba boves;
Ti sitiente tuo spumantia pocula Baccho
  Hauriet indomito gutture miles atrox:
Squalenti lanas pectis tegumenta latroni,
  Teque tuumque ferox Turca domabit equum;
Aut Antenoria dominus de classe superbus,
  Mercedis sitiens Dalmata, Russus inops.
Hæc miseros fortuna manet, cervicibus aptans
  Pressuram gemini duritiemque jugi;
Quicunque Ægeis circundata fluctibus arva,
  Ambigui Martis centra polosque colunt:
Tutelam neutri debent, utrique tributum,
  Præsidium nemo commodat, ambo volunt
Præsidii quod eget: nec mitius illud, ab agris
  Quos ipsi fructus diripuere petunt.
Cumque suis domini populantur classibus oras
  Ancipites Venetus Threiciusque latro,
Matronalis honos incestæ damna rapinæ
  Deflet, virgineus tristia probra pudor.
Annua frondescunt ramosa fronte maritis
  Cornua, vix cervis certior illa seges.
Linquentes Tyriam Melon scopulosa repente
  Circuit amplexu densa corona suo.
Delon Apollineam (quæ quondam erratica divæ
  Obtinuit stabilem munere fixa situm),
Andron conspicuam, Bromiique palatia Naxon,
  Frugiferam Tenon, marmoreamque Paron;
Et turpes Scyron latebras quæ cessit Achilli,
  Ventremque implevit, Deidamia, tuum;
Excelsam Myconem, Gyarosque, brevemque Seriphon,
  Queisque minor fama est nobilitasque locos
Vidimus: his parcas sequior natura ministrat,
  Quas aliis nimias accumulavit opes;
Fœcundæ spicas Cereris, pinguesque Minervæ
  Succos, quæque fluens dona Lyæus habet.
Irrita Gradivus naturæ munera præstat
  Improbus, hæc miseris quæ dedit, ille rapit.
His eluctatos anfractibus amplius æquor
  Concessit cursu liberiore, frui,
Donec progressos intercipit, aspera curvæ
  Subtendens Asiæ littora, clara Chios,
Ubertate soli reliquas cultuque sorores,
  Ædibus, ingenio, moribus exsuperans.
Quæ licet Osmanidæ tenera cervice tyranni
  Perferat enervans libera corda jugum,
Jactat adhuc Latii vestigia prisca leporis,
  Et generis retinens signa notasque sui,
Altricem Genuam tectorum mole, loquela,
  Deliciis, habitu, relligione refert;
Hinc pellucentes succos, stomanchoque benignas
  Incisæ lacrymas arboris orbis habet;
Quæque poetarum validis collata Falernis
  Festiva attollit pagina, vina bibunt.
Prominet ecce caput sancti cœleste Jacobi,
  Ostentatque tuos, inclyta Smyrna, sinus;
Florentis famæ, cum res Romana Deorum
  Consiliis felix auspiciisque stetit;
Nunc quoque magnificæ jactas monumenta ruinæ,
  Splendoris testes relliquiasque tui;
Saxorum cumulos, inscriptaque marmora claris
  Priscorum titulis, nominibusque ducum,
Rudera castelli, tremulo circundata vallo,
  Nunc quoque post ipsos ambitiosa rogos,
Multiplicesque arcus, numerosisque antra columnis
  Fulta, cavernosos permeat unda tubos.
Temporis anteferenda aliis præclara trophæis
  Acclivi surgunt amphitheatra jugo;
Antra notes licet, et caveas aditusque feraruum
  Et spectatores quos tenuere gradus:
Quid Polycleteas forsan vel Mentoris artes,
  Hæret longa quibus fabula, signa loquar?
Vel Polycarpei nugas sordesque sepulchri
  Ridicula memorem credulitate miser?
Audebat vero qui vitam impendere, nullo
  Aut tumulo dignus nobiliore fuit.
Nec speciem rapuit tantum, vultusque prioris
  Attrivit nitidum fœda senecta decus,
Sed translata situ, et clivo deducta salubri
  Urbs modo depressos occupat ima locos;
Solibus objectam, vacuamque patentibus auris
  Morborum invadit sæpius atra cohors;
Floret adhuc tamen et cultu sub paupere celat
  Vespera quas et quas advehit ortus opes;
Hic cupidi nodus mundi, quo confluit agmen,
  Queis sacer argenti pectora torret amor;
Armenia huc molles longinquaque Persia setas,
  Gazas Nile tuas mattis, et Inde tuas;
Avulsosque capris tenues Ancyra capillos,
  Cuncta suique oriens dona superba soli.
Ipsa dat arboreas gossypia tenuia lanas,
  Nulla quibus tellus æquiparanda, sibi.
Gallus ab occasu lati vagus incola mundi,
  Et solers Italus, Belgaque gnarus aquæ.
Merces quisque suas; potiores impiger affert
  Anglus, lanigeræ nobile vellus ovis,
Pallentis stanni, segnisque gravamina plumbi,
  Utraque Mavorti sacra metalla novo;
Omnes argentum, natura futile pondus,
  Sed nimiam ex usu vim pretiumque ferens.
Scilicet adversa Phœbo vertigine mundum
  Circuit, et fontes Indica gaza suos,
Peruviis effossa jugis petit (ultimus illuc
  Terminus occidui solis, origo novi);

Hesperii simul est titulos insculpta tyranni,
Protinus hac penetrat Persica regna via:
Tum loca monstrosus quæ dissita lambit Hydaspes,
Queisque Mogul magnus prædominatur adit;
Et varias peragit dum massa volubilis orbem,
Sceptrigeros vultus effigiesque refert.
Quas onerat multas Hispanica gaza carinas,
Vicinis semper Smyrna tuetur aquis.
Quaque nec emittit, nec portibus excipit ullam,
Affulget miro lumine rara dies:
Nec plures nec majores gens ulla ministrat,
Quam præses salsis Anglia nostra viis;
Nulla tot et tales fortunæ præstat alumnos,
Quos bene partarum palma coronet opum;
Dignos sorte sua, quibus arte instructa fruendi
Divitiis addit mens generosa decus.
Comiter excipimur cunctis, intrantibus ædes
Prostant, ingressis libera mensa patet.
Detinet invitum mansuetis viribus hospes,
Difficilis cupidum evadere pugna manet;
Distrahit incertos adversa copia lucta,
Qui jubet ut maneas suadet abire pudor.
Quo te præsertim, consul dignissime, versu,
Quæve canat dotes digna Camæna tuas?
Inclyta majestas proceri corporis, oris
Par decus, urbano nectare lingua fluens;
Nobilitas animo, cultis elegantia comis
Noribus, ingenio gratia dulcis inest.
Eminet in rebus peragendis plurima virtus,
Prudentem, fortem fama, bonumque vocat;
Cumque suos placido moderamine dirigat Anglos,
Terribilem adversis indomitumque ferunt.
Nec te illaudatum sileam, suavissime pastor,
Alter Smyrnæi tu Polycarpe gregis;
Communis soboles ornamentumque parentis,
Et matrem redamans officiose tuam;
Vestris me fultum meritis, et nomine, citra
Quod fuit in voti credulitate mei,
Ingenua bonitate excepit, fovit amicis
Consiliis, juvit consiliisque rudem.
Integritas vitæ siquid, facundia linguæ,
Et facilis morum candor honoris habent,
Siquid pacificæ mentis prudentia felix,
Et sibi cura suum conciliare gregem,
Hunc merito vestrum jactare potestis alumnum,
Certus ab hoc vobis germine crescet honos.
Me sibi devinxit certe, nec debita tanta
Excutient animo secula mille meo.
Nec regit imbelles agilis dum spiritus artus,
Excidet immemori gratia vestra mihi;
Hospite qui mensa cepistis et hospite tecto
Ignotum vobis immeritumque virum.
Dum peragit septem lampas Titania gyros,
Hic sumus, octava capere luce fugam
Cœpimus, in liquidos iterum descendere campos,
Et magni portam Thracis adire juvat.
Errantes pelago scorpulorum cingit acervus
Alter, in his palmam Sapphica, Lesbos habet;
Quæ cunas Theophraste tuas divine, tuasque
Psittace, præclaris terra superba viris,
Alcæique chelyn, et jactat Arionis illam,
Quæ pisces valuit sollicitare, lyram.
Exerit hinc sublime caput Vulcania Lemnos,
Gleba sigillatum præbet opima solum.
Imbros detegit et canos Samothracia montes
Ardua, mystarum relligiosa parens.
Implicat invitos tandem statione maligna,
Nostræ equidem Tenedos non bene fida rati;
Quæque decem Danai classes Agamemnonis annos,
Nos totidem plagæ detinuere dies:
Hinc Veneti rerum, depulso Thrace, tyranni,
Inde viæ cupidos sæva moratur hyems;
Interea faciem pelli spectare nefandam,
Et rigidi Martis tristia signa licet,
Ambustas ædes, direptaque prædia, passim
Quæque per incultos ossa seruntur agros.
Qua sunt aggressi terram regione, quibusque
Victrices scopulis applicuere rates;
Quo tormenta jugo Saracenæ obnoxia turri,
Queisque alacres turmas disposuere locis,
Demonstrant, vacat attentis admittere dicta
Auribus, invisæ dum tenuere moræ:
Rumpimus has tandem, cursumque iterantibus olim
Inclyta Dardanii littoris ora patet.
Florida planicies, placitis delecta Deorum
Artificum, sua qua Pergama sede forent;
Nobilis heroum circus, fatale theatrum
Virtutis, prisci Martius orbis ager.
Europen Asiæ commisit, Troas Achivis,
Diisque adversantes bellica scena Deos;
Hectoris eximii volucrisque effusus Achillis,
At magis ingenii campus, Homere, tui:
Condita divina ceciderunt mœnia dextra,
Ast æterna tuo carmine Troja viget.
Nec procul umbrosæ vertex ostenditur Idæ,
Quo funesta fuit lis agitata foro;
In mare contracto Simois ubi defluit amne,
Cum Trojæ allureret mœnia, major erat.
Dum vix elapsa est oculis Sigeia tellus,
Et sua adhuc memori funera mente sedent,
Altera suppeditant tragicos spectacula luctus,
Et cedunt aliis Troica fata malis.
Angustas fauces Athamantia deteget Helle,
Quas fallax toties nobilitavit amor.
Diffusos Asiæ tractus, plagasque patentes
Europæ tenuis distrahit unda freti,
Quam tumidus vanis vexavit Persa flagellis,
Et fluxam stulta compede vinxit aquam.
Quis Seston nescit, priscæ quis nomen Abydi,
Adversas arces, claustra gemella maris?
Cui non dicta est noctivagi jactura Leandri,
Parque Herus pulchræ flamma, sepulta salo?
Non licet his curas impendere, tendimus ultra
Ignave, contra vim venientis aquæ;
Donec liberior Propontidis alveus ipsam
Explicat; effuso deficit amne vigor.
Rursus aberrantes angusto limite fluctus
Congregat, et stricto continet ore salum
Bosphorus: attollunt septem fastigia turres,
Et patet urbs longæ meta statuta viæ.

De Religione Turcica.

ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΝ.

ANNO 1658.

Mentibus his residere metum studiumque Deorum
Quis putet, aut animos divinum tangere cultum
Humani expertes? Jovis ut Cyclopica corda
Cura premat, Cœli fateantur regna gigantes?

Sic habet: inseruit sensum nascentibus altum
Authoris natura sui, rerumque parentem
Ignorare vetat rerum fatalis origo;
Numinis immunes non vivitur; occupat omnes
Religio, plus falsa juvat, quam nulla; docemur
Hanc facile, cupidaque stupentibus aure sacerdos
Imbibitur nugas, et inania verba susurrans.
Hinc simul ac patriis bellatrix turba latebris
Emersit, Scythicisque opulentam Persida sceptris
Supposuit, servos domini accepere magistros,
Succubuit victor domitis accessio sacris.
Sæva superstitio, bellisque creata ciendis,
Indulgens iræ, pronæque effusa remittens
Lora voluptati, martis simul improba fautrix
Et veneris, votis ac moribus apta ferinis,
Barbara corripuit subita præcordia flamma:
Quam faveas modo, Musa, nec indignere lacunis
Stercoris impuri te immergere, protinus omnem
Excutiam, quo fonte, quibus defluxerit olim
Alveolis, arcana rudi mysteria versu,
Absurdos ritus, commentaque vana retexam.
Primus Arabs, humili deductus stirpe, sed alta
Ambititone tumens, pravi molimine fretus
Ingenii, cum rem Christi marcescere fœdis
Corruptam vitiis, lacerique labascere vires
Imperii, populum luxu grassante solutum,
Immemorem priscæ fidei, fallique capacem
Cerneret, e Stygiis immissa luce tenebris;
Proditione prius satagit grandescere, cives
Sollicitare, jugum veteris convellere regni,
Allicere incertum studiisque accendere vulgus
Se diro præbere ducem stimulumque furori:
Judiciis superum mox inclarescere; labem
Obscuri generis detergere, desuper ortum
Illustrare, potestatemque ascribere cœlo:
Mira per humanas mendacia spargere mentes,
Se libertatem sublatam vindice terris
Restitui, morum se correctore reduci
Justitiam, præcepta novæ veneranda salutis
Se præferre, sua reparari secula lege;
Quam non terrena cretam ratione, suique
Pallada jactaret cerebri, sed ab æthere summo
Divinoque sinu rapidis deduceret alis
Dux superum Gabriel, Cœli fidissimus Hermes:
Aut inspiraret solitæ sub imagine formæ
Nobilis aura Dei, mites imitata columbas,
Et docili arcanos stillaret in aure susurros.
Sic e spernendo venerabilis, eque latrone
Vates nil infra commercia numinis audax,
Ense simul stricto, falsoque feroculus ore,
Marte Jovem, sævis oracula miscuit armis.
Hinc præclara fides Mahometis; filia turpis
Perfidiæ, quam viperea detrusit ab alvo
Seditio, Lucina manus scelerata ministras
Præbuit impostura, tumentiaque ubera lacte
Sacrilego admovit, nutrix Bellona replevit
Cædibus, et crudo crescentem sanguine pavit,
Credulus effudit per conscia pectora terror.
Emanavit ab hoc fidei synosura recentis
Angelico doctore liber, densissima monstris
Pagina, nugarum locuples, fœcunda Chimæris
Colluvies tetra errorum, sentina, lacusque
In quem sectarum detrita volumina sordes
Deposuere suas, quas aut Judæa creavit
Aut pagana superstitio, vel pejor utraque
Hæresis, obscœnos Christi velamine mores
Pestiferumque tegens specioso nomine virus:
Omnis in hanc fluxit scelerum contagio Lernam.
Quale chaos rerum, tenebræ, confusio, bellum!
Vox delirranti similis, mens (siqua) furenti;
Et methodus, qualis connectit somnia; miror
Si sanus, vigilem certe scripsisse negarim.
Proponit, nec persequitur; per mille vagatur
Lubricus ambages, nec se extricare laborat.
Mille licet vicibus repetat sua, nausea donec
Ingruat et patulæ arescant rancedine fauces,
Nec meminisse sui valet, aut consistere secum,
In cantu sibi perpetuo discordat eodem.
Undique dicta rapit, compilat scrinia prædo
Callidus, immutat fallax sua furtacharacter,
Deformat vultum larva celante priorem.
Polluit historias, veteris dictamina famæ;
Transponit loca, secernit vicina, remota,
Germanis Indos, Rheno conjungit Hydaspem:
Conturbat seriem fatorum, tempora rerum
Invertit, seros proavis præferre nepotes
Ausus, Alexandrum Cyro, Cyrumque Sesostri:
Attexit nova, quæ nullus firmaverit author,
Seria ridiculis, fucatis vera remiscet:
Confundit brutis humana, et sacra profanis.
Iste tamen liber, ut miracula vana, libido
Lascivus, novitatis amor, metus, improbus error,
Persuasere fidem falli proclivibus, alas
Explicuit, variasque absurdo dogmate gentes
Afflavit, comes armorum, quibus obruit orbem
Turbinis instar atrox Nabathææ cultor arenæ.
Vis illata duplex mundo; cervicibus arma
Aptarunt juga, sed juga mentibus Alcoranus;
Quem velut ætheræ scintillam lucis Olympo
Delapsum, veri canonem justique supremum
Et solum, sub quo decidunt judice lites,
Pensant facta, regunt mores, vitæque tenorem
Componunt, miro Turcæ dignantur, honore;
Descriptum pulchre limbo radiante coronant;
Solertes immensa reportant præmia scribæ:
Mille coronatis totidem mendacia constant.
Ast animo quisquis memori, cerebrique tabellis
Mollibus insculpens defuncti verba prophetæ
Respirare dedit, reverentia lautior illum
Prosequitur, meruit suffimina, numinis instar
Exigui colitur, decorat convivia præsens.
Objectum non ablutis accedere plantis,
Immunda tractare manu, contingere spurco
Corpore, luminibusque sacrum inspectare volumen
Haud bene purgatis, fuerit deflebile crimen.
Lustralis tibi lympha deest, cum tollere librum
Usus et officii ratio imperiosa requirit?
Armatos adhibe digitos, et forcipe puro
Suscipe, vel medii defensum tegmine panni.
Væ tibi, ni caveas contra lustrare profano
Podice, sacrificove opponere terga legenti.
O curas secus impensas, a cortice sordes
Externo prohibere, latentia stercora sensus
Turpis, et impuri maculas celare recessus;
Ac faciem dictis, sed non advertere mentem.
Hujus amor scripti non in se terminat, ultra
Promovet affectus, et chartas consecrat omnes;
Nosque reos peragunt infandi criminis ausos
Natibus infestis sacram temerare papyrum,
Religione sua inscribi (tum denique) dignam:
Nec Venetis se perpendunt debere cloacis,
Mirificum quæ nunc involvunt lintea vatem.
Dotatur miris virtutibus illita libro
Exceptis membrana notis; comitatur habentem

Certa salus, fugiunt depulsa pericula; tutum
Quis dubitet, tereti quicunque monilia collo
Appendat sapiens chartacea, brachia sanctis
Muniet armillis? quis tam temerarius illum
Ut violet morbus, damnum manus inferat audax,
Aut prope non nimium præceps accedat alastor?
Pugnatur? quoties inimicos obtudit enses
Affixum signis carmen fatale, caducas
Restituitque acies, dubiamque arcessere palmam
Attractu valuit? panduntur vela, procella
Ingruit, antennis circundata, chartula pontum
Compescit, nubes abigit ventosque, serenum
Allicit, in magico tanta est fiducia versus.
Stylus Arabs libri, sensus sublimis, ut illis
Esse solet nullus quibus est; evolvere cuncti
Non intellecto quamvis sermone tenentur,
Et legere ignari: studium persolvit ocellus,
Mens vacat officio: quid enim, nescire profanam
Excusare manum meruit, digitique recidet
Ignavi curas? quo scilicet indice voces
Enumerant, literas, accentus, commata, versus;
Qualia quæve legant cæci, quota nosse laborant;
Mole fidem, non vi; numero, non pondere consent.
Ne tamen ignoret penitus miserabile vulgus
Quæ melius nescire foret, mysteria fidus
Explicat interpres textumque enodat acerba
Pensatus trutina, duroque examine notus.
Nunc quæ depromunt ex illo dogmata fonte,
Quos cudunt fidei articulos, exponere Musa
Aspirante juvat. Seni numerantur in ore
Communi celebres, primaque in classe locandi.
Esse Deum, angelicas mentes, sacra biblia, vates,
Judicium extremum, decreta bonique malique.
De quibus uberior quæ sit sententia Turcis
Dicam, nec posito deflectar ab ordine. Primo
Est Deus, æternus, naturæ simplicis, unus
Persona; similis, consortis, comparis expers;
A nullo genitus, genitor nullius; origo
Ipse sui; factor, custos, moderator eorum,
Omnia quæ patulo mundus complectitur orbe.
Transcendit sensum ipsius proportio, membri,
Partis, divisionis inops, non competit illi
Forma, nec effigies vivo simulanda colore.
Ante, simul, post res fuit, est, erit; haud manet usquam
Ille loci, nec abest; fixusque per omnia currit.
Nec minor esse potest, nec major; commoda nulla,
Affectus, curas patitur: desciscere mundum
Finge, fides cesset, reverentia numinis omnis
Exulet, involvat sacrorum oblivio terras;
Nec deserta suis fument altaria flammis;
In cineres abeat cœlestis machina, priscum
Terra chaos repetat, nihili redigantur in alvum
Omnia, funestaque cadant absorpta ruina;
Nec dives minus aut felix erit, haud premet illum
Cura, vel afficiet dolor, aut urgebit egestas,
Intra se plenum consummatumque, suisque
Contentum saturumque bonis. Perlustrat aprico
Lumine cuncta; cavernosis quæ clausa latebris,
Quæ defuncta sua fugere evanida vita,
Illaque, quæ nondum mundanæ conscia lucis,
Imperfecta jacent dubiæ sub semine causæ;
Quo manifesta magis, præsentia, facta tuetur?
Cognovit pater Oceanus quot lambit arenas,
Quot numerat Ceres, ignavum quot grana papaver,
Qui foliis census debetur, quique capillis.
Hærentem scopulo polypum dijudicat, atræ
Formicæque super nigrum vestigia saxum,
Obscuros gressus sub opaca nocte tegentis:
Percipit elisos submissa voce susurros,
Atque verecundæ pressissima murmura linguæ.
Quoque nihil fecit natura abstrusius, ille
Intima rimatur taciti penetralia cordis.
Nec tamen aspiciens oculos habet, aut quibus audit
Possidet auriculas, est totus lumen, et auris
Totus: ab humano penitus perceptio sensu
Abludit divina. Illi mortalia subsunt
Omnia, prævalidisque obsistere nescia parent
Imperiis: ejus contra nihil accidit usquam
Aut præter decreta, manus, moderamina: nutu
Absque Dei nec musca suas levis explicat alas.
Non illum neglectus iners, non perfida Lethe,
Non præsumptio vana trahit, nec devius error.
Lucis inaccessæ longinquas incolit arces,
Quo penetrare nefas, etsi sublimibus esset
Ingeniis: ea mortalem mysteria captum
Excedunt, illuc spectare superbia nobis
Stulta, stupor sceleratus erit; pia suscipit illum
Credulitas, qualem descripsimus. Esse, secundo,
Angelicos confide choros, cœlestis alumnos
Aulæ, syderei comites proceresque tyranni,
Participes regni, mandatorumque ministros,
Ignaros peccare suique excurrere fines
Obsequii, quod nec flagrans remoratur edendi
Cura, nec importuna sitis, nec prolis habendæ
Impatiens studium distractos occupat; illis
Non gula, non venter, non est distinctio sexus;
Non Ceres est, non bis genitus, non filia spumæ
Cordi, indigna suo contemnunt numina cultu.
Quilibet officio vigil excubat; atria servant
Flammantis stellata poli; subsellia cingunt
Augusto substrata throno, despectibus alti
Verticis intenti, quo designante parati
Cæruleas pennis findunt velocibus auras,
Et peragunt opera sublimia jussa fideli.
Non situs est idem cunctis, non omnibus unum
Officium; perstant erecto corpore quidam
(Corpus enim si credis habent) discumbitur illis
Mollius, inflexis genubus reverenter adorant,
Et figunt alii cœlestibus oscula stratis.
Hic laudes celebrans placidi concentibus oris,
Aut agili volucres pertentans pollice chordas
Carmine mirifico totum demulcet Olympum,
Et superas grato modulamine personat aures.
Ille polo non invitus delabitur exul,
Nube coruscantes humeros indutus opaca,
Præfectus custosque datus mortalibus; oras
Perlustrat sibi commissas; bona, prava recenset
Facta, fovet donis meritos, pœnisque coercet;
Sustinet auxilio labentes, erigit ipso
Prolapsos, levat oppressos, succurrit egenis;
Eludit technas exquisitique labores
Consilii, minimo digiti conatmina flexu
Subruit immodicas vires jactantia; cursus
Humanos tenui sufflaminat objice; forma
Conspicuus nulli, et radiatus caput obrutus umbra
Apparet liquidis effectibus. Omnibus ingens

Robur, sed gradibus distant ac ordine certo.
Viribus excellent aliqui, immanique gigantes
Membrorum referunt habitu; de culmine cœli
Vix intervallum labentibus effluit horæ
In terras; Scythicas tractu pernice sagittas
Vincunt, sulphureoque emissum fulmine plumbum;
Impellunt quicquid properantibus officit; una
Immensos penna montes subvertere, terræ
Radices aperire, ostendere tartara possunt.
Inter eos Gabriel forma ac virtute supremus
Eminet: Esrahil, lethi niger angelus, Orco
Addicit tristes animas, Ereboque reducit
Palantes: mirum si non talaria plantis
Aptet, somniferamque manu virgam quatit alter
Mercurius. Summus postremi examinis index
Insertam tenet ore tubam, jussumque moratur
Numinis, inflabit monitus pulmonibus acer
Israfil, et mundum ferali perstrepet ære.
Perculsum clangore genus mortale peribit,
Corporibusque animas fatum commune sequetur;
Ut tener occumbit violenti flatibus Euri
Flosculus, aut fragiles Borea incursante fenestræ
Dissiliunt; non ipse suæ vim perferet auræ
Obstreperus tubicen, vitamque efflabit ab ore.
Per denas quater orbis erit desertus aristas,
Extabitque nihil vasti per inania mundi.
Post hæc Israfili vitam, ventumque, tubamque
Restituet Deus, et cantum renovare jubebit.
Ingruet angelicos manes, animasque jacentes
Eriget, immittens reduces in pectora motus
Spiritus, horrendum quo possint ante tribunal
Comparere, suæ rationemque edere vitæ.
Nec licet indignus fama reticebere, lucis
Transfuga, tartareæque hospes caliginis Iblis;
Non superum populos inter postreme beatos,
Ni dederat summo malesana superbia cœlo
Præcipitem, placitisque Dei parere negaras:
Nuper cum luteum Pater immortalis Adamum
Fingeret, æthereis animans præcordia flammis,
Et propriæ pulchra gavisus imagine formæ
Cœlicolas operi cultum præstare juberet
Applausumque suo; tumidus natalibus altis,
Nec memor Authoris, sua cui deberet origo
Se quoque, temnebas rigidum livore maligno
Incurvare genu: quid enim, clarissima lucis
Progenies vilem cœni veneretur alumnum?
Ut rerum confundatur justissimus ordo,
Naturæ pereat meritum, sublimia cedant
Depressis, terras axis stellatus adoret,
Serviat obscœna lampas Phœbea paludi?
At quid vana loqui, lingua velitare procace,
Adversusque Deum tumidas obtendere nugas
Profuit? obsequium non detractavit inultus,
Fulmine pallentes decessit adactus ad umbras,
Lucifugamque colit cœlo detrusus abyssum.
Hinc miser invidia turget, stirpemque perosus
Immanis causam lapsus, flagrantibus iris,
Hortator scelerum, patratorumque severus
Persequitur vindex homines; nec simplice pollet
Nequitia, similes immundo semine natos
Progenuit (mœstis nec abest Venus improba regnis,
Est sua Plutoni Proserpina; sexus abesset,
Non foret infernus, nec dæmon posset haberi
Infelix, expers consortis; credite Turcas
Dicere, non ego sic teneros aversor amores),
Infensum nobis agmen, rabieque paterna
Accensum; macie tenues in corpora nostra
Insinuant sua, perversos in sanguine motus,
In nervis, in carne cient, rationis amico
Discordes regno; sensus a mente rebelles
Abducunt; laqueos, inimicaque retia tendunt
Virtuti; pravos affectus indere, vanas
Spes, stolidosque metus, cæcosque cupidinis ignes,
Curasque ancipites, querulasque superstitiones;
Omnigenisque student animos corrumpere monstris.
Successu scelerum gaudent, sannisque subactos
Excipiunt, hilares nostris cruciatibus hærent,
Deformes edunt subducta nare cachinnos,
Et sua solantur nostris dispendia damnis.
In mala non cogunt, nec apertis viribus instant,
Astuto tantum possunt impellere suasu:
Qui cavet insidias, est quod non horreat illos,
Victor erit quisquis venientibus obstruit aeres,
Sed quid furciferos lemures moror? an furor illis
Possessum rapit? articulus se tertius infert
Quatuor obtendens effusa volumina sacro
Afflatu, non ambiguo munita sigillo
Æterni Regis, totidem inspirata prophetis.
Biblia primævus Moses, David edidit hymnos,
Christus Evangelium, Mahumetes Alcoranum.
Tres persenserunt hostilia fata priores,
Annosæ rugas, corruptelasque senectæ,
Omnia mutantis. Calamus peraravit iniquus,
Errores irrepserunt, turpesque lituræ;
Nil primi retinent illibatique decoris,
Nec priscam meruere fidem liber: ultimus, ævo
Ultimus, anterior (de se si creditur ipsi)
Et princeps pretio; purus, sincerus, abundans,
Nil falsi admistum, nil veri jactat omissum;
Quæ reliquis desunt supplet, decisa resarcit,
Confirmat genuina suo, fucataque truncat
Arbitrio; quem non fraus invida læserit unquam,
Deceptæque manus scelus, aut injuria mordax
Temporis, antiquum tenet incorruptus honorem;
Defectus nullos, contagia nulla veretur,
Hac perdurabit signata coronide veri
Regula, defuncto dum conclamabitur orbi,
Magnaque funereo flagrabit machina busto.
Quarta fides sanctos vates credique facitque
Credendo, radiis perfusos pectora lucis
Insolitæ, superoque intinctos nectare linguas;
Mentis et eloquii promptos comprendere sensum,
Comprensum proferre Dei, præconia veri
Accinere, errorum nebulas dispellere, mores
Dirigere, et certæ callem signare salutis.
Fatidicæ gentis numeroso palmite stirpem
Diffusam, gemino conclusit limite magnum
Par, caput Adamus, Mahometes cauda prophetis.
Fictilis is cœni exucca compage, favillas
Ætherei rapiente foci, genitalia vitæ
Semina, naturæ prægnans virtute recentis,
Nuper prognati cecinit primordia mundi,
Authoremque suum teneram cognoscere prolem
Imbuit: ut piceis facies informis abyssi

Obsita squaleret tenebris; ut cærula nullis
Picta coruscare stellis, nec luce serena
Rideret regio, varios nec ludicra gyros
Ederet; ut sterili tellus obducta palude,
Nocte rigens et morte, nec usquam surgeret alto
Ornatu nemorum, viridi nec serperet herba.
Ut pax nulla foret rebus, non pulcher inesset
Ordo, nec arbitrium legis, temeraria molem
Confusam instabili premeret discordia regno.
Ut tum divini nitidissima filia verbi
Turpibus emersit cunis, et præpete cursu
Qua patet immensum subito perfulsit Olympum,
Mobilibus collecta globis. Subsedit aquarum
In pontum digesta palus; tumefacta vigore
Prolifico tellus fœcunda protulit alvo
Omnigenas segetes, sylvas, animalia, tandem
Se caput et finem perfecti a Numine mundi.
Talia vaticinans reliquis prælusit Adamus
Rusticus et simplex. Mahumetem immanior olim
Corripuit furor; haud quamvis lymphatica Musam
Exagitet rabies, totusque invadat Apollo,
Ille magos inter quantum præfulserit omnes,
Nobiliter demens, insano carmine promat;
Quantos inflato superarit pectore montes,
Quam rigido arrecti steterint horrore capilli,
Quot rabido spumæ modios excreverit ore,
Incumbente Deo domitus; si vis tamen illam
Ulla domare potest animam, quæ condita seclis
Omnibus anterior rutilæ in fervente camino
Lampadis, æternæ duraverit hospita flammæ;
Sulphureis donec delapsa penatibus, aura
Frigidiore fruens, mortales induit artus,
Ut spem dæmoniis faceret, generique salutis
Humano, fidei reserans oracula miræ
Perpetuo mansura, feri nec dentibus ævi
Subdita, nec sævo fatorum obnoxia juri.
Hæc qui suscipiunt devota mente, favore
Numinis eximio summoque beantur honore,
Præcipue chari, neu quis dubitaret amicam
Doctori præstare fidem, permulta superstes
Ostendit, non ambiguæ concredita famæ,
Plura per Elysios edet miracula campos,
Postumaque attonitos mulcebunt fascina manes.
E digitis vivi latices manare reclusis
Prosilientis aquæ: celsi manus æmula montis
Sudavit gelidos rapido torrente liquores,
Et siccas Arabum fluctu irroravit arenas.
Vanus Athon fictor juvenis sub imagine fusam
Pellæi latum dextra profundere flumen
Pollicitus narratur; habebit fabula robur,
Et transibit in historiam; nec pagina vatum
Ulla laborabit dubii formidine veri.
Vocalis Dodona fuit, reor; Orphea circum
Cantantem auritæ salices duxere choreas;
Thebanas sola testudine condidit arces
Amphion; lunam Circe deduxit Olympo
Carmine; cur prisci sacris sermonibus ævi
Suspicione negem assensum detentus iniqua?
Quando poetarum nuper transcenderit omnem
Materiam, torquere fidem majoribus audens
Prodigiis fugitivus Arabs: Æsopica vatem
Ore salutarunt animantia; sæpe prophetam
Asseruere Dei linguis arbusta canoris,
Nec conjuratæ tennere silentia rupes.
Intendens digitum flexu pollente Dianam
Discerpsit, plenamque duos divisit in arcus;
Quos simul affecit cupido devotio cultu,
Deseruere suæ rutilantia culmina sphæræ,
Ingressique sinum vatis fovere beati;
Intumuit magna gravis hospite læna; subinde
Officio perfuncta brevi, satiataque charo
Amplexu, patulo manicarum emissa meatu,
Orbe recollecto risit, dictaque salute
In superas alacris remeavit Cynthia sedes;
Non ita Dictæi stimulo pastoris acuto
Inflammavit amor Phœben, cum languida cœlo
Decideret, placitæque infigeret oscula formæ.
Interea vos æthereas qui scanditis arces,
Ambitiosa mente; poli qui regna patentis
Dissita, flammigerosque orbes indagine freti
Audacis radii spatiis includitis, astris
Cancellos, finesque suos præscribitis ipsi
Astrorum Regi; queis stat sententia concors
Integros Arabum saltus excedere lunam,
Ægyptum licet et Libycas adjungere syrtes;
Dicite, quo contracta modo sibi tecta Sabææ
Induerit chlamydis, loculique formmine parvo
Immensum rutili vultus demerserit aurum:
Dicite, quis mendax fuerit, Ptolemæus an ille
Sortilegus, gracili vestras qui stringere pugno
Auderet stellas, Epicyclos clauderet arca,
Nummorumve instar sacco confunderet omnes:
Væ vestris, illi si creditur, esto trigonis,
Quadrisque, et refugo ductis in pulvere gyris;
Prospicite astrologi, et vestras defendite curas.
Interea, quintus musæ conamen anhelæ
Provocat articulus, summique ferociter instat
Judicii terrore minax: nisi credis, acerbas
Promittit tibi vindicias, præsagaque monstra,
Divino sapiens Mahomet quæ prodidit ore
Summum præcessura diem. Seductor Averno
Impius emerget, polluto semine, Christo
Oppositus nebulo, Graiis cluet Antichristus,
Deggiali Turcis; cœcas innectere fraudes,
Et pravo sataget per vertere dogmate mundum,
Se caput ostentans, præceptoremque salutis.
Quem simul aspiciet fulgenti desuper axe
Terris grassantem et virus lethale serentem,
Indomita pectus generosum percitus ira,
Non impune meum numen contemnet alastor
Tartareus, populosque meos abducet inultus,
Dicet, et illustri solio delapsus Iesus
Cominus aggressu furiosum proteret hostem,
Inficiet piceo rorantes sanguine terras;
Invectusque triumphali per subdita curru
Regna ferus victor spoliisque ornatus opimis
Incedet, plausu comitum stipatus ovante.
Interea viridi Saracenus origine Muhdi
Nascetur (sic lingua virum cognomine signat
Barbara, Director Latiis sonat auribus), illum
Conveniens Christus, fida solennia dextra
Fœdera conjunget, pulchræque cupidine gnatæ
Accensus dicet socerum; felice jugales
Protinus ardebunt tedæ fulgore, vocatus
Faustus Hymen aderit, thalamisque recepta superbis
Nympha decens magno peraget solatia sponso.
Dum denos quater evolvet Titania lampas
Tramitis obliqui reditus, regnare videbit
Per terras omnes quam nunc describimus unam
Assertore fidem Christo, Christoque probatam
Judice; sic levis antiquæ dictamina legis
Deseret, eque suis desciscet transfuga castris,
Doctior effectus: credat Saracenus Apella
Non ego; pulchra licet prono commenta favore

Credulus arripiam, quibus illustrissima clarum
Dant argumentum Gog Magog nomina: mures
Ragosæ sileat galeatos casside crustæ,
Et bellatrices ranas nugator Homerus;
Pygmeosque truces inter quos tristibus iris
Sanguineosque grues exarsit nobile bellum:
Corpore debilius, sed stragi fortius agmen
Fimibus extremis Scythiæ, solisque cubili
Nascentis, cæcis in apricum reptile claustris
Prodibit Gog, et Magog; gens nana minorque
Formicis, gravis est minimum queis sarcina granum,
Millia Galfridi comprendit quinque patenti
Calceus hospitito, populisque palatia cedet
Ampla giganteis, vastamque colentibus urbem.
Qui simul innumeris dorsum terrestre catervis
Oppressere, avido cunctasque voragine fontes
Absorpsere lacusque; et maxima dulcibus undis
Flumina detexere cavos exhausta canales;
Enecuitque homines tristi sitis arida flamma,
Hæredes vacui traducent secula mundi:
Ingens parva stupor percellat pectora, prisci
Sydereas arces monumenta tuentibus ævi.
Tunc oblita sui cursus natura, soluto
Ordine, primævæ violabit fœdera legis;
Errabunt omnes stellæ; sibi dispar Apollo
Ducet in eois nocturna silentia plagis,
Hesperiisque diem revehet præposterus oris:
Impatiens salsæ putrebit squamiger undæ;
Infecto volucres languentibus aere pennis
Præcipiti lapsu devolventur: fera saltus
Nulla venenatos, nec inhospita lustra subibit.
Strata cadaveribus mœstissima scena ruinæ
Continuo tellus celebrabit funera luctu;
Cuncta repentino occumbent animalia fato.
Sedibus avulsos montes violentus avitis
Impetus æthereos adiget conscendere campos.
Sublimi dubium carpent iter astra volatu
Inter, et occursu committent prælia duro;
Sphærarum moles subitis adamantia flammis
Corripietur, et in fluidum diffusa liquorem
Migrabit; cum feralis desæviet ardor
Sopitaque refrigescet cœleste metallum
Sulphuris ignivomi cholera vehemente, recentes
Cudentur cœli; renovatis purior axis
Fulgebit radiis; redivivi candida Phœbi
Frons arridebit, macularum sordida nulla
Fæce, nec umbrosæ disparens objice nubis.
Nos quoque morte resurgemus, Lethesque sopore
Discusso, nudi, quales emersimus alvi
Maternæ latebris peregrina luce recepti,
Sed præclara pios, doctores atque prophetas
Involvet vestis, demissaque purpura cœlo
Nobilis, Hulet habet nomen: jumentaque Burak
Inflammata jubas radiis labentur ab alto;
Ignibus aurigam qualis circundata Phœbum,
Et Phaetonteos post se rapit ungula currus.
Has induta togas, atque hos conscensa caballos,
Gens proba migrabit superi sub tegmen opacum
Lætificasque umbras solii, placidaque fruentur
Tranquillæ mentis requie: pars altera nudis
Expositi membris Boream frigusque severum,
Torrentisque feros cruciatus sentiet æstus;
Affligent inopes stomachos jejunia macra,
Parcaque palleantes tenuabunt pabula vultus;
Visceribus vacuis insanus sæviet ardor,
Non gelido prohibendus aquæ non aeris haustu.
Innixi pedibus stabunt; sedilia nulla
Restituent artus jugi languore solutos;
Palpanti tremulæ salient formidine venæ,
Emissusque pavor stupefacti fonte gelato
Cordis sudores rigida cute, stercus ab alvo
Excutiet, laxisque invitas renibus undas.
Mox versus superos ignes, solisque caminum
Ardentem plantis gradientur inermibus auras
Calcantes; Nemesis flagris crepitantibus instans
Urgebit tardos, lapidis distantia donec
Discretos tenet unius, præcordia Phœbi
Ne subeant, liquidæque natent in gurgite flammæ.
Bulliet in venis insueta febre laborans
Sanguis; fusus adeps; caro colliquefacta; medullæ
In rorem undosum maceratæ; durior ossis
Compages domita in viscum lentumque mandorem
Rara pelle colabuntur; circumfluus humor
Proluet innantes sibimet, pinguedine coctos
Nativa, inque sui demersos balnea succi.
Hos vada sudoris tenui manantia lambunt
Alveolo, talis genubusque coercita summis;
Illos ad renes evectior amnis inundat;
Sunt quibus ad collum turget liquor, et caput extans
Gurgite contiguum despectat; sunt quibus ora
Insugunt salsos latices; sors ultima genti
Contingit miseræ, capitis cui vertice summo
Pendulus alluitur fluctu insultante capillus.
Hoc angore fatigati, dum secula centum
Quinque teret vicibus fatali pollice textrix
Clotho, spe tremula summi decreta manebunt
Judicii, meritis exactæ congrua vitæ.
Momentis librata bilanx aptabitur æquis.
Qua bona cum pravis collato pondere facta
Certabunt nisu adverso; queis prægravis ansam
Alliciet virtus libræ in devexa sequacis,
Elysii virides lucos sedesque beatas
Intrabunt; quibus evincent sequiora, subibunt
Inferni tristes umbras Stygiamque paludem:
Ni facilis Deus eximiæ bonitatis amico
Impulsu, sancti vel præpellente subactus
Supplicis oratu parcat, duræque remittat
Arbitrium legis; tum ferrea vincula collo
Captivo resoluta cadent; suffusa pudore
Ultrix pœna retro cedet, victrixque triumphos
Solennes toto ducet clementia cœlo.
Ast cui vera fides morienti defuit, extra
Ritum sincerum, et puri commercia cœtus,
Nulla precum misero vehementia proderit iræ
Devoto, nec flectet inexorabile fatum.
Cui fortuna favens genuino lumine mentem
Perfundi donavit, et expirare fidelis
Intra septa gregis, licet indulgentia nulla,
Intercessio nulla fuit, quæ pondere pressum
Peccati gravis immodico defendat acerbis
Suppliciis, animamque addictam subtrahat Orco;
Post exacta suis delictis debita justi
Tempora tormenti, laxato carcere liber
Prorepet, passuque alacri conscendet Olympum:
Postera præteritæ geminabunt gaudia curæ.
Consulet oppressis vindex Deus; arbiter omnis
Abscedet, peraget propriis examen ocellis:

Exiget a sævis rigidissima justa tyrannis;
Si quicquam fecere boni mercede rependi
Deposcens, si doctrinam coluisse prophetæ,
Cultum promovisse sacrum, donaria templis
Impendisse, scholas studiis struxisse fovendis,
Hospitia ægrotis, quosque ardua cogit egestas,
Ostentare queant, Deus hæc, erepta tyrannis,
Afflictis dabit et passis enormia probra,
Compensans læsi damnum virtute nocentis.
Sic perdet Nero florentis benefacta juventæ,
Et magno cedet Senecæ Thraseæque probato
Imperii quinquennis honos; Callisthenis amplum
Segmen Alexandri decerpet fortibus actis
Nex indigna, nec abfuerit sua portio Clyto.
Qui meruere nihil, nec habent quo Numinis iras
Imminuant, humeros alieno fasce gravatos
Illorum peccata prement, quos cæde peremptos
Immerita quondam, vel iniquo carcere clausos,
Aut aliis affecit atrox injuria damnis.
O quot Romanos proceres civesque levabis,
Caie furens, scelerum pœnis, tuque ultime Flavi,
Commode degener, et solis vesane sacerdos,
Dedecora humani generis, pestesque malignæ.
Pons Sirath pilo telaque exilior illa,
Quam de nativa contexit aranea lana,
Lamina subtilis, mucronis acutior ore
Terribili, stagnis super extendetur Avernis.
Trajicient omnes, Parca instigante coacti;
Hi velut excussum pugnacia nubila fulmen
Transilit, ad morem ventosi turbinis illi;
Ut sonipes quidam, Pisæo in pulvere, palmæ
Emicat impatiens, laxis effrænis habenis;
Incedent alii passu graviore, velut qui
Succussator equus quatit alterno pede terram;
Sollicito lentoque gradu procedet onustus
Peccatis, cursumque subinde abrumpet anhelus;
Ulterioris amor ripæ flagrantibus omnes
Alliciet votis cupidos transmittere: felix,
Ancipitem quisquis librato corpore lapsum
Effugit, et placita victor consistit arena;
Ille levis culpæ, vitamque innoxius egit.
Quem vero in seram dilata piacula mortem,
Multiplicisque gravat damnatum sarcina noxæ,
Nunc partes propensus in has modo pronus in illas
Deverget, tandem subita vertigine raptus
In præceps immane ruet, vanusque labantem
Sustentare labor, certamen inane sequetur;
Subjectam longo casu pertinget abyssum.
Ante polum quam conscendunt, stellataque summæ
Aulæ porta patet, Jano reserante, vireta
Irriguis vicina colent manantia rivis:
Nectareis stagnabit aquis piscina prophetæ
Cuilibet, unde sua potet cum plebe; videres
Ludere perspicuo cœlestes gurgite truttas.
Sed quæ restinguat Saraceni lympha palati
Ardores, teneramque gulam Mahometis abunde
Exaturet, clarisque oculos pellucida gemmis,
Major erit reliquis, suavique placentior unda;
Lac purum candore suo, dulcedine mella,
Assyriam nardum fragranti vincet odore,
Præstanasque rosas; qui degustaverit illi
Viscera non, æstus, nec hiulcas torserit unquam
Ærumnosa sitis fauces, non attrahet urgens
Ventriculus, sed deliciæ gustusque bibendi.

Nascentis celerem Lunæ comes incipe cursum,
Progressuque pari dum lucida cornua crescant,
Dum totum radiis fraternis compleat orbem,
Dum sensim curva declinans luce senescat,
Et vultum tandem radiosum evanida celet,
Carpe viam, tanto protenditur intervallo
Oppositas quæ disjungit distantia ripas,
Lata quibus platanus, pinus procera, cupressus
Densa dat, et placidas Tirynthia populus umbras
Inficit admisti viridantia littora floris
Discolor ornatus; sincero purpura lacti
Decernit, neutrique viror decedit amœnus;
Lilia contendunt violis, rosa suavis utrique,
Omnibus intendit costus certamen odora.
Pocula neu desint, et sors constringat egena
E manibus ritu Cynico potare cavatis,
Aut prono latices subjectos lambere labro,
Festivi devexa lacus numerosa coronat
Amphora, non totidem Phœbo subeunte cubile
Hesperium sudo numerabis in aere stellas.
Nunc age Musa refer Saraceni gaudia cœli,
Quo semel ingressi peragent æterna quieti
Secula, nec lasciva retro vestigia flectent;
Nemo tranquillis abigetur sedibus exul,
Nec stolido cupiet transferre habitacula voto.
Non ibi mors unquam funesto pallida vultu,
Nec simili quicquam referat quod imagine mortem,
Apparet, minuens vires mutansque colorem
Præcursor lethi morbus, lethique satelles
Luctus, deductusque agnato sanguine somnus;
Non interrupto perfecte vivitur ævo;
Nec labor exercet corpus, nec passio mentem;
Languida nec pravi pariunt fastidia mores;
Nec querulæ lites; discordia nulla lacessit
Conjunctos animos placidæ ferrumine pacis.
Cum bellis odium, comedens præcordia livor,
Credula suspicio, timor anxius, improba fugit
Ambitio, sincerus amor moderatur habenas,
Regnaque perpetuis torquet cœlestia sceptris;
Non rugas ærumna vocat, nec cura seniles;
Non ætatis hyems illic furibunda, nec anni
Adspergunt canis homines sylvasque; fruuntur
Vere novo semper, semper florente juventa;
Ipsæ perdurant illæsæ a tempore vestes,
Nec telas rumpet, neque conteret Atropos istas.
Terra placens musco molli setaque virenti
Vestitur; celsis pallatia splendida surgunt
Turribus; e solida fundamen iaspide constat,
Cuditur in lateres argentea massa struendis
Mœnibus, et fulvi series intexitur auri
Alterne; paribus decorantur tecta metallis;
Sunt eboris tabulata, micant laquearia gemmis:
Area magnificis insternitur ima tapetis,
Cervicalia queis Phrygii monumenta laboris
Incumbunt, auro pulchrisque superba lapillis;
Omnia regales longe superantia luxus,
Innixi quibus exercent convivia festa.
Sufficiet quascunque dapes optare, subibunt
Sponte fores patulas, nullo sudore paratæ
Arte coqui nulla, cupientibus omnia pleno
Prodiga cœlicolis effundet copia cornu.
Gemmea scintillant infuso pocula Baccho,
Eximio qui cor recreat stomachumque sapore
Permulcet; calices forma præstante ministri
Distribuunt, roseo convivas ore beatos
Torquentes; qualem Nymphæ rapuere procaces

Ploranti Alcidæ, vel quem sua vina Tonanti
Misturum Phrygia evexit Jovis armiger Ida.
Post dulces epulas divini nulla supersunt
Excrementa cibi, nullo vesica liquore
Turget, nec spurca sturcus stabulatur in alvo;
Crapula desudat blando resoluta vapore.
At quid delicias prosit sentire minores,
Ambrosia satiare gulam, distendere venas
Nectare? cur placeat cœlum, Venus aurea cœlo
Si desit? pulchras igitur Saracena puellas
Inseruit superis prudentia, menstrua nulla,
Nulla puerperii passas incommoda; lata
Grandes fronte micant oculi; pinguedine carnes
Assurgunt tenera; formæ complura recensent
Signa, verecundæ injiciunt quæ frena camænæ.
Nativa egregio species augetur amictu.
Recta periscelides auratæ crura, decoris
Collectæ nodis, armillæ brachia, torques
Lactea colla, comas undantes vitta coercens,
Purpureisque genis illudens pendulus aures
Annulus exornat; irritat quicquid amores,
Sopitosque valet sufflare cupidinis ignes.
Virginibus titulus brevis Hur, sed gaudia longi
Præstant concubitus, coeant in secla licebit
Quousque placet, rivo decurret sperma perenni.
Nec satis est illam cui non natura repugnat
Invexisse polo venerem: cœleste cinædi,
Oh pudor! ascendere solum, vultuque probatos
In pueros elegante furit perversa libido.
At satis indultum est, capiunt fastidia cœli
Pertæsum, saturos invadit nausea sensus;
Assuetam meliora juvant solatia mentem.
Jane fores aperi; valeat paradisus, agatur
Quid rerum miseris furva Plutonis in aula
Manibus inspiciam: per mœsta crepuscula primum
Provocat obtutum species horrenda Draconum.
Colla camelorum paribus crassissima gyris
Exæquant, magnisque neget qui cedere mulis
Circuitu vasto tumefacti ventris abundat
Scorpio; percutiunt immania monstra malignam
Dente venenato, et furialis verbere caudæ
Dæmonis infausti sobolem, populumque rebellem.
Heu quales edunt gemitus, cum pestifer anguis
Insultat! resonant tenebrosa ululatibus antra;
Semineces artus, nimiumque tenacia vitæ
Membra parum optandæ, populatur vindice flamma
Humectus, piceaque aspergine fortior ignis,
Qualis pervehitur paganica Tartara rivis
Sulphureis Phlegethon, atraque voragine torrens.
Morsibus attritæ carni flammaque vorace
Depastæ nova succrescit, reparata dolori
Esca, recens semper tormenti pullulat hæres;
Quilibet est instar Tityi damnatus, habetque
Immortale jecur, fœcundaque viscera pœnis.
Ah refugæ quoties inclamant nomina mortis,
Surdaque sollicitis obtundunt fata querelis!
Quippe perire datur miseris, periisse negatur.
Non fuga, non venia est, non spes ibi lumine dulci,
Optima vexatæ mentis medicina, refulget.
Nullus ille objecta sopitur janitor offa,
Nec ferus aurati placatur palmite rami
Portitor. Eurydicen nullam revocaverit illinc,
Nec vanis fidibus Ditem incantaverit Orpheus.
Assidue multos in amœno carcer opacus
Detinet hospitio; sed quod dimiserit ullum,
Quem dabis authorem, quo digrediente sonoro
Unquam tartareæ crepuerunt cardine portæ?
Hæc nobis strictæ patefecit rima fenestræ,
Quæ muris umbras pertusa revelat Avernis;
Non ita fugissem tenebrosa in claustra receptus,
Consultum est revocare gradum, ne conscius Orcus
Explorata sui doleat secreta profundi.
Pergendum est quo fata vocant, quibus ultima sedes
Competit, in fidei, nam sic voluere, caterva.
Quæ fuerant, quamvis fusca nunc obruta Lethe,
Quæ sunt, præsentesque lacessunt obvia sensus,
Quicquid habent olim volventia secla futurum,
Quod nec ab annexis intenta scientia causis
Eliciat, levibus nec conjectura prehendat
Auguriis, nullisque sagax prudentia signis
Colligat, abstrusumque latet radice profunda;
Quæ bona, quæ mala, quæ media sunt classe locanda,
Omnia perpetuis extant insculpta tabellis,
Quæ penna manus omnipotens adamantis aravit.
At bona, ceu sincera fides, devotio fervens,
Justum, forte, tenax veri, compescere ventrem,
Munificum, prudens, miseris succurrere, pulchra
Virtutum series, non tantum scita, statuta,
Definita, sed æterno munita sigillo,
Consensuque probata Dei, cognataque juxta
Præmia consistunt; nitidissima pagina fulget
Auratis depicta notis. Capit altera pellis
Cum pœnis delicta suis; decreta Tonantis
Cum jussu citra placitum; meruere superni
Notitiam, sed non suffragia Numinis; atris
Signantur literis, atro damnata lapillo.
Omnis in hoc doctrina volumine, regula morum
Figitur, est legum codex uberrimus, artis
Omnigenæ secreta patent; thesaurus habetur
Historiæ locuples; varias ut pendula rerum
Scena vices mutet; quoties astuta malignos
Ediderit fortuna jocos; qui magna volutent,
Et subitis casus evertant regna ruinis:
Bella legas licet, et spumantes sanguine campos,
Fœdera mox pacesque, legas licet acta virorum,
Dictaque currentis linguæ, mentisque recessæ
Nocte magis tacitos, citiores fulmine motus.
Ære quoque in solida naturæ viva latentis
Ducitur effigies; videas effecta licebit
Principiis connexa suis; quid suscitat æstus
Æquoreos; Pharium flumen quo fonte canales
Explicat æstivos; quo magnes percitus œstro
Immotum certa vertigine respicit axem:
Ambiguas quæ distorquent miracula mentes.
Quæ nobis incerta fluunt, dubiique videntur
Eventus, cæcoque rapi temeraria cursu,
Et sic ut possint aliter contingere sortis
Arbitrio, fluxis hominum nitentia curis
Consiliisque vagis, nec sunt obnoxia legis

Præscripto, nisi quam nullis astricta cætenis
Imposuit, jurisque sui regina voluntas;
Quæ levis ad motus, celerique solutior aura
Sponte sua ferri, nullo cogente, videtur.
Æternæ chartis mandarunt omnia Parcæ.
Sic cecidit casus, sortisque accisa potestas;
Nec cœli tantum depulsa cacumine, cultu
Excidit, eximio divæque potentis honore;
Nusquam extorris agit mundi, nec repperit usquam
In terris fortuna locum, venerandaque tantis
Gentibus, in nudum contabuit irrita nomen.
Hinc alacris projecta subire pericula miles,
Vix declinato frustrari corpore tela,
Nec cautus vitare feræ contagia pestis,
Lethique instantis patulas incurrere fauces.
Si præfixus enim quicquid luctemur habetur
Exitus, a nostris qui non dependeat actis;
Si libertatis fictæ nos decipit umbra
Influxu cæco abreptos; æstuque voluntas
Fertur prona, suo nec se temone gubernat,
Quo vani spectent certamina cassa laboris?
Neve audire licet, tumido quæ suggerit auso
Nequicquam magnis ratio pugnantia fatis,
Ausaque fusilibus ceris tentare calores
Sydereos nostræ fragilis sapientia mentis.
Quid frustra juvatæ ternis lassare minorem
Consiliis animum? quis enim conscendat Olympum,
Altaque cœlestis mysteria conscius aulæ
Perspiciat, lingua promat perspecta fideli?
Quod bona sint edicta poli, quod consona normæ
Justitiæ, quod nitantur ratione suprema,
Omnia quod videat præsago lumine, nutu
Disponat, pollente manu moderetur, oportet
Credere, nec dubii nugas agitare profani;
Sint arcana licet, tenuem superantia captum,
Nec studio scrutanda, nec enarranda loquela,
Mirari Deus hæc dedit. haud expendere lancis
Imparis arbitrio, dedit hunc mortalibus amplum,
In quo decurrat taciturna modestia, campum.
Atque ita præcipuos Saraceni dogmatis artus,
Musulmana quibus perstat subnixa columnis
Relligio, quibus internis assentibus hærent,
Et claræ debent suffragia consona linguæ,
Audaci calamo perstrinximus: alter anhelam
Sollicitat labor, et rapit in certamina Musam:
Credendis quæ subtexunt facienda, ministret
Ut menti manus officiosa, theoria praxim
Procreet, assurgant posito fastigia fundo;
Quam fœcunda fides, et quos radice benigna
Protrudat fructus operum, viresque propaget
Innatas; mores hominum, sacrosque referre
Succedit nova materies in carmina ritus.
Non ego sustineam cunctos percurrere nisu
Immodico: quis enim Danaæ si classis agendus
Census erit, si non geminos descripsit Atridas,
Ajacesque duos, magnum Chironis alumnum,
Laerteque satum, superis nec cedere dignum
Tydidem, Graias inter fulgentia gentes
Nomina, suffecisse putet, licet agmina tota
Præterit, obscuramque premunt oblivia plebem.
Sic ego quos celebrem de tota quinque phalange
Seponam, qui præfulgent atque agmina ducunt;
Cumque dato censu colludet carminis ordo.
Testamenta, preces, eleemosyne, Ramadanus,
Mecca: locum merito tenet attestatio primum,
Præstratum sectæ limen, quo liber in illam
Ingressus patet; hæc præfertur formula: Numen
Est unum, præterque Deum non suppetit ullum;
Estque propheta Dei Mahumetes. Turcica proles
Ne sinat elabi rimosa mente, memorque
Continuo repetat, stimulis urgetur amoris,
Terrificisque minis, simul ac pubescere mentum
Incepit, roseaque genas lanugine signant.
Sed qui deserta, quam primis imbibit annis
Materno cum lacte fidem, seu sponte vocanti
Inferno auscultans, animo vel conscius ægro
Flagitii, veniæque suis a partibus exspes,
Fraudibus allectus, lucri dulcedine captus,
Vindictæ sitiens, aut ambitione laborans,
Objectum sibi proponit Mahumetis asylum;
Solenni pacto, magno sub teste tyranno,
Aut aliquo decorante nefas magnate, cerebri
Projicit exigui neglecto frigore tegmen
Antiquum, nudusque affricta fronte fatetur
Velle Musulmannus fieri; tædere prioris,
Si placet, a Mahumete novam sperare salutem:
Tum proceres inter non infimus ille, superbe
Adferri jubet, extremis quæ nuper ab Indis
Venerit, et sancta redimiri sindone sedem
Ingenii; nullum circundata lina pudorem
Obnubunt, tutisque asininas pellibus aures.
Deinde sagitta levis conversi nobile munus
Offertur dextræ, resides qua exerceat armos,
Adversosque novæ fidei transfigat inermes:
Indice quam capit exerto (non pollice crasso,
Nec gracili minimo, ne jus sibi mœreat indax
Præreptum) posthac præscriptam nec mora formam
Pica refert haud indocilis, quam præcinit audux
Antistes, recitat tyrunculus ore rotundo.

Cætera desiderantur.

In obitum dignissimi Domini Spenceri Bretton, illustrissimi Consulis Anglorum Smyrnæ, anno 1659, *Elegia.*

Siena triumphantis quisquis feralia lethi,
Et sævi luctus regna superba vides;
Quam justis regnet titulis dolor, atra triumphet
Parca, potes paucis discere, consul obit.
Qui, rogitas, consul? tristem circumspice scenam,
Materiam loquitur dramatis illa sui.
Quem deploraret populari Smyrna tumultu?
In quo tam celebris funere pompa foret?
Armaret quis communes in fata querelas,
Efficeret cunctis displicuisse Deos;
Assereret moriens suspiria publica; vulgi
Immitis fletu spargeret ora pio;
Discordes mundi sensus sociaret, ut unus
Tam variis constet gentibus esse dolor?
Agaridæ Christi venerantem nomen, Eoi
Hesperium Perses Armeniusque virum,
Galli, Germani, cultores Ausonis oræ
Conformi doleant pectore, voce gemant?

Quis diri exprimeret miracula tanta doloris?
  Quem tales gemitus promeruisse putes?
Præsertim miseris ut acerbior incubet Anglis
  Luctus, liventes planctibus ecce manus:
Demissos vultus, stillantia lumina, spissos
  Singultus, laceras ungue furente comas;
Pullatas vestes, nigræque simillima nocti
  Corpora, mente tamen lucidiora sua.
Orbatosne suum dubites deflere parentem,
  Dulce decus gentis præsidiumque suæ?
Mœrorem modo jactura metire, fidemque
  Mœstis at veris laudibus æquus habe.
Ornavit fortuna virum, licet invida dignis
  Distribuit parca munera rara manu:
Stemma quidem clarum, generosum nomen, honestus
  Sanguis, sed tantis dotibus imparia.
Dedecet heroem non summæ stirpis origo,
  Nasci Cæsarea debuit ille domo.
Quos non æquavit meritorum pondere reges,
  Quam multos animi nobilitate Deos?
Consuluit lucro, voluit dum numen avarum
  Plus ornamenti quam daret accipere.
Sed melior natura magis cui favit alumno?
  Plura dedit nulli dona benigna parens.
Hic exhausit opes, huc cunctas contulit artes,
  Ut consummatum perficeretur opus.
Membrorum specie pulchra, compage decora,
  Æqua temperie, viribus eximiis
Emicuit; forma insignis mensuraque magni
  Corporis egregium prætulit alta ducem;
Incessit mediis Agamemnonis instar Achivis,
  Insedit, qualis Dardanus Hector, equo.
Inclyta majestas divino sedit in ore;
  In gemino fulsit lumine dulce jubar.
Quos non aspectu motus radiante cieret,
  Seu terrere animus, seu recreare foret?
Exporrecta, quidem facies, nec conscia rugæ,
  Et placida semper luce serena fuit,
Arderet justo nisi mens accensa dolore,
  Calfaceretque suum nobilis ira jecur;
Tunc corrugantis frontem, torvumque tuentis,
  Quis flammas posset sustinuisse truces?
Flexanimæ torrens inerat facundia linguæ,
  Affectus omnes sub juga certa trahens.
Orantis suadela gravis, nervosaque: victrix
  In dictis ratio, sed bene culta fuit.
Intentare minas placuit modo, firma tremore
  Pectora fulmineo perculit ore tonans.
Cum gratos hospes facilis tractaret amicos,
  Lusit in eloquio gratia mira suo.
Quam bene nectereo condivit verba lepore,
  Confudit salibus mella, severa jocis!
Respueret quis non epulas ut pasceret aures,
  Eque hoc negligeret pendulus ore famem!
Vendicet hoc forsan fatum sibi, faustaque dotes
  Nativæ reputent indolis astra suas;
Virtutis saltem laudes sibi debuit ipsi,
  Eripient illud sydera nulla decus.
Quam solide prudens, in rebus promptus agendis,
  Mirifica pollens dexteritate fuit!
Subtili causas discrevit acumine, summo
  Expendit rerum pondera judicio!
Quanta jura fide fixit, moderamine lites
  Decidit, facili præmia mente dedit!
Consilio scelus oppressit, promovit honestum,
  Effecit raro viribus esset opus.
Officio vigil incubuit: providit acute,
  Perfecit valide sortis agenda suæ!
Cura sagax, constans industria, mista labori
  Ars, ut in hoc omnes emicuere viro!
Obstrinxit meritis homines; pietate fideli
  Et pura coluit relligione Deum.
Ingenio mitis, comis sermone, benignus
  Moribus, in factis acer at æquus erat.
Quum jus et res exigerent, quis fortior illo,
  Quis magis indomitus, terribilisque fuit?
Ut bene, dixerunt, terror miscetur amori,
  Et qui tam bonus est, quam ferus esse potest!
Agnum nempe sui, Turcæ sensere leonem,
  Ut ratio varias est moderata vices.
Hinc secura sua latuit sua cura sub umbra,
  Libera vel sola suspicione mali.
Hinc illi tribuere omnes encomia; nemo
  Odit, amare boni, pertimuere mali.
His debebatur meritis provincia major,
  Pro tanto fuit hæc sydere sphæra brevis.
Quam melior Romæ consul, mundique fuisset,
  Ausoniis poterat fassibus esse decus:
Non illum erubuisset ebur Latiale sedentem,
  Non humeros trabeæ purpura sacra suos;
Cum Fabiis et Fabriciis meruisset haberi,
  Inter Scipiadas Æmiliosque legi.
Proh dolor, hæc virtus terras evanida fugit,
  Luridus illustri pallor in ore sedet!
Spiritus in cæcas magnus disparuit auras,
  Deficit ingenium, lingua diserta silet!
Prostratum est columen, cecidit fiducia nostra,
  Lux extincta perit, vita superstes hebet!
Consulis ipsa sui videatur Smyrna cadaver,
  Et velut in tenebris exanimata jacet.
Non illi nocuere tamen, quem sede beata
  Inque sinu summi fata locare poli;
Quem sua traxerunt Superi in consortia, claris
  Immistum heroum semideumque choris;
Interea celebris per secula gloria vivet,
  Famaque perpetuo non moritura manet.
Plura dolor prohibet, lacrymæque in verba ruentes,
  Has quoque fœdavit guttula crebra notas.
Tu modo, si nostros aspectans desuper actus
  Mittis ab Elysio lumina prona tuo,
Ne tenues luctus spernas, solitoque favore
  Laudibus ignoscas, nobilis umbra, tuis.

Augustiss. regi suo reditum gratulatur Britannia.

ANNO 1660.

Quin luctuosas, Carole, post moras
Ovantis almos in patriæ sinus
  Dignaris accessum, mearum
    Vita, salus, medicina rerum.
An vota pro te sæpius irrita
Flexere tandem difficiles Deos,
  Aut ira cœli sponte nostris
    Detumuit satiata pœnis?
Sive ista fati mens placidi fuit
Mundum regentis lumine provido,
  Quid debeant monstrare vestro
    Nostra salus requiesque regno,
Ut corruentis præcipitem manu
Vim sustineres imperii tua,
  Vestramque dextram postulantes
    Charior acciperes habenas?
Quisquis revexit seu bonus ad preces,
Seu justus ille est, seu sapiens Deus,

Cujus proinde amplum favorem
Gratifico celebramus ore;
Quam ut lingua dignis vocibus exprimat,
Depingat aptis penna coloribus,
Mens assequatur sentiendo,
Littora gratior hæc revisis;
Ceu post furentis squalida Sirii
Fœcundus imber regna, salubribus
Perfusus auriæ; seu benigni
Post hyemes Zephyri severas;
Ceu navitæ nox horrida quem vago,
Aut nocte nubes horridior, fera
Prægnans piceca, sustulerunt,
Aurea stella polum revelans;
Ceu delicato qui sopor impetu
In membra blandus languida defluit,
Quæ dira febris vis acutæ,
Vel vigiles domuere curæ.
Diu quod ægro reddita sanitas,
Incarcerato liberior locus,
Aut lumen orbo restitutum,
Vita vel ipsa redux sepulto:
Seu sub molesta sorte gementibus
Mortalibus quid gratius accidit,
Nostræ levem pro te recepto
Lætitiæ simulabit umbram.
Nec ficta mæsto pectore gaudia
Tyrannicæ delata potentiæ
Effundimus, queis imbecilla
Signa pudor pavidus ministrat;
Sed quum per imas vivida jubila
Serpunt medullas, risibus obtegunt
Vultus serenos, ora solvunt
Garrula lætificis susurris,
Exuberanti mox super alveos
Sublata cursu, ac agmine confluo
Densata, festos in triumphos
Prosiliunt alacresque plausus;
Queis nulla gens persensit adhuc pares,
Seclis nec unquam nostra prioribus,
Olimque nobis contigisse
Posteritas memor invidebit.
Ex quo revertentem tuba publicat
Clamosa famæ, quod pius ordinum
Consensus agnoscit tuum jus,
Officium proprium fatetur,
Rex vivat ultro personat omnia;
Vox illa totam sola per Angliam
Auditur; ut sola audiatur,
Continua replicatur echo.
Qui flagrat ardor pectore civium,
Testantur altæ perspicuo strues,
Regnare non passæ tenebras,
Te profugam referente lucem.
Campanulæ non immemores sui
Quod imminebat martyrii, sonis
Nos æmulantur; ne liquentur
Motibus immodicis, veremur.
Clangore non jam mortifero minax
Accendit iras buccina Martias,
Subinde semper provocabit
Pacifico strepitu quietem.
Quin et trisulci fulminis æmula
Ministra lethi machina, fulgura
Jucunda spirans, ore blandam
Detonat innocuo salutem.
Incedit agmen purpureum, senes,
Queis plurimos gratissimus hic dies
Annos reduxit; queis fugata
Canitie revirescit ætas.
Et membra priscus pigra calor rapit,
Ducunt vietis poplitibus choros,
Sub rege tanto quisque vitæ
Nestoreum sibi sperat ævum:
Vidisse vobis tempora sufficit
Tam læta, patres; tradite posteris
Fruenda, quos funesta duri
Secula progenuere ferri.
Queis flos juventæ corporis integras
Vires ministrat, queis animi pares,
Plenam voluptatem beati
Percipiant sapiantque regni.
Sed quo catervas virgineas trahit
Vis immodestæ lætitiæ? reor
Amore regem deperire,
Ulla nec abnueret maritum.
At splendidæ miracula maxima
Pompæ superbos conspice milites,
Victos agentes se in triumphum,
Quod fuerint superati, ovantes.
Conspirat omnis plausibus impigris
Ac certat ordo; mentis et indices
Expertus omnes exprimendæ
Organa plura deesse mæret.
Nec vana gentem brutaque gaudia
Jactant furenti sydere percitam,
Mercede summa gratulantur,
Eximia ratione ducti.
Pungit recurrens præteriti mali
Sensus, futuri spes acuit boni,
Ac fortior vis præpotenti
Dulcis amor stimulo lacessit,
Cui mille flammas conciliant faces:
Præclara stirpis nobilitas, genus
Illustrium quo prisca regum
Stemmata consociata fulgent:
Quo neminem regnante pudet regi,
Ut nec gubernanti Jovi cœlites
Servire, dum prolem gigantes
Terrigenam dominos recusant.
Quæ celsior natalibus eminet
Virtus, faventis progenies poli,
Alumna dedignantis, astris
Mitibus orta, probata sævis:
Fortuna quam non terruit aspera,
Nec dura fati fregit iniquitas,
Adversa constanter ferendo,
Prospera quæ meruit refertque.
Quis nescit insignem sapientiam,
Benignitatem, justitiam, fidem,
Quas grata lingua consonanti
Fama minor merito celebrat?
Sis quanta Divum cura, periculis
Tantis superstes, cædibus ac fugis,
Ostendis, armis impetitus
Hostium et insidiis tuorum.
Tam stirpe clarum, sanguine regium,
Virtutibus tam conspicuum, Deo
Te sic amicum, Carole, ulnis
Suscipit Anglia vestra pronis.
Vult sceptra magni terna vibres patris,
Virtute sed non sorte pari, suas
Injurias in te futuris
Obsequiis reparare gestit.
Tuam obsoletis vulneribus manum
Vult admoveri; te petit unicum
Pœana, pluris pendet illam,
Quam tibi debuerit salutem.
Tridente fluctus non alio suos
Quam Carolino compositos cupit,

Te sola dispensante pax est
Belligeræ placitura genti.
Concussa monstris hæresium fides
Defensionem sollicitat tuam,
Qui jure possis solus illam, et
Inde tuum titulum tueri.
Exposcit a te ecclesia vindice
Vulgi profanis læsa furoribus,
Exuta, conculcata, fracta
Jura, decus, reditus, quietem.
Tecum reverti participes tui
Leges requirunt exilii, fera ut
Necessitas exterminetur,
Unica lex, sine lege, nuper.
Festiviori Pierius chorus
Excipiet suum
Regem, parentem, spem, patronum,
Delicium columenque suum:
Cui tot per annos vita precario
Traducta, jugi objecta periculo,
Evasit usque ægre superstes
Præda lupos facilis rapaces.
Jam cor refectum spiritus ingruit,
Effert in auras intrepidum caput,
E mortuo dudum recentem
Concipit ingenio vigorem:
Tutus sub umbra præsidii tui
Secura musis dulcibus otia
Impendit, haud curans malignæ
Invidiam rabiemque plebis.
En plectra docta pollice temperat,
Et voce fausta encomia personat,
Lætumque certatim canoris
Indiciis animum fatetur.
Non qualis olim carmine languido
Turpes tyrannos exciperet. metu
Cogente, fucatisque veros
Lætitiis gemitus recondens.
Quos inter ima classe sedens, rudi
Fretus camœna, non humili tamen
Accensus affectu, Tonanti
Sospite te pia vota fundo;
Quod te reduxit spe citius tua
Nostraque, contra non superabiles,
Humana si spectamus, ullis
Consiliis operisque causas.
Adversus œstrum immane potentiæ
Armis et iris ac odiis feræ,
Firmaverant quæ pertinaces
Ambitio simul et cupido,
Post spes retusas, deciduas opes,
Fractasque tot successibus asperis
Vires tuorum, quum nec ultra
Sufficerent animi fideles;
Sudore nullo aut pulvere sordidum,
Nullo madentem sanguine civium,
Nec clade funesta auspicati
Inficiente decus triumphi;
Solos per hostes de spoliis tuis
Tumultuantes, æstibus ut ratem
Contrariis aurisque tractam
Regna tuos in avita portus.
Conservet idem, dirigat, augeat
Virtute Numen, consiliis, ope
Vitam tuam, mentem, coronam
Incolumem, stabilem, perennem;
Distracta per te regna redintegret,
Concussa firmo robore fulciat,
Collapsa restauret potente,
Sustineat ruitura, dextra;
Exhausta per te divite copia
Perfundat, apto digerat ordine
Confusa, corruptis nitorem
Restituat, dubiis quietem:
Exulceratas corrigat, asperas
Leni medela mitiget, æmulas
Mentes reponat, sedet iras,
Concilietque odiis amores;
Tollat querelas justitia; fidem
Et veritatem promoveat piam,
Sanctosque mores, quos crearit
Relligione subacta virtus.
Et quicquid amplo nomine continet
Felicitas, tecum redeat, tuis
Jussis et exemplis sacratum,
Consiliis opibusque tutum.
Hæc vexet hostes ultio regia
Injuriarum, reddere si volunt
Ipsi, beatos, pœnitentes
Ex animo, egregie fideles.
Sic uberes quam pertulimus licet
Fructus reportemus patientiæ
Utrique; tu regno diu, nos
Rege diutius indigentes.
Sic serus, ut nunc semper habebere
Ad nos reductus, sic reditum tuum
Vincente præsentem profunda
Posteritas recolet triumpho.
Qui plausus intrantem præiit, comes
Sit possidenti semper, acerbior
Sed exeuntem prosequatur,
Post celeberrima regna, luctus.

In Psalmos a reverendo D. decano Petroburgensi Homerico versu donatos, anno 1674.

Divinus, sapiens! sic acclamavit Homero
Vox seculorum consona,
Ore tamen non usa suo, dictaverat illam
Fatum faturi conscium.
Non olim nisi per tenebrosam vera prolepsin,
Sit vera sensu ut limpido
Nunc habet, ætati nostræ sapientia vatis
Debetur, ac divinitas.
Grandia Mæonides, cultæque capacia mentis,
At parca mentis verba dat;
Duportus verbis dignam sublimibus indit
Mentem, petitam cœlitus:
(Duportus, nomen clarum, sapientia quantum
Omnigena, vel virtus valent;
Cuique suas merito tot linguas fama rependit,
Quot ipse famæ credidit:)
Exanimis procedit ab illo littera, vivax
Ab hoc Homero spiritus.
Quid Trojæ fumos igitur, quid inania regum
Insanientum jurgia,
Annorumve decem errores, turbamve deorum,
(Fictamne dicam an fictilem!)
Infantis mundi specioso carmine nugas
Stulte decoras respicis?
Quin magis Jonii recutitam suspice musam
Et sorde purgatam senis;
Cœli magnifice pandentem oracula, tanto
Res unice stylo pares.
Incedit primo per Jobi fata cothurno
Adversa, cincta prosperis;
Utraque, majestas ut rerum tanta poetam
Despicere non possit suum;

Tum canit effusas Solymæi Nestoris ore
E melleo sententias;
Ipsa sibi plaudens ut se prudentia tali
Miretur auctam gratia;
Ulteriore gradu præconia Numinis aptat
Jam regiæ chordis lyræ;
Restituens amissa Davidi carmine, damno
Ut pene proficiant suo;
Cœlesti modulanda choro, tam digna beatis
Quam grata, opinor, angelis;
Queis opus et vita est hymnos cantare, nec hymnos
Cur præferant alios scio:
Te saltem decuit, sacri celeberrime Phœbi
Antistes, huc assurgere:
Non aliam melius cœptis illustribus ullam
Imponeres coronidem:
Hanc sibi præscribit metam divina poesis,
Suum huc adurget Pegasum,
Quo vitæ scopus et musæ sit terminus idem,
Celebrare gloriam Dei.

Illustrissimo domino Georgio Monk, regis restitutori, regni liberatori, anno 1660.

Nec meritis ingrata tuis, quo vindice spirat,
Et canit, et reducem Carolum, sua gaudia, spectat,
Musa tuum nomen reticebit, magne Georgi;
Quanquam argumenti nimio sub pondere tanti
Succumbat, vestrisque accedat victa triumphis,
Inque tuas laudes vano conamine surgat,
Cui triplicis frontem decorant insignia lauri,
Non uno decerpta solo. Te perfida belli
Victorem, pacisque auctorem, sensit Ierne,
Inclyta nascenti tribuens præludia famæ.
Indocilis parere, feros agitare tumultus,
Vix reges tolerare suos, justisque reniti
Pridem sueta, jugum didicit perferre Caledon
Consiliis edocta tuis et fortibus armis.
Nec rigidus dominos ut purgat carduus Anglos,
Exemit spinas virtus tua. Mollibus inde
Imperiis quoque corda domas, conjungis amorem
Cum terrore tui, et cogis servire volentes.
Tum fines arctos, inclusas æquore terras,
Imperiumque unum temnens, unumque elementum,
Vela dat, et liquidos peragrat tua gloria campos,
Et fluxis infigit aquis non fluxa trophæa.
Terrestres lauros navalis serta coronæ
Excipiunt; Batavis præfulgent tempora rostris.
Indomitam gentem, salsæque paludis alumnam
Linquere natales undas, subitamque precari
Vestra coegerunt invitis fulmina pacem;
Vestra decus regnumque maris victoria nobis
Reddidit, indulsit victis orata secundum
Pax, te dante, locum. Quæ te nunc altera, Monke,
Laus manet, aut cumulo perfecti accedat honoris?
Post terras undasque manu victrice subactas,
Quod superest quo decertet tua fama theatrum?
En delubra Deum pecus incolit, hymnus equini
Personat hinnitus, galeatus sacra ministrat
Mystes, stercoreo redolent altaria thure.
Ecce forum claudunt armatæ triste cohortes:
Vocem efferre tubæ, legesque silere jubentur;
Curia deseritur sensim nudata; supremum
Nunc caput abscindunt, tum nobiliora recidunt
Membra, statim expurgant palpantia viscera, tandem
Vix insecta manet mutilati cauda senatus:
Denique ne tanto quicquam de corpore restet,
Cogitur hæc reptare foras: novet omnis honesti
Ficta licet species, vacuum Bellona fugatæ
Justitiæ captat solium; jus dicitur ense,
Vel juris rapiens scelerata licentia nomen.
Proscribunt, spoliant, mactant impune nocentes.
Quilibet est sine lege reus, pro lege rebellis.
Te pietas aris, Astræa focis, violata
Majestas sceptris, libertas pulsa patronum
Omnibus implorat; clamantibus ore benigno
Annuis, ac opera præstas felice salutem.
Catholico varias coeuntes agmine sectas,
Queis delere sacerdotes, evertere templa,
Exhaurire sacros reditus, et tollere leges
Unica discordes animos sententia vinxit,
Distrahis; en profugi divellitur unio fallax
Schismatis, in partes rupta compage feruntur.
Hos ut sint vere tremuli, præcordia solo
Inspirante metu, facis; illos altera regna
Spectantes summo jamjam labentia cœlo,
E terris videant pro quinto rege secundum:
Baptistasque novos quo se demergere possint,
Insula, carcer aquæ, liquido munimine sepit.
Quos non contendens acie, nec sanguine fuso
Debellas, nimis est illis impendere cladem.
Sufficit ostentare minas, quod diceris hostis.
Non opus est armis, ubi pugnat fama tremendi
Nominis, accipiensque vicem prudentia ferri;
Nectere docta moras, temeraria cœpta recusans,
Opportuna sequens, miscens virtutibus artes,
Intima non proferre suo nisi tempore sensa,
Adversosque perita suis constringere nodis.
Sic velut exanimes umbras aut ludicra spectra,
Immensas acies gladii fulgore corusci,
Non ictu sternis; larvas probitatis iniquæ
Detegis; immodica mentes pietate scelestas
Corrigis, illustras nimio præ lumine cæcas,
Cumque suis tergis animos versos dare cogis.
Militiæ justæ te primum bella magistrum
Agnoscunt; parere togæ, pacemque tueri
Arma doces, sævos submittis fascibus enses,
Ut tremat armatus sub judice miles inermi.
Ostendis quam non generosum pectus inani
Ambitione tumet, quam magna potentia magno
Est animo minor, inflantem dum turgida vela
Fortunam probitate regis, vim jure coerces;
Nec quantus potes es; quodque es non dicier optas,
Protector patriæ; tibi debita gloria cedat,
Assumant titulum qui non meruere tyranni.
Non te furtivis plumis attollis in altum
Degener, aut falsis humeris aliena coruscat
Purpura, quæ mentem rubeat gestantis iniquam.
Quam non dedèceant, aptas diademata fronti;
Das justis manibus sceptrum, queis jura dederunt,
Nascendi sors, et series illustris avorum,
Nec minus excellens generoso sanguine virtus;
Et cui te nunquam domino servire pudebit.
Hoc unum querimur, quem das simul abripis illum,
Ut vix sit noster rex, totus vester, et ipsi

Quod tribuis regnum meritis ingentibus aufers.
Tu nisi nutantem validis cervicibus axem
Anglicus Alcides, cum se subduxerat Atlas,
Fulcisses, nostri cecidisset regia cœli,
Pressissetque gravi terras delapsa ruina.
Tu deturbasti per vim fraudesque nefandas
Terrigenas aulæ regimen cœlestis adeptos,
Sacrilegisque diu vibrantes fulmina dextris
Non sua, restituens Superis extorribus arces
Sydereas, pulsoque Jovi regalia sceptra.
Multorum capitum fœcundam vestra subegit
Dextra renascentem toties a mortibus hydram
Supremo interitu, ne lingua terreat anguis
Multifida posthac, nec sibila pestifer edat.
Incubuit miseris nova portentosa chimæra,
Publica res, privans libertatem, bona, nummos,
Cui torvi facies arsit truculenta leonis,
Plebiscita vomens rugitibus ignea sævis;
Lascivam tumido referens abdomine capram,
Ambitione salax, tetrique libidine lucri;
Immanisque feri suberat cui cauda draconis,
Iris ac odiis ac viro decolor atro.
Bellerophon noster, nosterque Georgius, illum
Sanctior invictæ domuisti viribus hastæ.
Historiæ committatur si fabula vestræ,
Plura sub aspectus nostros se monstra tulerunt
Victa tibi, quam dicta illi; nec fingitur ullus
Quo tu non major fueris, ut verior, heros.
Immortale decus secli, fortissime vindex
Justitiæ; simul imperii fidissima norma
Obsequiique; stator regni divine ruentis,
Vive diu patriæ charus, patrisque parenti:
Sit tibi promeriti diuturnus fructus honoris;
Vitam virtuti prolixam, laudibus annos
Exsequa; tumulo scribatur MILES HONESTUS.

In obitum Henrici ducis Glocestrensis et Mariæ principis Arausionensis, 1660.

ΚΑΡΟΛΙΔΑΙ δῖοι, ἱερῆς βλαστήματα ῥίζης
Κεδνὰ, κλυτὸς κοῦρος καὶ χαρίεσσα κόρη·
Κοῦρος, ἐῆς ἐλπὶς πένθημά τε κατρίδος αἴης,
Τῆς φάος ἱμερόεν, τῆς πόθος ἀλγινόεις·
Μᾶλλον ὅλου κόσμοιο τέρας καὶ θαῦμα πέλωρον,
Τόσσον ὑπεκπροθέων ἤθεσιν ἡλικίην·
Ἤδη μὲν νέος ὤν, ἀρεταῖς δ' ἀκμαῖος ἁπάσαις,
Καὶ τέλεος πινυταῖς ἐν πρακτίδεσσι γέρων·
Βέλτιστος φρονέειν τὰ δέοντα, δέοντά τε φράζειν,
Νοῦν μὲν ἔχων θεῖον καὶ στόμα μειλίχιον·
Θεῖον ἀν' οὐρανίης φύσιος νόον, αὐτοδίδακτον,
Πρός τ' ἄλλοις τεχνῶν φέγγεσι λαμπόμενον·
Καὶ στόμα μειλίχιον, τόσσαις γλωσσῶν ῥέον ἀοιδαῖς,
Ὅσσαις φθέγγονται νῦν βροτοὶ, οἵ τε πάλαι·
Γενναῖος δὲ φυὴν, πρᾶος, καὶ κάρτερος ἥρως,
Εἰν ἀγορῇ πρᾶος, κάρτερος ἐν πολέμῳ,
Ἀμφοτέρας ἰδίοις ἀρετὰς καιροῖσιν ἀρηρὼς,
Τοῖς τ' ἐχθροῖς φοβερὸς, τοῖς τε φίλοις γλυκερός·
Εἶδος ἄριστον ἔχων, σθένος ἄλκιμον· ἦ μὲν ἀκείμον·
Σώματος ἐν θαλάμῳ Κυπρίδι μίσγετ' Ἄρης.
Καὶ σὺ γυναικείης, νύμφη βασιλήϊον ἔρνος
Καλλίστη, ἀρετῆς δεῖγμα φαεινότατον·
Εὐγενίῃ πασῶν μὲν ὑπείροχος οὖσα γυναικῶν,
Μορφῆς ἀγλαΐῃ, καὶ φρενὸς εὐπρεπίῃ·
Ἀμφοτέρων εἰδότε φυὴν τε λαχοῦσα τοκῆων,
Μητρῶον κάλλος, σωφροσύνην πατέρος·
Ἀκτῖσι χρυσῆσι καλοῦ στίλβουσα προσώπου,
Ψυχῆς λαμπρότερον δ' ἐμφρονι μαρμαρυγῇ·
Ὄμματα ταῖς ἕλκουσα βροτῶν τέρπουσάτε, τῇδε
Σεωμένη ἀνθρώπων ἠδομένας κραδίας·
Πότνια Αὐριακοῦ γυνὴ ἡγεμονῆος ἀγανοῦ,
Αὐριακοῦ μήτηρ δῖα καλοῦ θάλεος·
Πίστη ξεινοδόκος βασιλῆος ἡμαίμονος, ἀνδρῶν
Φεύγοντος χεῖρας γηγενέων ἀνόμους·
Ἄλλη Ἡλέκτρη, θυγάτηρ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἄλσου,
Καὶ μέτοχος κοινῆς ἐκδίκου εὐσεβίης·
Φεῦ, ποίους θάνατος κλέπτης κακομήχανος ἡμῶν
Θησαυροὺς ἀρετῆς ἥρπασε καὶ σοφίης!
Ἡθεον μὲν ἄριστον, ἀδελφὸν ὑπήκοον, υἱὸν,
Βελτίστηντε κάσιν, μητέρα, θυγατέρα.
Ἄμησεν δίττὸν πολυανθέα θαλλὸν ἀώρου
Μοῖρα, σιδηρείῳ μαινομένη δρεπάνῳ.
Βρεττανικοῖο δόω περικαλλέα δῶνον ἀλόμενον
Ἄστρα, τὰ νὺξ στυγερὴ, λυγρὸς ἔκρυψε ζόφος.
Πῶς ἄρμιν δικλῆν φθάρεν ἐλπίδα νοῦσος ἀποφρὰς,
Νώνυμος γλώσσῃ νοῦσος ἐν Ἑλλαδικῇ;
Ἄγνωστος Φοίβῳ νοῦσος καὶ παισὶ παλαιῶν
Ἰητρῶν ἱεροῖς, εἴθε καὶ ἡμετέροις·
Φῦμα κακὸν κόσμοιο γέροντος, νοῦσος ἀνοσοος,
Μᾶλλον λευγαλέη νουσιδίων ἀγέλη·
Νουσιδίων ὁλοῶν στρατὸς ἄσπετος, εἰς ἕνα ταχθεὶς
Καὶ βίον ἐσευμένως εἰς ἕνα μαρνάμενος.
Ὦ δεινὶ κροκόδειλε τόχη, κλέουσα διώκεις,
Δυστήνους κτείνεις ὡς ἐλεοῦσα βροτοὺς·
Φείδεαι ἀθλοούντων, φθείρεις νικῶντας ἄνακτας,
Δόντας τ' εὐμενέσιν σῶστρα πρέποντα θεοῖς.
Εἰς ἀΐδην πέμπεις στεφανούμενα κρᾶτα, θριάμβοις
Ἐμμίξασα ταφὰς, ἄλγεα χαρμοσύναις·
Εἰναλίοις σώζεις ἐνὶ κύμασι κυντοπορούντας,
Ἐν μέσσῳ κλόζεις σωζομένους λιμένι.
Αἰεὶ τέκνα φυγεῖν βασιλῆια κίρδιον εἴη,
Εἰς φθονερὴν γαῖαν μήποτε νεισομένους·
Μοῦνον τόμβον ἔδωκε φίλην εἰς πατρίδα νόστος·
Οὐ τοῦ ζῆν οἶκοι τὸν τόπον, ἀλλὰ θανεῖν.

J. B. G. L. P.

ELEGIÆ.

ANNO 1660.

I.

UNDE novi gemitus, tragicæ suspiria scenæ,
Quam modo festivi perstrepuere chori?
Quod vultus repetit nubes infausta serenos,
Quod redit in siccas lachryma pulsa genas?
Dura quod urgemus renovatis fata querelis,
Damnamus, nuper qui placuere, Deos?
O miras, miserasque vices! quam fluxa voluptas
Est hominum, fallax gloria, vita fugax!
Quam subito fortuna ferox torrentia luctu
Gaudia, spes timidas, vota superba premit!
Vi facili nobis declinant prospera nutu,
Ut nimia proprii ponderis alta ruunt!
Languescunt fugitiva brevi solatia, tentat
Nostra recrudescens vulnera prisca dolor!
Augustos umbris feralibus ecce cupressus
Atra tegit victrix quos modo palma lares;
Funera succedunt lætis invisa triumphis,
Proque alacri plausu nænia dira sonat.
Protinus inficitur piceo nova purpura fuco;
Regia fit, posito nomine, nigra domus:
Nigra nec immerito, lugubri tincta colore
Bis, radiis gemini syderis orba domus;
Quorum splendorem Parcæ spectare malignæ,
Nec rutilum poterant Dii tolerare jubar.
Vix adversarum spissa caligine rerum

In nitidum juvenes emiserere diem,
Auroram reducem primæque crepuscula lucis
Mors importuna lurida nocte premit.
Exilii post longa molesti tædia, dulcis
In patriæ charum cum rediere sinum,
Excipit amplexu redeuntes Anglia sævo:
Dicta quidem multa est, sed data nulla salus.
Gallia quos salvos dimisit inhospita, quamvis
In consanguineos non satis æqua suos;
Nobisque incolumes Hispanus reddidit, etsi
Antiquus nostri nominis hostis erat;
Nec bellum læsit, nec sors adversa, nec aer
Belgicus, æquorei fæx malesana salis;
Durior Hispanis, Gallis immitior, ense
Sævior, adversa sorte severa magis,
Batavicoque vapore malignior Anglia mater,
Nec mater tamen, at sæva noverca necat.
Vix eluctatas iratis fluctibus ipso
In portu fallax devorat unda rates:
Vixque novæ degustata dulcedine sortis,
Lubrica de cupidis faucibus esca cadit.
Pro reditu fausto solennia vota ferentes,
Proque sua placidis vota salute Deis,
Ipsis e templis, ipsis avellit ab aris,
Et rapit ad Stygios mors inopina lacus.
In mediis detrudit ad infera regna triumphis;
Ultima vox illis, dum moriuntur, ovat.
Scilicet ostendit, non dat fortuna secundas
Res, donisque suis non sinit ipsa frui.

II.

At tu, chare puer, sic te tua nominat ætas,
Quem possit virtus jure vocare senem;
Quo subitos gressus, ac in quas dirigis oras,
Contentus patrium vix tetigisse solum?
Cur hac de causa tantum rediisse videris,
Ut tumuli posses hic reperire locum?
Nunquid apud Gallos et belgas ducere vitam,
Sub nostro tantum convenit axe mori?
An piget ingratis ultra te credere terris,
Nec tibi vel ridens Anglia nostra placet?
Quid reduces abigis plausus, reprimisque triumphos,
Nostraque funestas gaudia, sæve puer?
Respice divini pro te suspiria regis,
Quam te mœroris plenus abire videt!
Novit enim quanto regni consorte carebit,
Resque manu valida, mente sagace suæ.
Illius sit summa licet sapientia, vestri
Consilii certam sæpe requiret opem;
Nec tanti regnare putat, nisi sospite charo
Fratre: tui pretium reddere regna velit.
Te sine, se credit fatis melioribus usum,
Quando tui compos exulis exul erat;
Teque suis socium bellis, sociumque triumphis
Fortis Jacobi vis animosa petit.
Ecce etiam in nostras oras modo regia mater
Advenit, officiis excipienda tuis.
Nec tecum nobis pulchras avelle sorores,
Neutra volet sine te nympha manere domi:
Altera te subito vel ad infera regna sequetur,
Altera se Gallis te moriente dabit.
Nec desolatæ patriæ solennia vota,
Proque tua caldas sperne salute preces;
Illa tui dotes animi miratur amatque;
Indolis eximiam spem fovet illa tuæ;
En languet, tantique nequit perferre dolorem
Vulneris, en tecum ceu moritura jacet!

III.

Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictaque bello
Dextera, mens summis, formaque, digna deis!
In tenero pietas non expugnabilis ævo,
Hostili quamvis sæpe petita manu.
Gratia cui supplex, et torva potentia regum,
Et rigidæ martis succubuere minæ;
Quando tuos humeros Latialis purpura nuper,
Et caput ambivit rubra tiara tuum.
Sed tenuem hæc tristemque fugit victoria Musam,
Non hanc Melpomene dicere nostra potest.
Gesta pio puero miranda volumine justo,
Sanctaque bella canet Calliopeia chelys.
Cum vita pietas increbuit, alma venustas,
Et probitas morum, nectemerata fides;
In dubiis rebus toties spectata, periclis
Augusto fratri mille propata fides;
Cui comes indomitæ fortis constantia mentis,
Et virtus animi Martia jugis erat.
Testis erit, vidit nuper qui bella gerentem,
Scaldis, et attonitis protinus hæsit aquis:
Martis ut intrepidus subiit discrimina, qualis
Exarsit pectus per juvenile calor!
Æmulus ut pugnacis erat fidusque Jacobi
Omnia perbelli dura pericla comes!
Scilicet ingenii placidi suavissima tanta
Conjugi bonitas cum feritate potest,
Quæque venit canis prudentia rara capillis,
Contigit imberbi prodigiosa genæ;
Ardua quæ caperet sinuosi ænigmata regni,
Sciret quid credi debuit, et quid agi.
Dicentis stupuit quoties ad verba senatus?
Vixque pares illi se rubuere patres.
Accessit quoque naturæ doctrina benignæ,
Artibus ingenii divitis auxit opes.
Calluit innumeras linguas, licet omnia dulci
Unius suada flectere corda potens.
Quid decus egregiæ frontis, vultusque sereni
Lumina, purpureo tincta pudore, canam,
Sistere quæ rigidem sortem fatumque morari,
Et triplices possent conciliare Deas?
Nil horum digne calamus depingere possit,
Nec lugere satis (conticet ergo) dolor.

IV.

Qualis terrigenum post impia prælia fratrum,
Et cœli profugis reddita jura deis,
Fraterni comes incessit festiva triumphi,
Natalemque adiit cum Jove Juno polum:
Talis, post domitos exangui marte rebelles,
Regiaque in rectam sceptra remissa manum,
Fratris ut aspectu placido frueretur ovantis,
Ad patrios rediit regia nympha lares:
Nympha decus nostrum, nostræ laus unica terræ,
Et matronalis gloria summa chori; [nata,
Virgo pudens simul ac prudens mulier, pia-
Uxor sancta, soror chara, benigna parens.
Gratia cui nivei roseique modestia vultus,
Majestas morum comis, et alma fides,
Nobilitas generis plusquam Junonia, mentis
Palladius vigor, et frontis amœna Venus.
Trans mare quæ vexit nostrum cum sanguine nomen,

Quæ famam Anglorum protulit atque genus;
Quæque dedit nostræ specimen venerabile gentis,
Fecit, quam fertur jure beata, fidem;
Ostenditque,orbi virtus, sapientia, forma
Anglica quantillo, sit minor angelica.
Auspice qua viget et longum transmittit in ævum
Belligeram stirpem Nassoviana domus;
Quæ neque tam veteres aquilas, ac inclyta regni
Cæsarei sacra sceptra vibrata manu;
Nec libertatis vindex acerrima, regis
Hesperii durum deposuisse jugum;
Nec quas ipsa dedit Belgis quod tractat habenas,
Nec quod tot terris, tot moderatur aquis;
Quam generi tandem se conjunxisse Britanno
Jactat, et a nostra nobilitate tumet.
Scilicet antiquos vincet nunc illa triumphos,
Plus aliquid virtus stemmatis aucta dabit.
Quantus erit puer Auriaco modo stemmate fulgens,
Quam magnis belli fulmine major avis,
Belgica cui nostras patientia concipit iras,
Nostro Teutonicum sanguine phlegma calet?
Natales oras cum tanta reviseret hospes,
Nostræ se sociam lætitiæque daret,
Complexu charo, multa longaque salute,
Lætis auguriis excipienda fuit;
Abnuit infelix funestoque Anglia vultu,
Funesto fudit talia verba sono.

V.

Huccine bis denos Belgis impendere soles,
Et Batavum pingues irradiare nurus;
Inque paludosis dignata senescere terris,
Ad nos vix tandem mox reditura venis?
Anne iterum Rhenus Thamesi prælatus ovabit,
Teque fruens lætis Mosa tumebit aquis?
Aut alio optatam longinquis regibus alti
Consortem thalami deferet alter Hymen?
Inque aliis terris alioque sub axe jacebis,
Atque tuo tumulo nostra carebit humus?
Non ita: tam pulchram, tanta virtute decoram,
Est quia spes vivam nulla tenere mihi;
Ne fugias, nobisque alio procul orbe vageris,
Compede secura detineare placet.
Me penes extabit venerandi fama sepulchri;
Hic jacet, in sera posteritate legam.
Nostra nec in solidum culpa est; te vindicat æther,
Ille suis te vult addere numinibus.
Hæ merito dotes soli debentur Olympo;
Sollicitat Superos æmula forma suæ;
Quoque sibi partem repetunt consortia divum
Ætheream, pars est altera jure mea.
Nec tibi contigerit lethi felicius unquam
Tempus, ut a fatis optio vestra foret;
Nil majus sperare daret tibi Nestoris ævum,
Nil spectare tibi gratius ulla dies.
Vidisti reditum fratris, Nemesimque paternam,
Est tibi salva parens est tibi sponsa soror:
Fraternos inter moriere tuosque triumphos,
Desinet in plausus ultima scena tibi.
Non licet hæc ullo fœdari prospera luctu,
Nil post hæc debet vita videre malum.
Quin tua Lucina Christi Libitina sacratur,
Non vitæ, non est sanctior hora necis.
Discedit tecum, sociaque in morte triumphat,
Teque ferens secum lætior annus abit.
Ac esses ne sola, paravit utrique beato
Sedem precedens frater in Elysio.
Denique de nobis semper fatale mereri,
Dignaque quæ nimium vivere, digna mori est.

VI.

At te, quæ nostris restas nunc unica votis
De Caroli augusta stirpe, serena trias;
In qua colligitur miseris spes strictior Anglis,
Sospitet æterno numine sancta Trias!
Te sexus muliebris apex, pulcherrima rerum,
Quam vix æquali Cynthia luce videt:
Cui similem forma peperit cum Gallia nullam,
Nec pariet, merito flagrat amore tui:
(Annue supplicibus votis, regesque petenti
Indulge, et vestris lilia pinge rosis.)
Te quoque magnanimi virtus invicta Jacobi,
Incolumen semper mitia fata velint;
Cui bellatorum surgit chorus omnis, et ore
Uno dat summum martia turba locum.
Sic dextra defensa tua sit tuta, trophæis
Personet in terras Anglia clara tuis;
Pro vestra sed præcipue, rex optime, vita,
In cujus posita est nostra salute salus;
In quo libertas nobis, pax, copia vivunt,
Fundimus assiduas solicitasque preces;
Ut fratri demptos annos demptosque sorori
Annis adjiciat Parca benigna tuis;
Ut nunquam cesses, vel post nos ultimus omnes
Vivere, sit vestra nostraque morte prior!

Epitaphium in Henricum Hammond, 1660.

Ne te prætergressum pœniteat, siste pedem
Hic, et animum, viator: etenim,

Hic jacet H. Hammond, S. T. D. theologorum sui seculi coryphæus. Literatorum princeps. Anglicæ gentis decus. Ecclesiæ columen. Veritatis assertor peritissimus. Pacis cultor devotissimus. Ordinis fautor studiosissimus. Antiquitatis genuinæ fidissimus interpres, et propugnator acerrimus. Sanctitatis magister præstantissimus. Omnibus ornamentis instructissimus. Philosophus solide acutus, dilucide subtilis. Orator inaffectate politus, nervose copiosus. Disputator vehemens extra acerbitatem. Egregius criticus, absque superbia tamen aut supercilio. Lectionis infinitæ, sed exquisite digestæ. Maximi ingenii, majoris judicii, consummatæ eruditionis cum pari modestia; tantis dotibus usus præclarissime. De ecclesia, principe, patria optime meritus. Utriusque tabulæ legum præco. observator, vindex. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ensis et clypeus: quem a falsi schismatis labe purgavit, a veri contagio munivit, Romanis hostibus, et perfugis sectariis fusis, fugatis. Sinceræ doctrinæ radio veteres tenebras pseudo-catholicas dispulit, nova lumina anti-catholica extinxit. Presbyteranam paritatem prostravit. Fanaticam licentiam coercuit. Temporum iniquitatem expugnavit scriptis victricibus, patientia triumphali. Ecclesiastici ordinis jurisque vindex fortissimus, ac felicissimus. Liturgiæ patronus con-

sultissimus. Theologicorum dogmatum scrutator sedulus. Difficultatum enodator accuratus. Veritatum explorator sagax. Novum Testamentum et Psalterium Davidicum luculenta Paraphrasi, eximio Commentario, sancto exemplo illustravit. Calamo scripsit, vita edidit, practicum Catechismum. Christianæ fortitudinis, patientiæ, mansuetudinis illustre exemplar. Mentis insigni prudentia, invicta constantia, candore illibato solertia indefessa mirabilis. Morum integritate spectabilis, gravitate venerabilis, comitate amabilis. Summa pietate in Deum; extrema fide in principem; propensa charitate in omnes conspicuus. Vir, scholasticus, theologus plane incomparabilis, omni epitheto major, quolibet elogio potior. Meruit haberi martyr assiduis pro ecclesia curis et vigiliis confectus. Occidit diei nostri Lucifer anno 1660 salutis partæ, primo regis restituti, patriæ liberatæ, ecclesiæ instauratæ; quæ a se strenue promota, et ardenter concupita præsagiit animo, sed oculo non adspectavit, in hoc felicissime infelix.

Vade, cogita, imitare.

Nec magnum tamen Hammondum satis ulla loquuntur
Saxa, nec a morsu temporis ulla tegant:
Clarius ostendit scriptis se illustribus, illo
Digna sui tantum sunt monumenta libri.

EPIGRAMMATA.

ANNO 1661.

Tres modo Carolidæ; numero gaudet Deus isto,
Lætitiam minui ne sinat ille suam.

Concurrit nato Christo denata Maria,
Disparet Phœbo sic oriente Venus.

Morbillis princeps indigna morte perempta est,
Ex morbis saltem debuit illa mori.

Digna bono nimium cœlo, summumque favorem
Numinis exæquans, victima nulla fuit:
Sensit, et ingratæ titulum aversata benigno
Sese devovit gens Carolina Deo.

Viderat ignito fratrem soror optima curru
Scandentem rutili splendida tecta poli:
Ostendis, dux chare, viam mihi, dixit; eadem,
Strata licet multo candeat igne, sequar.

Non sine consilio sapienti regia proles
Maluit in lætis rebus obire diem.
Sic solet accepto pretio quis tradere mercem,
Sunt vitæ pretium prospera fata bonæ.
Sic consummato victor certamine campum,
Decisaque solet linquere lite forum.
Vivere cur pergat, cum respondentia votis
Cepit, et internis otia vana terat?

Oxonium pridem deflevit, flet modo Granta,
Fortius hæc semper, sed prius illa dolet.
Dividit Oxonium, jungit quos Granta dolores,
Granta suum factum quo tueatur habet;
Sanguis, amor, morbus quos conjunxere, fuisset
Nobis in luctu dissociare nefas.
Esse solet major luctus qui tardior ire,
Et plures lugens fortior esse solet.
Promptior Oxonii luctus, vehementior ergo
Grantæ; sed pietas par utriusque fuit.

Quas (mira res) haud potuit asperum gelu,
Nec crassus aer Belgicus, nec exteræ
Sterilis eremi solitudo occidere,
Occidit horti patrii calor rosas.

Cum morbus unus, vulnus unum principes
Vincendo non esset, phalangem febrium
Armavit, instruxitque justum exercitum,
Ac interemit mille confossos locis,
Numeroque non virtute mors victrix fuit.
Ne regiæ soboli molesta sis, precor:
Lacessis alieno loco jam et tempore.
In rebus adversis, foras, in Belgio
Nuper fuisses hospes opportunior.
Jam prosperæ res sunt, in Anglia, domi,
Aliud agunt, discede mors, mori haud vacat.
Negas? et obstrepis? quid ergo optem tibi
Pro scelere tanto? Carolus rex, optimus
Regum, sit immortalis, hoc te maceret.

Materiam decuit carmen miserabile, lusum est
Versu materiæ conveniente suæ.

Epithalamium R. Caroli et R. Catharinæ, 1662.

ΔΕΥΡ' Ὑμέναιε, θεῶν πολέευκτον χάρμα καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
Ζηνὸς ἀπ' ὑψορόφου δώματος ὧδε πάρει,
Οἶμας θελξινόους ἄμ', ἐθτροχάλους τε χορείας,
Παντοίας χάριτας, χαρμοσύνας τε φέρων·
Οἶος, ὅτ' εἰς θαλάμους Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο,
Εἶς τε γάμους δίου Πηλέος ἦλθες ἑκών·
Μᾶλλον δ' οἶος ὅλος γ' ὅθ' ὑπ' ἔτρεμε ποσσὶν Ὄλυμπος,
Μολπαῖς ἀντήχει, δασὺν ἵλαμτε τεαῖς,
Ὀππόθ' ἑοὺς εἰσῆγε δόμους χρυσόθρονον Ἥρην,
Τῶν τε θεῶν ὁ πατὴρ μητίρ' ἔδωκε θεοῖς.
Ἄλλος Πηλεὺς, ἄλλος Ἀτρείδης ὧδε, καὶ ἄλλη
Ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις τ', ἠθεομος θ' Ἑλένη.
Ἄλλος Ζεὺς σκήπτρῳ κρατέων καὶ κόδεϊ γαίων,
Γηγενέων δαμάτωρ φαίδιμος, ὑψιμέδων.
Ἄλλη πότνια, πρόσθα θεὰ, λευκώλενοσ, εἶδος
Φερτάτη, ἡμετέρου παμβασίλεια πόλου·
Οὐχ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ Φθίης ἐριδώλακος, οὐδ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτης
Ψευδῶς εὐρυχόρου, οὐδ' ἑκατομπόλιδος
Κρήτης ἐν μέθοτεσι διονόμου αἰενμνήτης·
Τῆς δ' ὄντως μεγάλης Βρεττανίης βασιλεύς.
Κόσμου παμμεδέων ἑνὸς, ἄλλου νόσφιν ἐόντος,
Αὐτάρκους κόλποις πατρὸς ἐν Ὠκεανοῦ
Πόντου εὐρυπόρου, καὶ γαίης εὐρυοδείης,
Τῆς σκήπτρου, τοῦ δ' ἐν Χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἔχων.
Ἡ δ' οὐ θρηνώδης θυγάτηρ ἁλίοιο γέροντος,
Οὐ μιαροῦ κένου παιδίον ὠότοκον,
Ἐκφρονος οὐδὲ Ῥέης καὶ ἀμειλίκτοιο Κρόνοιο·
Ἀλλ' ὅσιον ῥίζης ἔρνος ἀπ' ἀντιθέου,
Ἔκγονος ἡρώων ἀρεταῖς τ' ἀρχαῖς τ' ἀτισήμων,
Οἷς κόσμου στεφάνους πᾶσα παρεῖχε μερίς.
Ὧν σκήπτροισιν ἐκείθεν' ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ὅμως τε
Ἀντίλλων, καταδὸς τ' ἀμφότερος Φαέθων·
Στήλης Ἑσπερίης ἀπό γ' εἰς Γαγγήτιδα δόντων

Ἐρώτῃ, Ἀσίῃ, τῇ τε νόμους Λιβύῃ.
Ἀμφω δριπρεπέ' ἡνορέῃ, δόξῃ περιπύστω,
Καὶ θαλίθοντ' ἐρατῆς ἄνθεσιν ἡλικίης.
Καὶ Σολομῶν ἄρκτοιο ὁ μὲν, βασίλεσσα νότοιο
Ἠδὲ, σοφὸς Κέρολος, καὶ Καθαρίνα καλή.
Τοὔ τους εἰς φίλα λέκτρα συνελθόντας μελίγηρυ
Τέρπ' ἀγανοῖς μέλεσιν, τέρφ' Ὑμέναιε χοροῖς.
Χερσί τ' ἐυστεφέεσσι κροτῶν φόρμιγγα λιγεῖαν
Ὄλβον ἄειδ', ἀρετὰς, καὶ κλέος ἀμφοτέρων.
Τοῦ γένος, Ὠγυγίων ἐριθηλέα βλαστὸν ἀνάκτων
Τέκτε τέχην, θείης θαῦμα μέγ' εὐνοίης.
Καὶ σοφίην πολεῖδρειν ἐπ' ἄγριον εἰδμα θαλάσσης
Ἧς πλόον ἰθύνειν νηὸς ἀελλομάχου.
Εὐσεβίηνθ', ἥτις βωμοὺς ἱδρυσε πεσόντας,
Δῶκε θεοῖς ἱερεῖς, δῶχ' ἱερεῦσι θεούς·
Ἠνορέην τ' ἐχθροὺς δυνατὴν αὐτόντε δαμάσσαι,
Μέρνασθαι κρατερῶς, ὁρᾷν καλὰ, δεινὰ φέρειν·
Εὐδοκίηντ' ὀρθαῖς σταθμὸν χείρεσσιν ἔχουσαν,
Τοῖς τε φίλοις, καὶ τοῖς δυσμενέεσσιν ἴσην·
Ἱρῆον ἀμορτινόοις τε καὶ ἤπιον ἦτορ ἀλιτροῖς,
Δοῦναι συγγνώμην, μὴ τίσιν ὀξὺ λαβεῖν·
Τῆς δ' ἀπὸ διογενῶν πατέρων μοιρηγενὲς σόε
Μαρμαρυγαῖς ἰδίαις φέγγος δεξόμενον,
Ὀφράνιον κάλλος γλυκεραῖς ἐνὶ λάμπον ὀπωπαῖς,
Καὶ μέλι θεσπεσίον στάζον ἀπὸ στόματος·
Τοῦ τ' ἤθους εὐκηλον ἀμωμήτοιο γαλήνην,
Καὶ πινυτὰς ψυχῆς ἔμφρονος ἐννεσίας.
Ἄλλους τ' ἀμφοτέρων αἴνους πλήθει ἀναρίθμους,
Ὅσσας κόντος ἔχει θῖνας, ἰδ' ἄστρα πόλος·
Ὑμνει ταῦθ', ὕμνοις, δ' εὐχὰς ἐπίβαλλε κραταιὰς,
Καὶ φιλίοις ἁγνὰς σπένδε θεοῖσι λιτάς.
Πολλάκτε νειογάμοις ἥρωσι καὶ ἐσθλὰ νέμεσθαι
Ἄξια τῶν δ' ἀρετῆς, ἄξια δῶρα τέχης·
Ἀκμῆτας Καρόλῳ πολέμους, ἀνόνους τε θριάμβους,
Αὐτομάτας νίκας, αὐτοφυεῖς στεφάνους,
Ἄλλους ἀρχομένους, καὶ τοὺς δ' εὐπειθέας εἶναι,
Πλείονα σκῆπτρα φέρειν, ταῦτα βέβαια μένειν·
Τῇ τε νέας αἰεὶ χάριτας πότνῃ Καθαρίνῃ,
Ἱμερτὸν κάλλους τ' εἶαρ δειθαλέος·
Μητέρ' ἔμεν τόσσων δ' εὔτεκνον ὄπισθεν ἀνάκτων,
Ὅσσων πρόσθεν ἦν εὐπατέρεια κόρη.
Ἀμφοτέροις ὁμόνοιαν, ἀτέρμονος ἔσχατα ζωῆς
Εἰς πέρατ' ἀῤῥήκτοις δέσμασι σφιγγομένην,
Κῶδος δείμνηστον, μακρὸν βιὸν, ἄφθονον ὄλβον,
Ἐῤῥωστον τι δέμας, γηθόσυνον τε νόον.

In Victoriam Navalem, anno 1665.

Quanquam ejuravi Musas et inutile carmen,
Deque malo nullus fio poeta, lubens;
Et nimis est fractos calamos reparare moles-
Ac dudum rivos arida vena negat, [tum,
Propositum invicte quatiunt animumque, per undas
Ceu Batavam pulsant fulmina vestra ratem;
Vestra, heros, imo numerosam e pectore vocem
Necquicquam invita Pallade, fama ciet;
Illa novos ignes effœtis mentibus afflat,
E ligno vatem quolibet illa facit;
Invaditque omnes animos epidemica Musa,
Gentis et humanæ corda furore rapit;
Vel crassam Belgarum imprǣgnans arte Minervam,
Et domitis versus hostibus eliciens;
Vix se Leyda tenet, grato quin accinat hymno, et
Se nostris comitem præbeat officiis.
Scillicet e victore trahunt solatia, quali
Gloria certasse est, succubuisse decus;
Ambitio fecit, non spes pugnare; Jacobo
Non pudet omnino cedere, vixque dolet:
Exornata ducis jactant sua funera lauris,
In lucris illi debita damna putant.
Sed nos parta salus, et gloria reddita belli
In laudes causa nobiliore trahunt,
Quod priscum cœpit dominum dignoscere pontus,
Oppressusque diu vi modo jure subest:
Juris facta sui lætis nos circuit ulnis
Anglorum regno nata satellès aqua,
Regi sponsa Thetis, teda connexa jugali,
Cuique olim zonam tradidit ipsa suam;
Nec se plebeias sinet incestare carinas,
Perfidia fœtas, et levitate graves.
Nobile pontus amat regnum felixque, nec illam
Publica res, hoc est publica turba, reget;
Fluctus ipsa suos componere nescia turba,
Perpetuoque domi fæx agitata salo.
Truditur in proprias merito gens improba terras,
Quanquam illi nunquam propria terra fuit;
Quicquid ei colitur maris est injuria, demptum
Obsidet oceano non nisi fraude solum.
Ergo vices Neptune refers, pœnasque rependis,
Eque mari terris pulse repellis eam.
Sufficiat patrias Mosæ quod oberrat arenas,
Ac sub natali rana palude crepat.
Interea justo tutus sub vindice degit
Squamiger, et portus libera gaza petit:
Detumet abdomen Batavis, horrendaque cessat
Immensum e nostro surgere pisce caro.
Non proba merx jam prædones ditare scelestos,
Et turpe in spolium degenerare timet.
Tuto mercator cum fida transigit unda
A bello, a sæva liber amicitia:
Nil fœdus larva exutum fallace nocebit,
Subque mala latitans pace latrocinium.
Offuscata veternosæ rubigine pacis,
Ac intestina sub face pressa diu,
Emicuit tandem, priscæque refulget honore
Anglia virtutis, par similisque sibi,
Suspicienda iterum dubio metuendaque mundo,
Certa suum quamvis sera tenere decus.
En cunctæ inclinant summisso vertice puppes,
Et quercus nostras nautica sylva colit!
Ipse tuas cristas nutantes fronte superba,
Ore ferox, humilis pectore, Galle, premis,
Henrici memor, at Caroli metuentior, arma
Dirigit invicta quipotiora manu;
Cujus ab auspiciis prodire renata Britannis
Gloria gestit, eo gloria facta magis;
Commendat duros clementia nota triumphos,
Gratius in placida laurea fronte viret.
Nemo suos virtute domat feliciter hostes,
Qui non et cives subdit amore suos.
Ergo tuos geminum, magne et bone Carole, festos
Ambigua signat nobilitate decus;
Æmula pacificæ decertat bellica virtus,
Utra tuam exornet pulchrius historiam;
Cedere neutra potest, summus debetur utrique,
Quam tua promeruit cura suprema, locus.
Hinc tamen in partes frater, sed nil tibi laudis
Decerpturus, at huic appositurus, adest.
Ille tuæ pars multa animæ, pars sanguinis æqua,
Alter tu, sola nominis alter ope;
Respueres quo desertam non sospite vitam,
Cujus præ regnis est tibi chara salus:

Nec tamen hunc dubitas exponere mille periclis;
Tanti nostra salus, gloria nostra tibi est;
Ah nimiam querimur pietatem! tradere fluxam
In maris, in martis pignora tanta fidem;
Delicias et spes nostras committere sortis
Incertæ, cæci fulguris arbitrio!
Hunc obscura manus Batavi dementis iniqua
Et nulli gnara parcere glande petat?
Belgia cui non est redimendo, ditior ut sit
Quam jactans se fert esse, vel esse cupit.
Nos ita qui sapimus vulgari corde, quibusque
Nil procul e nostra cernere valle licet;
Longius elato reges a monte tuentur,
Clarius ingenti pectore fata notant;
Nil inconsulte statuit rex, nil temere audet
Dux cum sit fati certus uterque sui;
Non aliter certus quam si virtute Jacobus
Fortunam bello promeriturus adest;
Expertemque metus facit immunemque pericli
Tam sancto capiti debita cura Dei:
Se commendavit cœlo, non credidit undæ,
Depositum servant Numina fida suum;
Accinctum lauris caput, addictumque triumphis,
Nequicquam bruto fulmine Belga petit, &c.

Ratio secundi Præcepti in Decalogo est immutabilis.

ANNO 1668.

Qui cœli vastos ac terræ continet orbes
In Dexteræ vola suæ,
Et quocum collata amplissima machina rerum
Vanescit in merum nihil,
Ut constringatur brevis inter septa tabellæ
Mortalis impulsu manus?
Cujus nec sol ipse (ut valde pulchrior esset)
Meretur umbra dicier;
Talis adumbretur, qualem pictoris inepti
Libido finxerit arrogans?
Qui conceptum animi longe supereminet omnem,
Et solus ipse se capit,
Brutali tantus quantus subdatur ocello,
Subdatur omni sensui?
Cui scelus et furor est quicquam componere, fallax,
Stolidum, profanum, injurium;
Ejus fucatus stipes prostet vice, cultum,
Vim, nomen adsciscat sibi?
Æterno Patri reverentia debita vilem,
Virtutis ac vitæ indigum,
(Virtutem aut vitam sed nec simulare capacem,
Nec ore spirantem tenus,)
Transeat humanæ, flammis ultricibus aptum,
In surculum dementiæ?
Summæ mentis opus summum veneretur opellam
Suæ pusillam industriæ?
Ille datus terræ dominus, superæque verendus
Potentiæ vicarius;
Ipso quo patulus nil quod complectitur orbis
Expressius Deum refert;
Terrigenæ fungo, vix rerum e fæce creato
Incurvet augustum caput;
Excordemque excors surda prece tundat, iniqui
Vane laboris prodigus?
Cœlesti solio consortes ingerat imæ
Homuncio repens humi?
Ambitione pari flagrans sub imagine verum
Falsumque numen fingere?
Non ita compressus justa Deus æstuet ira,
Non vindicet se liberum?
Sic deformatus non totus abhorreat istas
Mendacis artis simias?
Non fœdos zelo depellat percitus acri
Honoris æmulos sui?
Nos ita degeneres animo persentiat æquo,
Nostri stuporis particeps?
Scilicet opprobrii patiens, nec crimine nostro
Commotus, aut damno indolens?
Tanquam pectus iners, aut dextram gestet inermem,
Nil valeat aut nil sentiat?
Hæc vetuit ratio semper, semperque vetabit,
Lex lege quavis sanctior;
Cui se sponte uni demittit summa potestas,
Ac dulce sentit obsequi;
Nec Deus hanc potius quam se variaverit ipsum,
Adversus ac dispar sibi.
Quin sempiterni decerptam e codice recti,
Et mentis autographo suæ,
Præcipue chari in sanctissima jura popelli,
Scriba seipso transtulit;
Ipse suis digitis eradere scripta recuset,
Id alter ausit aggredi?
Audeat Ausonius saltem, sapientior ille
Ac altior cœtus Deo;
Cui licet invito mentes astringere cœlo,
Mentesque vinclis solvere,
Cum sua res animusve suus deposcet, eritque
(Hoc serio aiunt) commodum.
Desinæ nugarum tandem, audax desine secta:
An semper illudes Deo?
Anne impune feres rationis scita pudendis
Inferre ceris Ceritum?
Proque lucro turpi, nimiaque cupidine regni,
Cœleste jus rescindere?
Sin formare Deum tantus te possidet ardor,
Hac lege depingas licet:
Majestate sua radiantem pinge, supremi
Qualem obstupescunt angeli;
Monstra invisibilem, immensum describe, capentem
Effinge sodes partium;
Munificum, justum, sapientemque exprime, supra
Mens assequatur quam tua;
Verbum cuncta creans line, dextram cuncta tenentem,
Oculumque cuncti providum;
Sic veniam forte et laudem merearis; Apellem
Nec ipse respuet suum.

Divinitas ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ *constat ex initio Evangelii secundum Johannem.*

Principium (per te, verborum acerrime tortor,
Si verbis aliquid significare licet)
Primum designat, primoque coincidit unum
Æternum, quo nil finxeris esse prius:
Tu qua mente putas numeros, superantia quisquis
Innumeros primo secla priora putas?
Finge sed id primi sero incepisse; creatum
Esse, quod hic præfert enthea penna caput;
Qui tamen hoc ipsum, qui cætera protulit, expers
Ejus erit, facto prævius ipse suo?

Quo sine nil ortum, nullius originis ille,
  Se quoque ni pariter fecerit esse, potest.
Non aliena manus, sed nec sua condidit illum,
  Id vox divina, hoc res fieri ipsa negat.
Quodque ortu caret, æternum est; fac cœperit, una
  Dissonus ortivum das adimisque diem.
Adde, Dei comes et consors fundamina mundi
  Omnipotente animo quod jacientis erat:
Haud ἄλογος spatio tantilli temporis unquam
  Vel sine mente Deus, vel sine voce fuit.
Quin Deus exerte nullaque ambage vocatur,
  Nec Deus est quisquis cœperit esse Deus.
Illud nemo sibi jus acquisiverit olim,
  Nec tanto titulo gestiet ortus heri.
Esse novum perfecta Dei natura recusat;
  Non secus ac creto dissidet esse vetus.
Immortale Deus sonat undique nomine toto,
  Barbara seu gens id, seu bene docta, sonat;
Ac periisse quidem postrema et pejor habetur,
  At mors est vitam non habuisse prior.
Nos ita, qui crasse specieque objecta sub una
  Cernimus, et verbis obvia sensa damus;
Quippe Deo potius mentem informare magistro,
  Quam nostra prompti e mente docere Deum;
At longe Getici sapiunt majora sophistæ,
  E nihilo quidvis cudere gnara cohors;
Queis latet abstrusus nullo sub cortice sensus,
  Multaque sub medio conditur umbra die;
Nil rectum aut proprium, nisi cum libet; omnia scæve,
  Omnia fictitio tincta colore vident:
Hinc translatitii mundi nova surgit origo,
  Hesternusque λόγος, factitiusque Deus;
Hinc creperi in mystam desciscit apostolus antri,
  Verbaque non Delphis inficianda refert.
Scilicet intimus is divini pectoris hospes,
  Et fonte ex illo limpida vera bibens;
Ille procul fuco, versutæque inscius artis,
  Præsertimque almæ simplicitatis amans;
Cujus inoffenso pede cætera pagina plane
  Ambulat, hic alius dissimilisque sui,
Nubibus obducit cœlestis lumina flammæ,
  Polluit admisto pura fluenta luto;
Ancipites proponit in ipso limine griphos,
  Implicat obliquis dogmata summa tropis;
Quamque revelandum cæco susceperat orbi,
  Infidus dubio supprimit ore fidem?
Hæc qui crediderit, mihi (salva pace) videtur,
  Et nimiam et nullam stultus habere fidem.
Sin ita, quid legimus, quid vana indagine verum
  Quærimus incertum, persequimurque fugax?
Nos misere ludos facit improba charta Johannis,
  Hæc fronte ostentans, altera corde premens.

ELEGIA.

ANNO 1669.

Siqua tuas unquam meruerunt fata querelas,
  Aut jus in lacrymas mors habet ulla tuas,
Quisquis es humanæ sortis spectator, adesdum;
  Totus ad ingratum posceris officium:
Desiit illustris, qua non illustrior atro
  Vita meat famæ per monumenta pede;
Quem summum fortuna scopum sibi fixerat, ejus
  Quem favor ambiret, quem furor impeteret;
Accumulare simul connitens omnibus illam
  Donis, et telis omnibus obruere.
Ut nemo propius tangebat origine divos,
  Spectetur meritum nobilitasve patris;
Nec forma superos minus attingebat, amores
  Quæ subito tantos alliciendo fuit;
Accessit pulchræ mentis mirabile robur,
  Ac omni curæ par vigor ingenii;
Has quoque visa fuit tenebris obducere dotes
  In sanctis virtus moribus alma nitens;
Utque simul cunctas, capiat quas femina, laudes
  Complectar, Carolo conjuge digna fuit.
Faverunt digne justissima fata, nec unquam
  Acrius invidiam sollicitavit Hymen;
Protinus immenso devinxit amore maritum,
  Plus innexa animo quam sociata toro.
Arctius hos strinxit numeroso pignore nodos,
  At dedit in multa vivere prole virum;
In multa et magna dubium felicior uxor
  An mater (maneat lis precor ista diu.)
Florentem tantis fortunæ dotibus æquæ,
  Pensantemque æqua prospera mente sua,
Altera prospiciens oculo fortuna sinistro,
  Livida quem diris tinxerat ira notis,
Ecce meis aptam, dixit, congressibus hostem,
  Quacum omnes placuit conseruisse manus;
Tum magni præludit acerba cæde parentis,
  Heu quantus pulsat corda tenella dolor!
Crescenti graviora parat dispendia; quicquid
  Fingere mens horret, dicere lingua negat;
Quod longe supra tragicos immane tumores,
  Ac ultra quamvis flebile Melpomenen.
Illustres miseras percense, labilis ævi
  Quas flendas nobis tristior aura dedit.
Reginæ cedet patiendi gloria nostræ,
  Nulla illi palmam hanc æmula præripiet;
Tu licet intentes mœstam, Cornelia, litem,
  Quicquid eras magnum plangere visa tuum;
Quicquid et extorres natos plorare, vel hostes
  In patria dominos omnia posse tua;
Indulsit tibi sors, tecumque jocata videtur,
  Præ quibus immersa est diva Maria malis;
Nec tamen est demersa; superstitit ardua virtus,
  Ærumnisque animus celsior eminuit:
Clarior in mediis visa est radiare tenebris,
  Adversisque suis conciliare decus.
Destitit ergo suo fortuna lacessere damno
  Invictam, facies en nova rebus adest;
Alma dies redit integro perfusa sereno,
  At quæ debebat longior esse dies:
Justas fata vices se nossent reddere vitæ
  Multa obvenissent sêcla, Maria, tuæ.

Epigramma in istam Elegiam.

Per Londinenses spatiabar forte plateas,
  Quo me accersebat recula nescio quæ;
Intentamque videns studiis turbam undique, dixi,
  O quam secessus versibus aptus adest;
Composui simul hos, male quos decurrere quæso
  Ne mirere, male strata suburra fuit.

In obitum ducissæ Aurel.

ANNO 1670.

Depositum valide stimulata resumere plectrum,
Solvat ut excelso tristia justa rogo,
Præfracte nostris obnititur improba votis,
Ceu juris nimium conscia Musa sui;
Objurgatque simul; Quid me, importune, lacessis
Semper, et invitæ talia pensa locas?
Nil aliud quam funestos evolvere casus,
Magnaque nequicquam plangere damna jubes:
Alti quicquid habet tellus et quicquid amœni,
Turbine spes nostras ludificante rapi,
Umbris egregias formas squalentibus abdi,
Dira virtutum culmina falce premi;
Regia perpetuo sordere palatia luctu,
Sacraque continuo vulnere corda peti;
His ut ego voces impendere coner honestas,
Ac ornare meis pessima fata modis?
Indigne fero; suppedites modulamine digna,
Læta bono regi debita, sponte canam.

Epicedium in ducem Albemarlæ.

ANNO 1670.

Hinc elegi tenues, et quicquid funera musæ
Degeneris cantu solet incestare, facessat:
Nil opus est humili lacrymas, excire querela,
Indecores lacrymas, modici solatia luctus,
Quels ferme scelus augustos aspergere manes.
Invadens animum gravior jubet impetus, illo
Arduus incedam pede, quo decurritur Hector
Cæsus, et invictus bustum conscendit Achilles,
Major enim celebrandus adest ut verior heros.
Ille super quondam licuit quod fingere vere
Magnus, et antiqui commentos grandibus ævi
Conciliare fidem, (minus est, inferre pudorem
Invidiamque movere,) potis, cui tota merenti
Nobilior claris et certis Ilias actis
Turgeat, Iliadem nuce jam complectimur illam.
Non divos oriens, aut reges ille parentes,
Nec proceres jactat, titulosve obtendit inertes;
In laudem fortuna viri (se intrudere vana
Quæ specie solet et famæ decerpere florem)
Nulla venit, solida virtus radice suaque
Nixa stetit, de se pronascens gloria pure
Emicuit, nimio nec avorum sanguine tincta.
Nec de sorde tamen, rudis aut e fæce popelli,
Rectius a media sed crevit origine, lucis
Ut nil abriperet, sors nil affunderet illi,
Propriaque ex coleret vacuum solertia campum.
Crediderim tamen occulto quod semine, vena
Et tacite lapsa per stirpis devia, priscos
Attigit heroas, quos transiit indole summa;
Indole, quæ primis Martem spiravit ab annis,
Absentemque procul cupido trans æquora voto
Quæsivit; populosa ubi deses ad ostia Rheni
Centum edormierat, vel centum eluserat annos,
Sortes alternans suspenso fine, capaces
Erudiensque animos generosa in lege nocendi.
Is simul ac juvenem pulchra feritate calentem
Aspicit, ambabus deprensum complicat ulnis,
Et blando, præter morem, sic excipit ore:
Gratus ades, si venturi modo vocibus ævi
Credetur quicquam, natu mihi maximus, acrem
Protinus excipies qui toto corde Gradivum,
Evadesque meæ consummatissimus artis.
A me desumes amplissima præmia laudis,
In me sed potiora refundes fœnore grato.
Magna geres, pugnace manu, majora sagace
Perficies animo, vi præpollentior utra,
Ambiguum; terras simul illustrabis et undas
Virtute amphibia, se res fundente per omnes;
Res utcunque geres, quo vertes cunque teipsum,
Indivulsa tuæ hærebit victoria dextræ;
Vana nec hæc sterilisque et tantum clade nociva
Inclyta, sed validos præbens mortalibus usus.
Scilicet instauranda tuis decernitur armis
Regnorum collapsa salus; dépellet iniquæ
Vis ferale jugum a patriæ cervice minacis
Nominis aura; manus tumidos exerta rebelles
Comprimet; exangui subiges horrore feroces
Bellator facilis, victorque innoxius hostes.
Insidiosa dabunt pietas, et pelle decora
Larvatum scelus, obductæque putamine sancto
Immanes furiæ, et cæci ludibria zeli
Terga tibi, frontis quantum diversa severæ!
Orbe chaos patrio demes, constante reponens
Res in sede vagas, et certo fine coërcens,
Harmoniam suavem renovans, et lumen amœnum;
Verticibus meritis aptans diademata, mitras,
Pileaque, insano nequicquam excussa tumultu.
Succumbet monstrum tibi (de quo rara subacto
Vis jactet, paucique duces egere triumphum,
Nullius edomitum felicibus Herculis ausis)
Ambitus, immodicos dum frustra obtrudit honores;
En quam blanda tibi pellex exporrigit offam,
Ut tibi captivam se dedat summa potestas!
Haud sine tam valido fati molimine nullis
Virtus illecebris poterit vitianda probari,
Aut constare tui quantum sit pondus honesti.
Nempe tuas ambire, suis elapsa pudende
Ausa manus, turpem patientur sceptra repulsam:
Indignor, dices, et cor injuria pungit
Vestra meum; quasi non mihi cura potissima recti
Insideat malimque potens quam justus haberi;
Objicitis temere regni culpabilis umbram;
Mente bona regnum non est augustius ullum;
Nec magis, ut juste possem, regnare juvaret,
Quam Carolo parere juvat, quem fata requirunt,
Fecit ad imperium virtus, cui sponte luberet
Ad me jure bono delatos tradere fasces.
Hac vice sufficiet speciem mihi sumere regis.
Ocyus ite volo, rectamque capessite dextram;
Morem sceptra gerent, sanctis obnoxia jussis.
Talis eris, qualem certe labentia mundo
Hactenus abnuerant ostendere secula, miles.
Reddere vim juri, profugasque reducere leges,
Fasque fidemque (quid hæc memoro!) regemque Deumque
Longo subtrahere exilio; palatia regi,
Templa Deó, vacuas utrique recludere sedes,
Consociare decus cum relligione; beatum
Par, majestatem libertatemque, tueri;
Propugnare (nec hæc in grandi laudis acervo

Infima laus jacet) infenso quas impetet ungue
Vecors turba, arcto mihi (quanquam abludere vultu
Et studiis distare videmur) fœdere nexas
Dulces Pieridas, magnoque umbone togatum
Protegere omne genus (genus haud benefacta referre
Immemor, et lingua natum prodesse canora
Fortibus, egregiisque arcens oblivia gestis)
Barbariem dominam stolido detrudere regno,
Jusque bonas revocare artes impune sciendi;
Bellum debellare ipsum, Martemque fugare,
(Hei mihi) Marte tuo, translato milite justum
In civem, et pacis firmata lege perenni.
Militiæ sunt ista tuæ; sic arma sacrabis,
Infamique operæ nomen præstabis honestum;
Sic fata absolves, suspectaque criminis astra;
Scilicet inferior nedum te sentiet orbis
Patronum, de se cœlum meruisse, redemptum
Horribili opprobrio tetræque aspergine labis,
Quod fateatur erit; Superum tibi debitor omnis,
Nequitiæ cristas tollenti applaudere visus,
Cœtus erit, quo tandem auctore putabitur insons.
Mars ego præsertim (qui tot fanaticus annos
Audierim, scelerum fidissimus ultor acerbe
Dum jocor, atque tuæ studeo præludere famæ
Acrius, aspirare nefandis creditus ausis)
Per te non malus, aut indignus amoris habebor.
Talibus excepit generosum magnus alumnum
Bellipotens; plura adnisum præsagus Apollo
Destituit, reducis vel cum miracula regis
Prospiceret, curæ satur ignorare futuros,
Ad se quippe minus spectantes, maluit annos.
At hinc heroi pars defuit optima vitæ,
Uberior laudis maturæ campus; ab illo
Tempore visus erat ne quid superesset ab ipso
Invictum sese ac actus superare priores,
Inque dies aucta magis inclarescere fama;
Si modo conservare diu quam tradere regnum,
Continuo vigilem intenta defendere cura
Pacem, quam fundare semel; cohibere latentes,
Quam patulos hostes prosternere, majus haberi,
Utiliusque decet. Si non turgescere magnis
Inflatum titulis, meriti nec pondere tanto,
Aut famæ esse gravem; sibi non assumere quicquam
Immodicum, reliquis abductum civibus, acres
Blanditias propriæ quasi non attendere sortis;
At medios inter plausus, mediosque triumphos,
Clamores faustos populi, pronosque favores
(Hac saltem vice non fictos) venerabilis aulæ,
Affectu surdo versari, animoque modesto,
Jure super cunctas effulget nobile palmas.
Si nihil affectare novum, nec rite locatas
Res turbare, ægrum vana ambitione, maligna
Afflatum invidia, stolidave cupidine raptum;
Sed trahere innocuam per amica silentia vitam,
Nullam porrigere ambiguis rumoribus ansam,
Nullo rem populi strepitu tractare suamve;
Si non addictum aut infensum partibus ullis
Vel captare leves auras, vel inania rixæ
Semina projicere, aut cæcos proponere fines,
Aut iter obliquum funestæ insistere fraudis;
Ast indeflexo communem lumine pacem
Adspectare, fidemque suam, et regnantis honorem,
Sit pene ultra quam valeat laus scandere celsum;
Si mentem retinere domi, nec tradere fluxæ
Prodendam linguæ, non ostentare loquendo
Ingenium incertum, sed certum ostendere agendo;
Non quantum sapit infidis edicere verbis,
At validà præstare opera, eventuque docere;
Cum nil non valeat, cum pervigil omnia curet,
Posse parum tamen et paucissima nosse videri:
Quærere non speciem, sed rem, sint optima magni
Signa viri, supra culmen vulgare levati;
Si non privatum e communi radere censum,
Exhaustis venis populi, aut e paupere fisco
Surreptis opibus; quæstus a sorde nefandi
At puras servare manus, famamque pudicam;
Tutari sed enim excelsæ stationis honorem
Fruge bona, luxuque excluso augere penates
(O utinam exemplo prosit magnatibus illo!
Ut quo nobilitas tenebris offusa refulsit,
Illo nobilium quoque res auctore resurgat)
Quin pretio quum res visa est deposcere nullo,
Se præstare ducem, gratisque impendere vitam
Civibus, et tantum se compensare merendo;
Ista queant justæ cumulum distendere laudis,
Hæc ego; suspiciant alii victore tremendum
Ense, manuque alacri torquentem fulmina belli;
Nil non audentem ratio quod honesta juberet,
Impavidoque tuentem extrema pericula vultu,
Flectentem densas legiones voce perita,
Et magnas classes clavo prudente regentem,
Multiplices alto gestantem vertice lauros,
Dispensantem sceptra et regnis fata locantem;
Me virtus juvat hæc, quæ non tam luce corusca,
Quam solida placidaque micat, nimiumque stuporem
Temperat, illecebras admiscens dulcis amoris;
Me pudor ille tegens animosi pectoris æstum,
In bellacè viro studium durabile pacis,
In duce, quo summum imperium non alter obire
Aptior, obsequium deferre parata voluntas;
Mens refugi fluctus variis in casibus expers,
Proposito fideique affixa tenaciter; alta
Cum gravitate rigor nullus, fastusve, potentis
Vix sensus meriti, clamor nullus; tenor æquus
Vita, limitibus modicis inclusa cupido,
Quicquid et his arcto comitatu dotibus hæret,
Afficiunt imas flamma penetrante medullas.
Ex his evasit laus mundi consona, certus
Incerti populi favor, unus celsior omni
Invidia, jactu assiduo quæ summa lacessit.
Nempe quis est adeo nequam dementer, ut illum
Oderit, auspice quo nobis vis tanta bonorum
Incubuit; per quem nos pulsa revisit opima
Pax, nostrosque lares per tot nunc incolit annos;
Quo munita salus nunquam est sibi nostra timere
Visa, sed hostiles semper res Anglica tempsit
Assultus, tanto custode et vindice tuta?
Ergo immortalem faciebant publica vota,
Quantum vota valent, fatoque exemptus agebat,
Quantum fata sinant; at nullis numina surda
Auscultant votis; meritorum excordibus illis
Nullus inest sensus; sæve discrimine nullo
Omnibus insultant; postquam a se prodita fœde

Gens humana gravi dedit a certamine terga,
Lege ratum stat eis immota parcere nulli:
Hinc jacet, ecquis cum credat potuisse jacere?
Qui nos stare dedit; per quem res nostra revixit,
Ipse obiit, fato communi subditus. Eheu!
Quid facimus? quam non indignum pectore toto
Sufficimus luctum? quam nobis spiritus ægre,
Siquis eo nobis manet expirante misellis
Spiritus, in tantum suspiria debita casum
Suppeditat? vires excedit causa dolendi;
Officio minor est, et non solvendo dolorem
Anglia tota, suum nisi quod rex optimus ultro
Impendit, magnæ qui solus congruit umbræ,
Nostris magnificum pondus mœroribus addens;
O quam te decet hæc, quantumque reposcit amorem,
Insignis pietas et plusquam regia! multis,
Per jugem illustris vitæ diffusa tenorem,
Eluxit bonitas ingens tua, Carole, signis,
Quot nemo vel quanta potest obtendere regum;
Vix tamen hoc ullum divini pectoris extat
Clarius indicium, quo te fidentius ipso
Nitemur posthac; quanquam sic lumine dextro,
Atque manu dextra videare orbatus oportet.
Est qui virtutem tanto complexus amore,
Prosequitur meritum tanti mercede doloris,
Nullius is meriti sit, vel virtutis egenus;
Quid solus valeas hinc constat, quodque superstant
In te jam Carolus simul atque Georgius uno.
At tu præclari defuncte laboribus ævi,
Æterni in gremio decumbe quietus honoris;
Non tibi de Pariis consurgat rupibus agger,
Neve tuum Cyprio custodia nominis æri
Mandetur; neu te memorandum pagina sumat
Docta; nec audaces (debet vestigia vitæ
Heroum queis turba minor) tua gesta Camænæ
Contemerent; immortalis tua gloria summo
Certius immotas radices inserit ævo;
Sacra tuæ famæ tria stant ingentia regna,
Auspiciis erecta tuis; quot templa, quot ædes,
Tot monumenta tuæ virtuti extructa supersunt.

Hoc segni quantum dictavit cunque poëtæ,
Musa quidem nulla, at gratia multa melos,
Si nimius videar, culpam non deprecor, ipse
Cum videar justo parcior esse mihi.
Musa jocosa fui multis (musam esse jocosam
Nil vetat, at longis non licet esse jocis),
At mihi siqua fuit, spatiis diffusior æquo
Jure fuit, quoniam seria musa fuit.
Scilicet affectum pleno torrente ruentem
Sistere vix nostræ, crede, fuisset opis;
Officii nec erat, meritis cum congrua tantis
Nulla queat reddi pagina larga satis;
Nec post insumptum scribendi plura laborem,
Non adscribendum multa deesse foret.
Publica ne repetam, nimium quæ vasta supremi
Nobis porrexit Numinis ille manus;
Multa obvenerunt privitæ commoda vitæ,
Quæ per est magno sumpta referre duci:
Quod sub jucundæ requievi tegmine pacis,
Vita quod a tragicis est procul acta malis;
Quod placitis studiis, Musisque insontibus ampla
Otia (ne dicam præmia) contigerint;
Turpibus ejectis dominis, vanoque furore,
Se pura qui pro relligione tulit;
Quod licet obsequium regi deferre benigno,
Et vero cultum verum adhibere Deo:
Hæc ego tanta boni forti, prudente, probaque
Obtinuique opera possideoque ducis:
Huic igitur grates dum fundere conor, ineptus
Esse queo, longus, vix reor, esse queo;
Sin videar, veniam extremæ non abnue culpæ,
Quisquis eris, siquis, qui legis ista, precor.
(Huic veniam culpæ facile est concedere, pœnam
Scribendo scriptor quum satis ipse luat)
Non erit ut posthac patientia vestra laboret,
Nec mea charta sua tædia fronte geret;
Lusibus his penitus, vel pene renuncio, quicquid
Nitar abhinc, nullum vel breve carmen erit.
Musas, magne, meas sine (vestra laude subactas)
Appendi tumulo, parva trophæa, tuo.

DE S. TRINITATE.

JUL. 1670.

Sit quale Numen, quis capiat, nisi
Qui lucis ipse est incola propriæ;
Quis eloquatur præter unum
Indigenam venerandæ abyssi?
Hinc, hinc pusillam mens aciem procul
Humana flectat; nil crepet hic suum
Vox nuper infans; quadrat auri
Sobria credulitas recenti.
Unus seipso est teste Deus, suæ
Ast unitatis tres socios habet,
Mirandus hos nodus coarctat,
Limes et hos dirimit stupendus;
Haud ille tantum nomine dissonat
Trino, nec uno nomine consonat
Cœtus, sed ipsum abjungit ipsa
Res, ligat ipsaque res eundem.
Non distrahit partitio sectilis,
Confusio nec textilis implicat,
Sed perstat idem quisque, et æquus
Cum paritate tenetur ordo.
Originali luce pater micat,
Pulchram emicando gignit imaginem,
Perfectiones quæ parentis
Omnigenas referens adæquat;
Par gloriosum se sibi protinus
Arctissimis complexibus ingerit,
Rex inde cœlorum alter idem,
Sanctus amor placide resultat.
Æterna sic exuberat et simul
Primo seipsum essentia continet
In fonte, se confert duobus,
Nec minus hic sibi se reservat.
Ceu cum supremi participem throni
Natum benignus constituit Parens,
Junctique mox Natus Parensque
Munus idem attribuunt nepoti;
Tribus potestas sufficit unica,
Simplexque cunctis gloria competit,
Cernunt eadem mente cuncta,
Cuncta manu peragunt eadem.
Insignit omnes fallere nescia
Summe colendo pagina nomine,
Quod nil creatum adsumat absque
Sacrilegi vitio furoris.
Tantoque dignas res titulo simul
Adscribit, ortis viribus absonas,

Queis fretus orbis Rector arcis
Occupat æthereæ cacumen;
Durando prima excedere secula,
Præsentia complere quod uspiam
Loci, futurum quicquid alta
E specula procul intueri;
Rerum stupendam de nihili sinu
Excire molem; et, quod magis arduum,
Ejus gravi attritam ruina
Præcipuam reparare partem;
Grandem tueri lumine provido,
Nutúque forti vertere machinam;
Natura quas observat omnes
Pro libitu variare leges:
Sic attributis singula maximis
Persona fulget; non superabili
Virtute juxta quisque pollet,
Gloriaque una coronat omnes
Hinc cum salutis janua panditur,
Ac alma justo fœdere gratia
Sancitur, immundosque vere
Nos benedicta repurgat unda,
Par jure cultus redditur omnibus,
Par, quippe summus; nititur integra
Spes singulis, sancte dicatur
Obsequium tribus æquum et uni.
Hæc ore certo ipsissima veritas
De se retexit; Spiritus hæc fide
Dignissimus nos de superna
Edocuit cathedra magister.

AD JOHANNEM TILLOTSON,

CUM LIBRO LECT.

Dum tu, dulce caput, sacri mysteria veri,
In populum valido dirigis eloquio;
Occludisque simul petulantibus ora sophistis,
Et pro lege Dei prospera bella geris;
Istis ecce misellus ego quos aspicis uncis
Affixus, vasto tempus et ingenium;
In promptu est hujus causas exponere duræ
Sortis, at invita sorte modestus ero.

AD D. D. CHR. WRENN.

Ad te, sed passu tremulo vultuque rubenti,
Fertur, ad ingenii culmen, opella levis.
Nec quid vult aliud, (quid enim velit haud tibi notum?)
Quam ut justum authoris deferat.

FINIS.

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